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An Introduction to Herbert Spencer's

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The popular idea of reform seems to be merely a change of men or a change of parties, not a change of system. Political children, we attribute to bad men or wicked parties what really springs from deep general causes.—Henry George in "Social Problems."

The Baby-Kissing Contest

CANDIDATE Willkie has a political philosophy which, according to his acceptance speech, amounts to this: The New Deal is all right, but let me run it.

Candidate Roosevelt seems to be hiding any political philosophy he may espouse behind the dignity of his present office. Yet it leaked out, perhaps by design, in the acceptance speech of his running mate, and sounds like this: Elect me or the bogey-man of Berlin will get you.

One man is depending for election on the popularity of the hand-out tradition perfected by the other, plus the traditional unpopularity of the third term. The other rests his case on the mass fear which he has been instrumental in fomenting. In the sniping which seems to be all there is, or will be, to this campaign, contradictory generalities and rabble-rousing cover the absence of any definite political program on either side.

* * *

Well, what can we expect?

Those who retain faith in the efficacy of politics as an instrument for social or economic betterment completely ignore the lesson of history, past and current, if they are familiar with it. Politics is merely the modus operandi of those who seek control of the power to tax the people. And they are not the politicians; they are the privileged group to whom the politicians are necessary for the continuance and extension of their lucrative privileges. The private collection of rent, the greatest of all privileges, is directly dependent on, and in proportion to, the collection of taxes. One could not exist without the other.

The marriage of politics and privilege is not a diabolical scheme carefully worked out by immoral men in secret conclave. It is a practice sanctified by time, hallowed by tradition, congealed in law, romanticized in the song and story of education. While immoral men may profit by it, men of the highest motives will defend it with argument and with their lives. Politicians are not consciously thieves; they are merely the product of the mores of their time. Pericles and Caesar were politicians; so are Hitler and Stalin.

Since the business (regardless of the motives) of politicians is to gain control of the power to tax the people, their success, where popular suffrage is the leverage, is dependent on the credulity of the people. Faith in the candidate is more precious than the understanding of principles. And where there is little understanding principles are decidedly dangerous.

Therefore, politics utilizes a propaganda technique for gaining faith in one's self, for destroying faith in one's opponent. Expounding of principles of government, economics or a social order may be indulged in only to the extent that the candidate believes the people understand or are ready to accept his theses. Sometimes this is done for the mere purpose of establishing a reputation for erudition and ability; always the principles expounded are sufficiently contradictory to appeal to groups of conflicting interests.

* * *

The whole case of those who are striving for a better social order, then, rests not on politics and politicians but on a wider understanding of the forces which determine social trends. Candidates will not talk over our heads. Indeed, they cannot, for they do not know any more than we do; they are molded by the mores.

But, must all the people be educated before the social order can be freed of privilege and of taxation and their attendant evils? Maybe. What difference does it make? If that is the job, that must be done. But there seems to be something in the theory of an educable vanguard—the intellectually curious who throughout the ages have attracted the more phlegmatic by their ideas and their sincerity. It may be that an educable vanguard—like the Prophets of Israel or the Apostles of Christ—is all that is needed. Perhaps only one per cent of the people can and will lead the rest.

* * *

The point is that politics and politicians offer no hope for deliverance from the chaotic and cancerous social order in which we live. Rather, unless and until the course to correct this condition gains common recognition, the condition will be perpetuated through politics by politicians.

In the meantime, we must endure candidates like Willkie and Roosevelt, campaigns like the present one, with a sanity-saving bit of humor: "Yer pays yer money and yer takes yer choice."

Fashion, Fugitive from Fallen Paris

IN NOT LIVING by bread alone, man must yield to woman as she seeks her satisfactions in other things than sustenance. For observation indicates that "what am I going to wear" is a greater feminine problem than "what am I going to eat."

This vexing problem, like all problems of material existence, must be solved in the market place. There the yearning for knowledge of what the neighbors will wear, the desire to be "in style" and yet "distinctive," the search for pleasingly different agreement and the hope for attractiveness finds answer. Every satisfaction demands a market.

This necessity is illustrated in the confusion created in the style field by the collapse of Paris. In that city had grown up a center to which the world of fashion for years had turned for guidance. Whether because Parisian coutouriers were gifted with greater creative ability or they had developed dexterity as a result of trade, the fact remains that faith in Paris had become a cardinal tenet in the cult of fashion. To its salons came annually the designers of the world for inspiration and guidance.

The privilege of copying the styles of Paris was sought and paid for. Techniques had been perfected for transmitting to home markets such important information as the prevailing length of dresses, the location of the waist line, the preferences in fabric and color, the vogue in buttons and trimmings. To show Parisian styles first became so valuable commercially that resort was had to sending photographs by radio.

Indeed, the Paris market so determined the trend that the greatest compliment of all—counterfeiting—was paid to it. Styles originating in sweat shops or on Fifth Avenue were often labelled "Parisian" to expedite their acceptance.

But Paris fell, and the preoccupation of its coutouriers is with more pressing problems than style. Besides, there cannot be a market place if no roads lead to it. Isolationism is the death of the market.

The world's dress business was in a turmoil. What shall be made? The arbiter no longer passed judgment, the oracle upon whose dictum the season had always depended for direction was dumb. Yet, milady must wear something. A market must be created.

A market is always created when there is a demand. In America, where the human urge to express desires has not yet been suppressed, the confusion was resolved by the ingenuity of the country's designers, manufacturers and distributors. Last month several prominent New York stores opened the season without the help of Paris.

Milady rushed to the "openings." Hers is the final decision. Will she accept the New York "creations," or, finding them wanting, will she disdainfully yet hopefully turn to another market—say Hollywood? The battle for the successor to Paris is on.

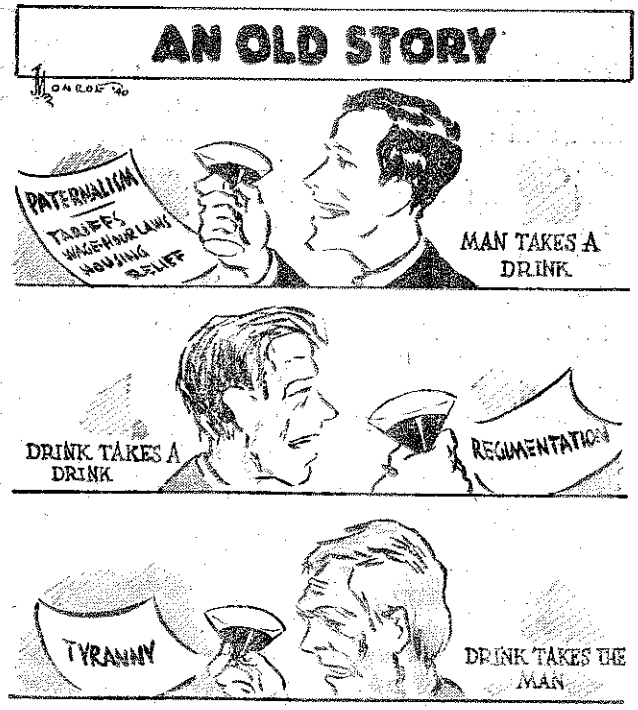
And it is all being done by the market technique—without Planning.

The Late, Expedient Mr. Trotsky

LEON TROTSKY DIED as he lived—by treachery, by chicanery, by murder. His tragic departure from this life reflected the pattern for living he followed all his years.

The outlines of this pattern are determined by expediency; the details are prescribd by politics; its purpose is to gain power. When it fails in its purpose, as it did with Trotsky, that pattern for living is in itself the cause for failure. No mundane power is invincible; no expedient is the last word in expediency.

It is true that Leon Trotsky, along with those



who consciously or unconsciously espouse the dogmas of Karl Marx, posited for his method an ultimate goal which he assumed to be ethical in character. But it is a goal avowedly political, and as such must always be without principle.

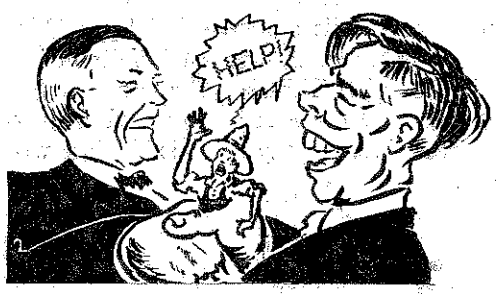
For the political is unavoidably an admixture of compromise; the political cannot accept any absolute as an inflexible guide for thought or action. "Sufficient unto the day thereof" is, and must be, the only consideration for political behavior. It is the guiding star of the State.

That such a pattern for living must lead to destruction and death is obvious. For every compromise favors some to the disadvantage of others, and resentment is the inevitable consequence. The resulting clash of interests may make for a realignment of power, but that in turn is the beginning of a new conflict. Struggle, confusion, unrest and decay are the stigmata of expedient life, individual or social.

That which is expedient, therefore, ultimately must be inexpedient. Unless some immediate advantage is the standard of success, that which is politic is in its nature doomed to failure. Leon Trotsky had to fail.

Bipartisan Protectionism

WHAT WE MAY EXPECT from our next administration in the way of economic thinking and tinkering is presaged in the past performances of our vice presidential candidates. Both Mr. Wallace and Mr. McNary are on record as proponents of ag-



ricultural protectionism, the differences in their methods for achieving it being as indistinguishable to the naked eye as the differences in their political liveries.

Protectionism as an economic policy embraces more than keeping out foreign competition. That is only one of its phases. Protectionism rests its case on the desirability of values rather than of production. The wealth of the community, according to this doctrine, is enhanced by a general rise of prices, not by an increase in the quantity of things which gratify desires. Indeed, the curtailment of production in order to increase price—that is, making the gratification of desires more difficult— is an essential component of this doctrine.

As values increase, by any artificial limitation of supply, those in possession of things are temporarily benefited. For they are enabled to demand more things, or, which is more important, more claims on things, from those whose only opportunity to obtain satisfactions is their power to labor. The community as a whole is not enriched; it is merely divided into the advantaged and the disadvantaged, into the exploiters and the exploited.

The doctrine assumes that this disparity is temporary, that as soon as equilibrium is established the price of labor, wages, will rise to the commodity level established by the controlled supply market. If that is true, what have we gained by the creation of false values? Are we richer because we handle more money? Do these fleeting chips fill our bellies or clothe our backs? And why superimpose on production the cost of political manipulation, the tribute to the parasitical tax-gatherer?

Rent, the price paid for the privilege of working, also rises when commodity values rise. The psychology of a rising market is to anticipate further rises, and since the available earth on which men must work is limited in quantity, land speculation necessarily follows in the wake of any advancing price tendency. The worker, therefore, finds himself the victim of a squeeze play: he pays more for the things he needs, he pays more for the privilege of working. Meanwhile, the ubiquitous tax-gatherer takes his toll of the diminishing wages.

Why, in the light of this obvious asininity, has protectionism its ardent advocates? Why have the respective schemes of our vice-presidential candidates

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for "improving the condition of the farmer" met with ready acceptance?

Mr. McNary's discarded "farm parity" panacea gives the answer more directly than does Mr. Wallace's "ever-normal granary" idiocy.

The protective tariff gives the manufacturing population, reasoned the Senator, a special privilege; the farmer should likewise be taken care of. Since we do not import agricultural products, and indeed have an exportable surplus every year, the farmer cannot use the tariff barrier to raise his prices. The only way to benefit him, then, is by a direct subsidy grant. The subsidy would come out of general taxation, and the farmer as a consumer would be paying a share of his own subsidy. However, farm revenue would be higher and the farmer would handle more money. That ought to make him a contented Republican.

This rejected scheme has a candidness which is lacking in the one operated by Secretary Wallace. It involved no social theory; it was not endowed with a holy purpose. It simply said: One group of citizens have a privilege which another cannot in the nature of things enjoy, and a direct hand-out is necessary to give parity in this matter of privilege. The Wallace bounty-for-not-producing device is in effect the same thing as McNary's Treasury hand-out, but it is sanctified with a polysyllabic economic doctrine and sprinkled with the zeal of a crusade.

Whichever of these two men preside over the next Senate, insofar as he influences economic legislation, we can expect the same general result. For both of them believe that in protectionism, in bigger and better priviliges, in higher prices and more taxes rests the prosperity of the people.

The Real Causes of the War

SINCE THE ADVENT OF HITLER 385,216 square miles of land have been added to the area under domination of German masters. The Stalin realm now includes three countries and parts of three others which before the war had different boundaries. Albania is now Mussolini-owned. Hungarian and Bulgarian politicians have altered the geographies of their countries to include land formerly called Rumanian. Britain is fighting to prevent a transfer of lands to the Axis Powers over which its flag flies.

This war, therefore, like all its predecessors, is over land. But land, as land, is valueless. In itself it yields no satisfactions. By itself it produces nothing that would warrant the spilling of a drop of blood, the expenditure of one bullet. Its possession does not, in itself, make for one thing that the possessor might crave. It is just land.

But, living and working on the land which Hitler has overrun are 93,300,000 people. By the exertion of effort on this land these people produce a lot of wealth. It is this production of labor that makes possession of the land they work on desirable. And since the land is essential to production, possession of the land is equivalent to possession of the production.

The acquisition of land has for its purpose only the power to compel the workers to give up what they produce on it. In ethics this would be called "robbery," because the right to retain what one produces is a basic ethical concept. In economics it is termed "exploitation." In politics it is venered with such cloudy phrases as "manifest destiny," "living room" and "imperialism."

The political techniques for depriving the worker of his produce are various and sometimes compli-

cated; but rid of their superficialities they reduce to taxes and the private collection of rent. So long as these two methods of confiscating labor products are accepted by the workers the struggle for the land on which they live and work will go on. In that sense, it is the people who make war on themselves.

People can be conquered; but they can be enslaved only by themselves. It is true that conquerors may condition the people—by laws, education and tradition—to an acceptance of the methods necessary to a slave society. For instance, the people of no country in the world recognizes the exploitive character of rent, the robbery of taxation.

Centuries of habit have so entrenched these iniquities that they are not recognized as such; they are so firmly accepted as a necessary condition of life

that the very sufferers are the first to resist any attempt to abolish these shackles. Only the people can enslave themselves.

This being so, the transfer of lands from one ownership to another cannot possibly alter the economic condition of the people. The methods of one dominating group may be more ruthless than those of another; the ideology or the religion of the conquerors may be contrary to the mental habits of the conquered; their language, their traditions, their cuisine may be as repulsive as they are strange. But conomically there is no change because there remains the system of taxation and rent-collection, to which the people have become inured by centuries of exploitation; the transition has been only in the personnel of the exploiters.

It is because the system of taxation and rent confiscation is universally accepted that the instrument of war to acquire land is universally practiced. No one would fight for land if the possession of it did not automatically involve the power to exploit the people thereon.

* * *

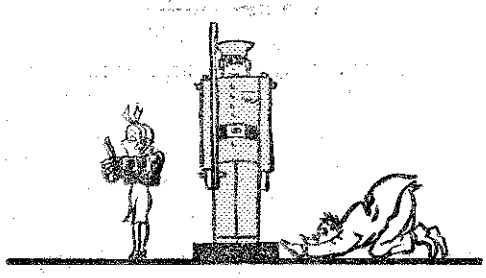
Two notes of explanation are required.

First, it must be remembered that the soldier is as oblivious of causes as are his people; therefore it never occurs to him that he is fighting for a continuation or extension of the exploitive system which occasioned the war, or that he might share in the spoils by obtaining possession of some of the conquered area.

Second, the Soviet nationalization of land merely makes landlords of the political group, and the collection of rent by them is as economically disastrous as the collection of rent by individuals under other political systems.

Conscription, New Pillar of the Status Quo

AND NOW we have Conscription. It takes its place alongside of Privilege, Protectionism and Land Monopoly in the seemingly impregnable cita-



del of Statism. Conscription will not fall before the onslaughts of Freedom in our time. Maybe it will not fall until the decaying civilization upon which the entire fortress rests finally crumbles. For Conscription, now integrated with the Status Quo, will be strongly supported by sycophants and by slaves.

The maw of a conscript army is big. Into it must be poured untold taxes—the pilfered products of labor. Vested interests will flock to this fattening plunder, will fight to perpetuate and to enlarge it. The scramble for army contracts will be the favorite pursuit of capital, and dispossessed labor will find in the "steady work" of munitions plants that security which their less fortunate, or less influential, brothers cannot find in an economy which spawns Conscription.

Politicians will multiply and thrive. To them obsequiously will come the contract seekers and the job hunters. Keenly will they evaluate the campaign contributions of the one, the vote-yielding potentiality of the other. Supply factories will be erected in politically strategical places, home town susceptibilities will be satisfied with the purchase of camp sites. Graft and corruption are the synonyms of politics.

But the real strength of Conscription will not be derived from these material forces. When Conscription becomes an integral part of the folkways of the people, when it is hallowed by tradition, invested with ritual, idealized in lyric and in literature, then indeed will it be entrenched. Inherent in Conscription is this process of spiritualization.

First, it must be remembered that in peacetime the soldier is apart from the community. He is accepted only in war, and then he is lionized. His personality emerges from obscurity only when he is engaged in the destructive occupation for which society has specifically prepared him. In the resulting adulation his ego is sublimated. Hero-worship is the psychological impulse to war, encouraged by the vested interests which profit on it, and it is the theme of all the chauvinism upon which the whole business nurtures.

And then there is the caste system necessary to army discipline. As the army grows in size—and the Conscript Army will involve, with its civilian supply appendages, the greater part of our virile male population—so grows the importance of the military caste system in our social order. First sons of first families will seek officerships, as a matter

of social prestige. Every male child in the country will hear the soldier song at his mother's breast; his toys will teach him idolatry of useless, wasteful, tinsel ritual. If he comes from the "right kind of people" he will be enrolled at birth in some Potsdam or St. Cyr ordained by legislation to graduate only "officers and gentlemen." Marriage to a uniform will become a social distinction sought after by the most desirable maidens; only the wall-flowers will go to young men who produce.

And so, supported by vested interests and entrenched in tradition, Conscription will become another permanent burden for labor to carry, another impediment in the path of freedom.

Permanent? Perhaps. The conscript army of Napoleon lasted from 1798 until demobilized by another conscript army in 1940.

A New Rape of China

A FORM OF EXPLOITATION developed in ancient times mainly by seafaring peoples is that now known as extra-territoriality; the recent evacuation of Shanghai by the British brings it to mind.

It was customary for strong maritime tribes or nations to demand through negotiation, or to take by force, the right to esconce itself in a coastal city of some prospering people. The landing party was strong enough to hold possession of the city, enforce payment of tribute and to ward off other marauders. Contact was maintained with the home government, whose laws and customs were transplanted.

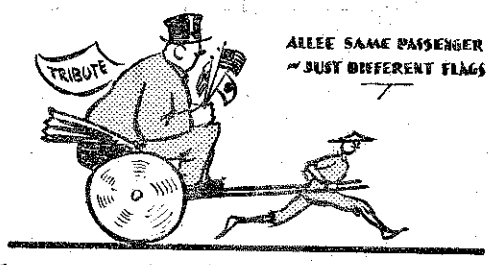
Provided they paid tribute and generally behaved themselves, the conquered peoples were allowed to follow their own ways. Agreements were sometimes entered into formally for the recognition of autonomous judicial, civil and economic conditions for the foreigners. Local authority could not interfere with these conditions. This was, and is, extra-territoriality.

Since the coastal city was invariably the market place for the hinterland, control of it gave the invaders power to collect tribute from the entire country, either through import or export levies, or levies imposed at the market place; that is, sales taxes. All the tribute was in the nature of rent, for it was payment for permission to do business in the city, and the city was vital to the economic life of the nation.

Revolts sometimes necessitated conquest of the hinterland. This was troublesome and expensive; it ncessitated calling for help from the home country and sharing the loot with the newcomers. Extra-territoriality, when it was peacefully accepted, was preferable. Dissatisfaction was often overcome by a division of authority and spoils with native chieftains.

The system sometimes lapsed as a result of such deals, sometimes because the invaders were cut off from their bases, sometimes by assimilation, sometimes by expulsion. Tribute collecting never disappeared.

Shanghai was one of the five ports in which extra-territoriality was imposed on the Chinese after the "Opium" war in 1842. China had opposed the importation of opium from India; Britain made war to force acceptance of this commodity, instead of the currency demanded by the Chinese, as payment for their tea, spices and silks. Britain obtained, among other things, title to some mud flats at the mouth of the Yangtse River.



The place was excellently located for shipping, and the 3,200-mile-long Yangtse drains a very fertile and densely populated area. The forced opening up of trade with the outside world necessitated a mart like the Shanghai that grew up on these mud flats. Extra-territoriality enabled the British interests which got control of Shanghai to collect tribute, partly through customs revenues but mainly through the modern technique of huge monopoly prices.

The graft was too lucrative not to attract other nationals of similar cupidity. And the British were persuaded by continual unrest among the natives to share the loot and the responsibility of maintaining order with the French, Americans and Japanese.

Last month the British were too busy at home to oppose the rapacity of the Japanese in Shanghai. They withdrew their forces. Twelve hundred United States Marines and a negligible French garrison are all that momentarily prevent Japan's exclusive monopoly of extra-territoriality in Shanghai.

If the Japanese can enforce such a monopoly, the nations will be worse off only because the Japanese are more crude in their exploitive technique.

Our Imperialist Deal with Britain

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has bought some protection with $25,000,000 worth of old destroyers. Maybe it was a good trade. From the point of view of a free economy, it seems very much like the "protection" which business men frequently find themselves impelled to purchase. Let's not cavil about the matter, although we ought to know how many millions in tax money it will take to build the protective equipment in the bases leased from Britain in the deal, how many more millions will be needed for maintenance.

When we have time to think, as we will whenever the national fear psychosis subsides, we might inquire whether our ninety-nine year leaseholds will turn into title deeds, and how. More important, if we ever should own these islands would the inhabitants fare better than those in our poverty-stricken Puerto Rico? Would these new lands also be transferred to rent-collectors? In other words, we ought to reflect on the social and economic effects of what might be a new American imperialistic venture. When we have time, when the present emergency is over, if we live that long.

Those who quibble about the legality or propriety of the purchase, or the price involved, are exceedingly limited in their understanding. They are dealing with an accident in a complex system. They are questioning an act which, under another form, is being consummated with due legality and age-old propriety every day in the week.

We have given England only $25,000,000 worth of obsolescent vessels—and have received something in return. But many times this piddling amount is being sent annually to England (and to Germany and other countries) for which there is not even the semblance of a quid pro quo. Every cent of rent which is exported from America in money or goods is a sheer gratuity from American workers to foreign landlords.

Through local taxation these landlords must contribute to the upkeep of their respective national military establishments. To the extent that this taxation takes from them the gratuities exported from America do American workers pay for their military establishments, and get nothing in return.

Indeed, it would be cheap if we traded our entire navy for ownership of the American lands which enable foreign landlords to collect tribute from us. With the rent from these lands a bigger and better navy could be built; we would cease contributing to foreign navies which might be used against us, and after the new navy was paid for, the rent could be used for social purposes.

The $25,000,000 worth of scrap iron we sent to England is so small an item in the gratuitous exportation of American labor products that it is silly even to think about it.

No Shirt, No Ticket in Chicago

FIFTEEN THOUSAND Chicago laundry workers—90% women, one third Negroes—have a union. This union is reported to have accumulated $90,000 in dues. In three years it has doubled the hourly wage scale of its members—when they are employed. Apparently they are not employed as much as they would like to be, not as much as they were before the scale was lifted. There doesn't seem to be enough washing done in Chicago.

Wage-scales and wages are different things. One results from agreements, the other from production. Laundry workers cannot sustain themselves on agreements. Production must be increased; Chicago women must be made more laundry-conscious. So the union leaders induced the Laundry Owners' Association to start an advertising campaign, toward which $10,000 of the accumulated dues was contributed.

Chicago women will read wistfully that "the home is no place to do the laundry." They will agree with the sentiment. They don't like washing; it reddens the hands.

But there are high wage scales to consider. To pay them means depriving one's self of a pair of stockings, one's children of an extra quart of milk.

It looks as if the Chicago women will refuse to meet the high wage scales—for the same reason that started them doing their own washing. Who pays wages, anyway?

To Abolish War Make Peace Profitable.

Introduction to Herbert Spencer's

The Man versus the State

By ALBERT JAY NOCK

This contribution is a reprint of Mr. Nock's Introduction to Herbert Spencer's "The Man Versus the State," a new edition of which was recently issued by the Caxton Press who granted The Freeman permission to reprint this material for the benefit of its readers.

In 1851 Herbert Spencer published a treatise called "Social Statics; or, The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified." Among other specifications, this work established and made clear the fundamental principle that society should be organized on the basis of voluntary cooperation, not on the basis of compulsory cooperation, or under the threat of it. In a word, it established the principle of individualism as against Statism—against the principle underlying all the collectivist doctrines which are everywhere dominant at the present time. It contemplated the reduction of State power over the individual to an absolute minimum, and the raising of social power to its maximum; as against the principle of Statism, which contemplates the precise opposite. Spencer maintained that the State's interventions upon the individual should be confined to punishing those crimes against person or property which are recognized as such by what the Scots philosopher called "the common sense of mankind"*; enforcing the obligations of contract; and making justice costless and easily accessible. Beyond this the State should not go; it should put no further coercive restraint upon the individual. . .

Spencer's work of 1851 is long out of print and out of currency; a copy of it is extremely hard to find. It should be republished, for it is to the philosophy of individualism what the work of the German idealist philosophers is to the doctrine of Statism, what Das Kapital is to Statist economic theory, or what the Pauline Epistles are to the theology of Protestantism.** It had no effect, or very little, on checking the riotous progress of Statism in England; still less in staying the calamitous consequences of that progress.

From 1851 down to his death at the end of the century, Spencer wrote occasional essays, partly as running comment on the acceleration of Statism's progress; partly as exposition, by force of illustration and example; and partly as remarkably accurate prophecy of what has since come to pass in consequence of the wholesale substitution of the principle of compulsory cooperation —the Statist principle—for the individualist principle of voluntary cooperation. He reissued four of these essays in 1884, under the title, "The Man Versus the State"; and these four essays, together with two others, called "Over-legislation" and "From Freedom to Bondage," are now reprinted under the same general title.

* These are what the law classifies as "malum in se," as distinguished from "malum prohibitum." Thus, murder, arson, robbery, assault, for example, are so classified; the "sense" or judgment of mankind is practically unanimous in regarding them as crimes. On the other hand, selling whiskey, possessing gold, and the planting of certain crops, are examples of "malum prohibitum," concerning which there is no such general agreement.

** In 1892 Spencer published a revision of "Social Statics," in which he made some minor changes, and for reasons of his own—reasons which have never been made clear or satisfactorily accounted for —he vacated one position which he held in 1851, and one which is most important to his general doctrine of individualism. It is needless to say that in abandoning a position, for any reason or for no reason, one is quite within one's rights; but it must also be observed that the abandonment of a position does not in itself affect the position's validity. It serves merely to raise the previous question whether the position is or is not valid. Galileo's disavowal of Copernican astronomy, for example, does no more, at most, than send one back to a re-examination of the Copernican system.

II.

The first essay, "The New Toryism," is of primary importance just now, because it shows the contrast between the aims and methods of early Liberalism and those of modern Liberalism. In these days we hear a great deal about Liberalism, Liberal principles and policies, in the conduct of our public life. All sorts and conditions of men put themselves forward on the public stage as Liberals; they call those who oppose them Tories, and get credit with the public thereby. In the public mind, Liberalism is a term of honour, while Toryism—especially "economic Toryism"—is a term of reproach. Needless to say, these terms are never examined; the self-styled Liberal is taken popularly at the face value of his pretensions, and policies which are put forth as Liberal are accepted in the same unreflecting way. . .

Spencer shows that the early Liberal was consistently for cutting down the State's coercive power over the citizen, wherever this was possible. He was for reducing to a minimum the number of points at which the State might make coercive interventions upon the individual. He was for steadily enlarging the margin of existence within which the citizen might pursue and regulate his own activities as he saw fit, free of State control or State supervision. Liberal policies and measures, as originally conceived, were such as reflected these aims. The Tory, on the other hand, was opposed to these aims, and his policies reflected this opposition. In general terms, the Liberal was consistently inclined towards the individualist philosophy of society, while the Tory was consistently inclined towards the Statist philosophy.

Spencer shows moreover that as a matter of practical policy the early Liberal proceeded towards the realization of his aims by the method of repeal. He was not for making new

laws, but for repealing old ones. It is most important to remember this. Wherever the Liberal saw a law which enhanced the State's coercive power over the citizen, he was for repealing it and leaving its place blank.

Spencer must be left to describe in his own words, as he does in the course of this essay, how in the latter half of the last century British Liberalism went over bodily to the philosophy of Statism, and abjuring the political method of repealing existent coercive measures, proceeded to outdo the Tories in constructing new coercive measures of ever-increasing particularity. This piece of British political history has great value for American readers, because it enables them to see how closely American Liberalism has followed the same course. It enables them to interpret correctly the significance of Liberalism's influence upon the direction of our public life in the last half-century, and to perceive just what it is to which that influence has led, just what the consequences are which that influence has tended to bring about, and just what are the further consequences which may be expected to ensue.

For example, Statism postulates the doctrine that the citizen has no rights which the State is bound to respect; the only rights he has are those which the State grants him, and which the State may attenuate or revoke at its own pleasure. This doctrine is fundamental; without its support, all the various nominal modes or forms of Statism which we see at large in Europe and America—such as are called Socialism, Communism, Naziism, Fascism, etc. —would collapse at once. The individualism which was professed by the early Liberals maintained the contrary; it maintained that the citizen has rights which are inviolable by the State or by any other agency. This was fundamental doctrine; without its support, obviously, every formulation of individualism becomes so much waste paper. Moreover, early Liberalism accepted it as not only fundamental, but also as axiomatic, self-evident. We may remember, for example, that our great charter, the Declaration of Independence takes as its foundation the self-evident truth of this doctrine, asserting that man, in virtue of his birth, is endowed with certain rights which are "unalienable"; and asserting further that it is "to secure these rights" that governments are instituted among men. Political literature will nowhere furnish a more explicit disavowal of the Statist philosophy than is to be found in the primary postulate of the Declaration.

But now, in which direction has latter-day American Liberalism tended? Has it tended towards an expanding **régime** of voluntary cooperation, or one of enforced cooperation? Have its efforts been directed consistently towards the devising and promotion of new ones? Has it tended steadily to enlarge or to reduce the margin of existence within which the individual may act as he pleases? Has it contemplated State intervention upon the citizen at an ever-increasing number of points, or at an ever-decreasing number? In short, has it consistently exhibited the philosophy of individualism or the philosophy of Statism?

There can be but one answer, and the facts supporting it are so notorious that multiplying examples would be a waste of space. To take but a single one from among the most conspicuous, Liberals worked hard—and successfully—to inject the principle of absolutism into the Constitution by means of the Income-tax Amendment. Under that Amendment it is competent for Congress not only to confiscate the citizen's last penny, but also to levy punitive taxation, discriminatory taxation, taxation for "the equalization of wealth," or for any other purpose it sees fit to promote. Hardly could a single measure be devised which would do more to clear the way for a purely Statist régime, than this which puts so formidable a mechanism in the hands of the State, and gives the State **carte blanche** for its employment against the citizen. . .

Considering their professions of Liberalism, it would be quite appropriate and by no means inurbane, to ask Mr. Roosevelt and his entourage whether they believe that the citizen has any rights which the State is bound to respect. Would they be willing—ex animo, that is, and not for electioneering purposes—to subscribe to the fundamental doctrine of the Declaration? One would be unfeignedly surprised if they were. Yet such an affirmation might go some way to clarify the distinction, if there actually be any, between the "totalitarian" Statism of certain European countries and the "democratic" Statism of Great Britain, France and the United States. It is commonly taken for granted that there is such a distinction, but those who assume this do not trouble themselves to show wherein the distinction consists; and to the disinterested observer the fact of its existence is, to say the least, not obvious. . .

III.

These essays following "The New Toryism" seem to require no special introduction or explanation. They are largely occupied with the various reasons why rapid social deterioration has ensued upon the progress of Statism, and why, unless that progress be checked, there must ensue a further steady deterioration ending in disintegration. All the American reader need do as he goes through these essays is to draw a continuous parallel with Statism's progress in the United States, and to remark at every page the force and accuracy of Spencer's forecast, as borne out by the unbroken sequence of events since his essays were written. The reader can see plainly what that sequence has run up to in England—a condition in which social power has been so far confiscated and converted into State power that there is now not enough of it left to pay the State's bills; and in which, by necessary consequence, the citizen is on a footing of complete and abject State-slavery. The reader will also perceive what he has no doubt already suspected, that this condition now existing in England is one for which there is apparently no help. Even a successful revolution, if such a thing were conceivable, against the military tyranny which is Statism's last expedient, would accomplish nothing. The people would be as thoroughly indoctrinated with Statism after the

revolution as they were before, and therefore the revolution would be no revolution, but a "coup d'Etat," by which the citizen would gain nothing but a mere change of oppressors. There have been many revolutions in the last twenty-five years, and this has been the sum of their history. They amount to no more than an impressive testimony to the great truth that there can be no right action except there be right thinking behind it. As long as the easy, attractive, superficial philosophy of Statism remains in control of the citizen's mind, no beneficent social change can be effected, whether by revolution or by any other means.

The reader may be left to construct for himself whatever conclusions he sees fit concerning conditions now prevailing in the United States, and to make what inferences he thinks reasonable concerning those to which they would naturally be leading. It seems highly probable that these essays will be of great help to him; greater help, perhaps, than any other single work that could be put before him.

THE DEBATE OF THE CENTURY

Two Great Advocactes of Individualism Come To Grips

"He not only eats his own words, denies his own perceptions, and endeavors to confuse the truth he once bore witness to . . . "—In these scornful words Henry George tore into his arch antagonist, Herbert Spencer, by many still considered the foremost intellect of th 19th cntury.

"Mr. Accountant Spencer" George called him, referring to Spencer's retreat from principle to the doubtful arguments afforded by "Spencerian bookkeeping" on behalf of landlords' rights. Spencer must have used some "sort of synthetic calcullus," wrote George, to arrive at such fantastic conclusions.

What was it that caused George to attack Spencer so unsparingly? Obviously, George was not interested in a purely personal attack, for his very basic ideas would rule out a policy of "purging" individuals as such. There must have been something fundamentally wrong—or even vicious—in Spencer's position to rouse the ire of Henry George to such a high pitch.

In 1851 Spencer published his "Social Statics" in which he set forth his unsquivocal belief in man's natural rights to the use of land. He made no reservations. He wrote with a straight forward logic. Let us quote a passage: "Equity does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of the earth's surface may be so held; and eventually the whole of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands."

Now it was this position, expressed with such force and so much logic—in greatly amplified form in "Social Statics"—which won George's endorsement. Indeed, the name of the author of "Progress and Poverty" and that of the author of "Social Statics became linked as comrades in a common cause. But Spencer, after giving to the world the inspiring doctrines of natural rights embodied in "Social Statics," busied himself developing his evolutionary philosophy and wrote only occasional essays on the subject of his early interest. These essays, published in 1884 as a volume entitled "The Man Versus the State," contained much of the basic doctrines of "Social Statics"—but with a difference.

The story of Spencer's vigorous assault on private monopoly of land and of his gradual distortion of the basic principles he advocated is told by George in his famous book "A Perplexed Philosopher." It is in these pages that George describes Spencer as trying "to shelter himself behind ifs and buts, perhapses and it-may-be's, and the implication of untruths."

George was fighting mad when he wrote these words. He made no attempt to conceal his disappointment. He takes Spencer at the philosopher's own words, quoting whole chapters from his writings, to prove the invulnerability of his basic logic—and the superficiality of his later qualifications. George was determined to offset by irrefutable truths the great prestige which accrued to Spencer's repudiation of his original defense of natural rights.

This was indeed the Debate of the Century—two giants of intellect, two great protagonists of social betterment pitted against each other in a combat that scintillated with sparks of genius meeting genius. It is a debate with which every Georgist should be familiar—one from which every Georgist can learn the pitfalls of careless thinking, of resort to compromise and expediency in the advocacy of principles. In these two books the debate is presented—"The Man Versus The State" and "A Perplexed Philosopher"—in the fascinating struggle of two superlative intellects, both masters with the written word.

Guarding the World's Greatest Treasure

By MICHAEL J. BERNSTEIN

Socialism and voluntary cooperation are not the synonyms some superficial readers of Henry George take them to be. "Stripped of its emotional content and reduced to the simplest economic terms, socialism has always meant merely **government ownership (and control) of the means of production** . . . The rest is poetry and propaganda. The question of **distribution** has always been considered a secondary matter by the various socialists after the first and most important task of socialization had been carried out." This is not the opinion of Georgists and capitalists only—it is a statement by one of the best-informed living students of the collectivist movement, Max Nomad. And despite the glowing pictures they paint of the contemporary Soviet **paradise,** it is the belief of the Lamonts, the Webbs, the Stracheys, and the rest of the semi-official Stalinist publicity men.

Socialists have always believed that once all the means of production (land and capital) had been socialized, the representatives of the new state, out of their deep benevolence, would manage somehow to arrange a satisfactory scheme of distribution; just how, was a question which was contemptuously dismissed with that retort so crushing to the timid—"Do you want me to give you a blue-print of the future?"

Henry George has been classified by the undiscerning as a communist, socialist, agrarian socialist and perhaps every other variety of collectivist. Despite isolated utterances about the necessity for the socialization of certain natural monopolies, an intelligent reading of George's books indicates conclusively that he believed in the automatic operations of the free market. Commerce and trade, (so repugnent to the socialist), were the natural activities of peaceful and progressive men. The widest competition, (the anathema of the collectivists) based on equal natural opportunities for all was to him not merely the surest symptom of economic health but the primary factor in the growth of civilization, the cause for the elimination of violence. Examples of this point-of-view fill every one of his books—they are so numerous that quotation is surely unnecessary.

But let it not be thought that because Henry George advocated state ownership and operation of certain monopolies, he was not aware of the repulsiveness of the planned society envisioned by socialists of every variety. In his last book, uncompleted because of his untimely death, George wrote these prophetic words:—

"We sometimes hear of 'scientific socialism' as something to be established, as it were, by proclamation, or by act of government. In this there is a tendency to confuse the idea of science with that of something purely conventional or political, a scheme or proposal, not a science. For science, as previously explained, is concerned with natural laws, not with the proposal of man —with relations which always have existed and always must exist. Socialism takes no account of natural laws, neither seeking them or striving to be governed by them. It is an art or conventional scheme like any other scheme in politics or government, while political economy is an exposition of certain invariable laws of human nature. **The proposal which socialism makes is that the collectivity or state shall assume** the management of all means of production including land, capital, and man himself (see Nomad's definition, supra; M. J. B.); do away with all competition, and convert mankind into two classes, the directors, taking their orders from government and acting by governmental authority, and the workers, for whom everything shall be provided, including the directors themselves. It is a proposal to bring back mankind to the socialism of Peru (men organized on the lines of an insect colony—M. J. B.), but without reliance on divine will or power. Modern socialism is in fact without religion, and its tendency is atheistic. It is more destitute of any central and guiding principle than any philosophy I know of. Mankind is here; how it does not state; and must proceed to make a world for itself, as disorderly as that which Alice in Wonderland confronted. It has no system of individual rights whereby it can define the extent to which the individual is entitled to liberty or to which the state may go on restraining it. And so long as no individual has any principle of guidance it is impossible that society itself should have any. How such a conbination could be called a science, and how it should get a following, can be accounted for only by the 'fatal facility of writing without thinking,' which the learned German ability of studying details without any leading principle permits to pass (this is directed at Karl Marx—M. J. B.), and by the number of places which such a bureaucratic organization would provide" (pp. 157-158, British edition, The Science of Political Economy).

Socialism, however, was not the immediate threat for George's time that it is for ours. And hence, he devoted little time or space to combating it. Like all genuine liberals of his period he was concerned to free competition, preserve and multiply private property (in labor-products), strengthen individual initiative, and widen the market to the four corners of the earth. But unlike his contemporaries who sought to fight an abstraction called "monopoly" by adding to the powers of the State, George, realizing that the State itself is the source of all monopoly, struck at precisely those privileges whose Statist origin was most difficult to perceive and whose importance was primary—private land ownership, patents, and tariffs. Their elimination would

achieve the ends for which he strove, and the failure to eliminate them is the cause of the sorry mess in which the world finds itself today.

Socialism continued to grow after George's death, attracting by its slogans and emotional appeals a growing following to whom the restrained analysis of "Progress and Poverty" was incomprehensible. "The system of private enterprise has defects—let us scrap the system and replace it with its antithesis." Such was the reasoning of the collectivists. To remedy the abuses by means of George's proposals was much too rational. It is far easier to kill than to cure. The old truism that you cannot argue against the use of a thing from its abuse was disregarded. And so at the beginning of the 20th century, the eminent Australian Georgist, Max Hirsch, alarmed by the growth of collectivist sentiment, expanded George's attack on socialism into a full length book, "Democracy versus Socialism." Here is the hideous reality of present-day Russia, down to the last obscene detail, described 20 years before the Soviet Union was born. Here is prophetic analysis, which makes the political and economic prognostications of the socialists seem wholly impassioned, and occasionally lucky guess-work. A complete understanding of these two books is the indispensable equipment of every Georgist. "Progress and Poverty" provides the basic means (and its justification) for the creation of an equitable society; "Democracy versus Socialism," the critical weapon which destroys forever the false claims of the collectivists.

One more word perhaps would be appropriate in referring to George's own belief that certain natural monopolies would best be owned and operated by the State itself. The railroads for example, in his time, were masters of life and death over industry, commerce and agriculture. No other method of transportation had been evolved which could compete with them. So naturally, George mentioned the necessity for their socialization. He did not foresee the competition that air, water and motor now provide. The same is true of all that we call public utilities today. Collection of economic rent and private operation are not only feasible in our day, but the sole guarantee against the aggrandisement of the powers and activities of government.

In conclusion, I would like to refer to Henry George's conception of voluntary cooperation in relation to his fear of the growing power of large concentrations of capital. In a world where private ownership of land prevails, the possession of large capital accumulations (usually acquired through previous land-owning or other monopoly privilege) gives an advantage over those who have nothing save their ability or power to labor. But the possession of this advantage is not the result of capital accumulations as such—it is the direct consequence of capital accumulations in a world of private landed property. Were the entire economic rent of land collected by society and all other forms of State-granted privilege and monopoly eliminated, fortunes in capital goods, in things, factories, machines, etc., no matter how large, would be incapable of exploiting those who live by the sale of their labor. George knew this, and pointed out that in a free economic society where every form of production was free to be engaged in by all, even those industries requiring large capital investments and maintenance would be entered and reduced to a common competitive level. The means to achieve this was voluntary cooperation—the free association of individuals for a common purpose, bound only by their contractual relations. Such cooperation, for Henry George, represented the highest form of social development. And he never erred by supposing that this type of association bore the slightest resemblance to the State-coerced teamwork of the socialist slave-society. This is obvious from the foregoing quotation.

Henry George acknowledged that "the ideal of socialism is grand and noble, and it is, I am convinced, possible of realization." With this, all men of good-will must agree. But the ideal can be attained only through the free and voluntary, choices of intelligent, responsible free men, and never through the coercive power of the State. It is here that the fundamental cleavage between Georgists and Socialists appears—and Henry George, despite passages in his writings which may sound collectivistic, recognized this basic distinction. Never a socialist, he embodied in his career the flowering of the liberal tradition, the tradition which so zealously guards the world's greatest treasure—the individual.

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The Scientific Attitude

Why war, politics, and diplomacy should be treated with gloves on, I have never been able to understand! Suppose scientists went to work as the "my-country-right-or-wrong" folk go about things! What would happen to a musician in scoring an opera, if he took liberties with the gamut of an instrument or the canons of the game? Why should a rigorous law be laid down in physics, chemistry, music and the arts generally, and uninformed, emotional—indeed hysterical—people delude themselves as to the cause of a war which destroys their sons and brings penury to the loyal supporters of the government?—Francis Neilson.

To Prevent War

"That nation which solves its economic problem first will be the first to escape wars; for its prosperous and happy people will be the best customers of its neighbours, and who would attack their best customers? The instinctive 'selfishness' in men could then be relied upon to prevent war. That fear of want and sense of indignation against injustice, which accounts largely for the psychological state producing strife and war, could be dispelled by giving every worker the full product of his labor and every genuine capitalist his interest."

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

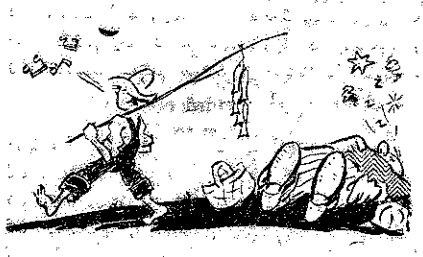
Society Cannot Live By Robbery

By HARRY GUNNISON BROWN

No society has completely eliminated exploitation or parasitism even in its cruder and most generally recognized forms. Highway robbery certainly is not unknown in the modern "civilized" world. Burglary continues to be practiced. So does the picking of pockets. But at least all of these are generally and violently reprobated. Other forms of exploitation, such as monopoly, unfair competition, the gaining of subsidies and tariff favors at the expense of the people through influencing government, etc., are certainly similar in their fundamental nature, although the devious windings involved in some of them may bring it about that their exploitive character is less clearly and generally recognized.

Entire tribes and nations of men have accepted extreme and essentially unreasonable theories of obligation to exploiters, and many millions of human beings have learned to submit humbly to the lot of the exploited. And yet the connection between effort and the satisfaction of needs and desires seems so clear, at any rate in the more simple economies, that we must believe any human being of normal mind to be capable of recognizing it.

And thus, though men may become accustomed to submit to certain forms of exploitation as "right," it would seem that, **a priori** at least, the minds of most of them naturally and inevitably react with resentment when that which is clearly the result of their effort is taken from them by others. The man who has hunted or fished all day that he and his may have meat for their evening meal, is likely to experience more bitter resentment if another, who has avoided this effort through the heat of the day, takes his catch from him at sunset, than if this product of his effort had come to him without labor or thought on his part. Likewise, the man who has spent many weeks preparing the ground, planting it, weeding it and then getting the produce it yields, will probably feel much more resentment



if the reward of all this labor is taken from him than he would feel to have the same provisions taken from him had they been dropped into his home by unseen powers and with no labor or planning of his own. And similarly if one has spun and woven cloth and made clothing for protection against the cold of winter or has made bowls and plates from which to eat or beds in which to sleep or has built walls and a roof to shelter him against winds and rain.

Is it not probable that considerations such as these are at the basis of the claim that the "right" to the product of one's own labor is a "natural" right? **It is indeed natural, under the actual circumstances of life and with human minds what they are, that there should be a definite tendency to recognize the material result of an individual's productive effort as something to which he has a rather special and justifiable claim.** And so it seems not unreasonable to conclude that a society which recognizes the principle that the laborer is, in general, entitled to the product of his labor, will have a greater degree of cohesion than a society in which that principle is completely repudiated.

It is true that modern economic society is complex. The use of money and bank credit, the rise and fall of price levels, the processes of large scale production with the hiring of labor for manifold specialized tasks, the subtle forms which monopoly may sometimes take, the variety of methods of unfair competition, etc., may make the connection between a person's labor and the product of it far less obvious than it would be in a more primitive society.

The connection is still obvious enough, however, to any one at all given to serious reflection; and it is still probably true that the welfare—and the cohesion and strength—of any society is best furthered by a system of distribution or sharing that apportions rewards in at least some sort of relation to productive contribution.

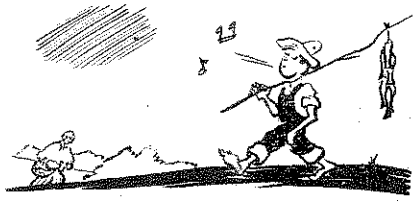
The connection between work and saving on the one hand and the extra return yielded by capital over what work alone would yield, on the other hand, is, apparently, not quite so obvious. For communists and socialists seem able to convince themselves that no individual as such is fairly entitled to a return on capital; and this *conviction* presumably grows out of their view that all value is produced by labor. Yet men do reason beyond the simple and the obvious. And the conclusion that saving, with investment of the savings in capital construction, is a real contribution to the productive process, **is but a logical extension** of the conclusion that labor is such a contribution.

Under the circumstances, then, we may reasonably expect that those who have saved and who have even the vaguest idea of the necessity of saving for capital construction and of the advantage of capital to industry, will easily and naturally feel themselves entitled to receive interest on their capital and that, at any rate with the more understanding, something of the same resentment will be felt when others take from them what their capital yields as when others rob them of the direct product of their labor.

It is true that the habit of confusing land with capital is still wide-

spread and that the writings of some professional economists, even, contribute to the confusion. But there have been many men, since economics began, and there are now an increasing number, who recognize that land and capital are not at all the same and that the private enjoyment of land rent cannot be justified on any basis of stimulus to efficiency and thrift, or of general well being, or of social cohesion, or of survival of the group, as can the private enjoyment of interest on capital and wages of labor. To socialize the annual rental value of land would make the people of a nation more prosperous and happy in peace, and it would make them more formidable in war—if war there must be. The economic waste of land speculation would be done away with. Revenues which now go to private individuals for no service in return, would be available to the public. The citizens of such a nation could not—unless utterly uncomprehending—be other than enthusiastic about their system and anxious to retain and extend it. And in enemy states where the system was beginning to be understood but whose dominant classes were determined not to adopt it, there would be grave risk of divided counsels and of lack of enthusiasm in its defense.

Sometimes, indeed, the military defeat of a nation the majority of whose people are exploited by a privileged few, if the defeat does not bring serious subjection to alien exploiters, may help to relieve the common folk of the defeated nation from their economic subservience.



For such defeat may destroy the prestige of the ruling caste, diminish the respect or the fear in which it is held, and so make possible a disruption of relationships that had come to seem eternal.

Unless, however, there is widespread understanding of economic facts and forces, including widespread ability to recognize as such the various forms and devices of exploitation, any reform is likely to be only temporary. Even if the old caste of parasites fails to regain its position, there will arise new exploiters who may be no less hard to suffer than the old.

But it is a chief function of The Henry George School of Social Science to aid in spreading such economic understanding as widely as possible. And it may be that upon the work of this School—more than upon any other institution or persons—depends the chance of the continuance of a system of free industry.

Concluded from Last Month:

Mutiny on the Manor

By RAYMOND E. CRIST

Many men of the Hudson valley fought valiantly against the British in the War of the Revolution because they believed that once the Revolution was won, not only would the feudal system of the patroonships be abolished by a new democratic government but that the large estates formerly owned by the Tories would be confiscated and divided up into small farms for independent farmers. They were tired of paying toll to the manor lord for the privilege of working manor lands—a tribute due the lord only because an ancestor had been lucky enough to be first on the river land. And by May, 1775, two hundred and twenty-five Hudson River men signed their names to a sheepskin parchment on which it had been written that they were resolved "never to become slaves," and that they would not consent to be ruled save by themselves. They were ready to fight valiantly for their riverside land and their liberty, and this they did under George Clinton, a burly country lawyer, son of a farmer. He lived on a hill farm and knew what he was fighting for, and the other farmers knew he could be trusted.

At the end of the war these farmers were exultant. There were thousands of acres along the Hudson that had belonged to the Tories and these were to be divided up. But the men of small means did not get the slices of Tory land they had expected. Land speculators fell upon the confiscated properties like vutures upon carrion, and even the landed families who had favored independence did not hesitate to grab what they could of the estates stripped from those who had sympathized with the British. The Livingstons, the Gouverneurs, the Roosevelts and the Beekmans managed to get the bulk of the James De Lancey estate into their possession; with this substantial economic backing these families were able to play an important role in the social, political and business life of the new republic.

But the condition of the farmers remained much the same. On the hundreds of thousands of acres of the Van Rensselaer Grant, on the Livingston Manor the farmers still lived on land first taken on perpetual lease by their ancestors. If they sold that land they were bound to pay a quarter of the price to the manor lord who had forced them into feudal servitude, which consisted not only of sharing crops with the proprietor, but of rendering menial service to him as well. The feudal barons refused to sell their

lands because they could live very comfortably on the poultry and crops due them annually, and their operating costs were low because of the days of labor each tenant must render them. There was no use to point out that the American Revolution had been fought to free men from just such tyranny; the manor lords, or their agents, replied blandly that the Livingstones and the Van Rensselaers were heroes of the American Revolution, and would continue to have officers of the law of the land collect rents from farmers in arrears.

The last act in the great drama to abolish feudalism in the Hudson Valley was a most exciting one. In 1844, Dr. Smith Boughton moved into Columbia county from Rensselaer county, and in a short time it was rumored that the young physician's calls on his neighbors were not merely professional. He was said to be telling the tenants that the titles to the vast land grants were not secure and that he planned to discredit these titles in the courts. He began organizing the farmers who flocked to his standard, and he dressed them in long calico skirts. He harangued them wherever possible: "Down with the rent! The manor lords have taken from us and our fathers in rents many times what our land is worth. Do not pay these robbers who refuse honest citizens the right to own their own homes." The men became known as the "Calico Indians."

There was trouble when Sheriff Henry Miller was about to auction the farms of Steve Decker and Abe Vosburgh, who had gotten behind in paying their annual tribute of chickens and wheat to the Van Rensselaers. The Calico Indians appeared, took the papers from the sheriff at the point of a gun and threw them into the flames of a blazing tar barrel to the wild shouts of a large crowd of tenants. But a few days later Dr. Boughton was arrested and lodged in the jail in Hudson. The inhabitants of the town were nervously tense. Troops were called out, and soon the inns were packed with militia. But there was no bloodshed. Boughton was tried in March, but since not enough witnesses could be found to swear that he was chief of the Calico Indians, the jury disagreed, and the defendant was out on bail in July. He was to be given a new trial in September, 1845.

Feeling grew bitter during the summer; the courthouse was crowded when the new trial began on September 3. In his opening address, Judge John W. Edmonds denounced in the severest terms the lawbreakers who had taken part in the violent outbreaks against the manor lords. Nevertheless, said the Judge, he had frequently noted that the men who owned their own land seemed to be superior in intelligence, morals and industry to those men who held leases from the manor lords. But violence would be of no avail, nor could they expect the legislature to pass laws impairing the obligations of contracts. Only public opinion and a sense of justice might bring about an amicable settlement of their grievances. But the farmers complained that they had waited for more than a hundred years for public opinion and a sense of justice to do something.

It took two weeks to complete a jury. Desperately the defense tried to get at least one south-county down-renter" accepted, but in vain. Once the jury was completed, John Van Buren, attorney general of the state, turned eight hours of oratory upon them. Counsel Jordan, knowing that he was fighting a losing battle against the great manor lords, against a prejudiced court, and against the letter of the law itself, made the speech of his life—full of disillusions and bitterness. Judge Edmond's charge to the jury ended at eight in the evening and the jury retired.

All that night the roads leading to Hudson were choked with wagons as the down-rent farmers rode to town with hope in their hearts, and in the morning they stood in a great crowd about the courthouse. At last there was the sound of a bell, which signified that the jury had agreed. The Judge returned to the courtroom. The prisoner, when asked if he had anything to say why sentence of the law should not be pronounced upon him, replied simply that he had never done anything forbidden by the country's institutions as he understood them. The Judge then said that the prisoner had been convicted of the crime of high treason — armed rebellion against a lawful government. He had come as a volunteer agitator into the county, where the tenantry had been quiet, orderly, and law-abiding. He had been the first to introduce disguise for the purpose of evading the law. "In imitation of your example, peaceable inhabitants have been driven from their homes at night. Houses have been torn down, farms laid waste, the law forcibly resisted, and the officers of justice fired upon and wounded while in the discharge of their official duty.

"The sentence of the court is that you be confined in the state prison in the county of Clinton at hard labor, for the term of your natural life."

The down-rent farmers fully realized once more that they had lost in the century-old struggle with the up-rent manor lords. The best leader the farmers had ever had was taken away. In the heart of a free land a man might not own a home without paying tribute. Feudalism and crop-sharing still held sway in the up-river counties. The institution seemed to be proving that man was made for it. But institutions grow out of the ideas of men. Men change. So do their ideas, ideologies, and institutions.

But would feudalism cling permanently to the banks of the Hudson? Public opinion may become a powerful weapon, and even a century ago the means of influencing it were many. One of the most spectacular mediums in this process was the showboat. When the trial of Dr. Boughton already had the people of the Hudson valley seething with rage, the owners of the showboat, "Temple of the Muses," pulled a play out of their repertoire called "The Rent Day." Although the author, Douglas Jerrold, portrayed the terrible condition of the English peasantry, the audience at once visualized the debt-ridden tenantry along the Hudson. Hence the showing of "The Rent Day" did for the

conditions along the Hudson what "Tobacco Road" did almost a century later for conditions among the hill people of Georgia. The hero was an honest farmer whom the landlord's agent swindled and bullied. Thousands of farmers and farmers' sympathizers identified themselves with the hero in his sad plight. The manor lords of the Hudson did not greet with enthusiasm the climax of the play, when the landlord released his tenant from further rents:

"This farm has, I hear, been in your family for sixty years. May it remain so while the country stands! Tomorrow shall give you a freeholder's right to it."

The enthusiastic applause from the audience was a broad hint that similar action on the part of the Hudson valley landlords would be greeted with even heartier response by their poverty stricken tenants.

The down-rent farmers did not know that their defeat represented by the imprisonment of Dr. Boughton was in reality a victory. The doctor, as he entered Clinton Prison, had claimed that he represented "two hundred thousand honorable men." And these, with hundreds of thousands more, at the next year's election swept John Youngs into the governor's chair. As a result the pardon of Boughton and other imprisoned down-rent rioters was obtained, and the state constitution of 1846 was adopted, which finally did away with feudalism in the Hudson Valley. Thus a major change was effected without benefit of revolution. Democracy was proving that it could work. And though the people of the Franklin Community and the Vegetarian Colony, the Owenites, and the Jews in the refuge of Sholam, all saw their utopian democracies on the Hudson fail of survival, democracy itself was proving that it was resilient and long-lived.

I speak the pass-word primeval, I give the sign of democracy,
By God! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms.

Walt Whitman,
"Song of Myself"

The Landlord's Eternal Life

Some weeks ago the Duke of Bedford, as all men must, passed away. He was a good man and a good landlord. He was president of the Zoological Society of London, he financed many scientific expeditions, promoted cancer research, wrote a book on natural history, and was very charitable indeed.

The Duke's indulgence of his social conscience was made possible by his inheritance of an estate which dates back to the reign of Henry VIII. This wife-murdering monarch took a liking to a Jack Russell, called him Lord Russell, and, what is of continuing economic importance, bestowed on him immense tracts of land. Much of this land was confiscated from the Catholic Church in 1540; certain lands used by the abbotts of Westminster as burial grounds were likewise peremptorily deeded to the king's favorite. The present very valuable piece of London's surface known as Covent (corruption of "Convent") Garden was part of this grant.

Edward VI invented the title of Earl of Bedford, and Charles II made the fifth earl a duke. All of which is immaterial; without the vast estates the late Duke of Bedford would have been just a Russell. Science, alas, might have lost a great benefactor.

Among the lands handed down by Jack to the ensuing dukes was a parcel of about nineteen acres in the heart of London. Twenty-six streets wound through this area, many with names commemorating the Russell family history. Covent Garden Market is included, and from every basket of produce that was bought or sold in it the Duke received a toll; the total of this poundage theft was $125,000 annually. Rents from the vicinity doubled his income. These rents were a drain on such enterprises as the Royal Covent Garden Opera House, Drury Lane Theatre, Waldorf Hotel, Aldwych and Strand Theaters, Bow Street Police Court. That was before 1913, when the Duke sold for seventeen and a half million dollars this privilege of collecting rent on the land. He still had 41,596 acres to use for a similar purpose.

The Duke was smart. (Also he was a good soldier, a pillar of the Church and a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire.) He built modern cottages for his tenants, he subsidized a swimming pool for their enjoyment and distributed tons of venison among them at Christmas tide. Thus he gained the loyalty of his rent-contributors, who cheered His Grace's independence of character when he refused to furnish to the London County Council an accounting of his rents from Covent Garden.

Yes, he was a great landlord and a good man. His tenants will miss him. But, maybe not so much. For he was wise enough to leave a son to carry on the noble tradition of rent-collecting. "My landlord is dead—long live the landlord."

Which calls to mind, in view of Britain's present difficulties, a remark made by Richard R. Stokes, M.P., at a recent session of the Parliament, about "this is the land we are fighting for."

LANCASTER M. GREENE

The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

FRANK CHODOROV
Editor

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C. O. Steele John Lawrence Monroe
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The Freeman does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed in signed or initialed contributions or statements in news reports, assuring the widest freedom of expression to its writers. Contributions consistent with the policy of The Freeman are welcomed; no payment is made, for the writers contribute their services as a living endowment to the cause for which The Freeman stands.

The Book Trail

SIDNEY J. ABELSON

Not poets and philosophers alone, but also college teachers of economics are the "true legislators of mankind." At least that is the case in this country. The permanently sitting, though emergency convened PH.D. conclave in Washington is striking proof.

The world used to laugh at the "impractical" theories of the professors. The joke now is that the same theories, though still impractical, are being "practically" applied. But the point has been reached where the joke is no longer a laughing matter, paradoxical as that may seem.

Ten years ago no one would have taken seriously the prophecy that the time was coming when professorial economists would be called upon to tell politicians how to run the country. Hence what was being taught and believed in the colleges was really a question of no particular moment. That is, of no particular moment to anybody except the Socialists.* These latter, however, were busy brightening up the dull lives of the professors with a curious mixture of humanitarianism, historical methodology, metaphysics and "scientific" dialectics which passes for a system of economics under the name Marxism.

I do not mean to say that to the last man every college teacher of economics succumbed to the blandishments of Marxist ideology; but I do mean to say that to the last man the force of the persistence and the dogmatism of the Marxists made itself felt and threw economic thinking off balance. What a different world this might have been if at the turn of the century the doctrines of Henry George instead of those of Karl Marx supplied the leading opposition to reaction and conservatism in social thought.

The usual "capitalist" economists have no cohesive body of principles to offset the prestige of a socialist "system." No two agree on any substantial number of points, fundamental or otherwise, and for the most part their writings are a floundering from one superficial guess to another. As often as not they base would-be profound conclusions on purely ephemeral business experiences.

It is quite a relief in these circumstances to consider such a textbook as **Economics** by Fred Rogers Fairchild, Edgar Stevenson Furniss and Norman Sydney Buck, all of the Yale University Faculty. (The Macmillan Co. $3.00.) These authors, more than any others I have had occasion to review recently seem to write with a consciousness of basic principles. That they do not hew to this line in every instance is another matter; yet the search, and such it seems to be in these pages, for fundamental guidance has its effect.

The authors make an intelligent, easily understood and accurate distinction between economic rent and other forms of income. "A service," they conclude, "is rendered in exchange for economic rent, but it is rendered by nature, not by the rent receiver." It is unfortunate that they fail to see the full implications of this fact, especially so since their grasp of the role played by economic rent is emphasized by stressing the point that prices determine rent and not rent prices, with the implication, of course, that rent therefore is a self-liquidating cost of production.

I dislike their employing the term "condemned" with reference to economic rent as an unearned increment. One does not "condemn" the laws of chemistry, though such laws may be bemoaned for one reason or another. Likewise, no economist of importance has "condemned" economic rent, though many have condemned its private appropriation.

I dislike also the slight reference to the single tax and iteration of the implication that rent is considered reprehensible by single taxers—"condemnation of rent" is the expression here used. In this section, also, brief to a fault, is an implied suggestion of a relationship in doctrine between socialism and the single tax.

But **Economics** has its virtues, and in abundance. The section on "Nationalism and the Protective Tariff" leaves little to be desired in its conclusion, from which I quote: "Analysis of the arguments for and against protection thus appears to demonstrate that industrial self-sufficiency secured by means of the protective tariff, so far from enhancing the national welfare, is a cause of economic loss. . . . Protection is an economic burden, a cause of loss to the people of the nation which employs it. The economic advantage is all on the side of freedom of international trade."

The closing chapters on "Socialism and Communism" and "Fascism. Judgment of Radical Reform" are masterpieces of impartiality, simplicity and comprehensiveness (considering the space available). It is unfortunate that they are buried in a textbook where few non-students will ever have opportunity to read them. I think the publishers would do well to reissue these fifty-odd pages in pamphlet form.

The spirit of this book is more in the direction of establishing economics on a scientific basis and more likely to command respect for the subject that the great majority of works offered for classroom use. Perhaps it will serve as the starting point for the rebirth in the schools of a belief in a free economy. Certainly the material on "Industrial Nationalism and the Protective Tariff," provides student and teacher with adequate priming.

However, to keep the record straight I must add a criticism or two to those expressed above: I deplore the authors' tendency toward terminological complexity ("explicit rent," "implicit rent," etc.); also, their description of nature as "niggardly" (throwing the burden of poverty on forces beyond our control whereas the burden is one entirely within the powers of man to solve); and finally, lack of space forcing a foreshortening of my list, the quite serious sin of omission, namely a complete neglect of the doctrines of Henry George, at least, by name.

Books in Brief

ABC of Cooperatives: A Handbook for Consumers and Producers. By Gerald Richardson. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.00.

"Cooperation is the simplest thing in the world to understand." With that conviction in mind the author of this volume sets forth the essentials of the cooperative idea in simple language and in a well-organized and comprehensive presentation. He covers not only historical aspects of the movement in Scandinavia, Great Britain, the United States, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, but also practical instruction for operating consumers' and producers' organizations, and even includes an appendix containing model by-laws for cooperatives.

* * *

Monetary Proposals for Social Reform. By Margaret G. Myers. Columbia University Press. $2.25.

An outline history and critical examination of the Silvio Gesell (Stamped Money), Frederick Soddy (100 Percent Reserve) and Clifford Hugh Douglas (Social Credit) plans for economic rehabilitation.

* * *

Freedom of Thought in the Old South. By Clement Eaton. Duke University Press. $3.00.

A scholarly examination of the forces of intolerance which shaped the pre-Civil War South. Spanning the years 1790 to 1860 this volume covers the South's record of liberty and intolerance in every important field—the courts, the press, educational institutions, etc.

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*And of course to the public utility magnates who, however, eschewed any pretense of seeking fundamental doctrines and played their game straight. These sought to undermine all opposition to their special privileges and they backed up their efforts with enormous slush funds, buying out a number of teachers and publishers so that the texts used in many schools would be properly deferential to the interests of the magnates. In spite of their power their efforts were comparatively shortlived, thanks to ensuing scandals on the one hand and on the other, the increasing prestige gratuitously lent to socialistic ideas by domestic and international events.

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

Edited by VIRGINIA M. LEWIS

New York Faculty Dinner Heralds Record Enrollment; New Facilities and Activities at Headquarters

NEW YORK—The need for propagating the Georgist doctrines of a free economy despite world-wide emotionalism caused by war conditions was the keynote of the address given by Frank Chodorov, Director of the Henry George School, at a faculty dinner held at the Madison Square Hotel, which was attended by 85 faculty members. Mr. Chodorov stressed the fact that teachers should continue and broaden their study of George's works.

It is expected that the record registration of 1700 will be exceeded by the fall term which begins September 23, Mr. Chodorov said. Accomodations have been made to care for the students, through the improvements that were made at the School this summer. The two upper floors have been prepared for use and the assembly room is now available. Additional space has been secured by moving the library to the street floor. The old library room will now serve as a committee room for special group meetings and conferences. The office has been moved to the fifth floor making room for reception and information desks. Fluorescent lighting has been installed throughout the building.

A pleasant surprise was afforded by the unexpected presence at the dinner of Albert Jay Nock, noted Georgist and author. Mr. Nock spoke briefly, congratulating the School on its growth.

"Ask, don't tell them!" was Mr. Lancaster Greene's suggestion to the new members of the faculty. Mr. Greene then went on to draw a parallel between the Danish Folk Schools and the work done by the Henry George School.

Ernest S. Heidiger, formerly connected with the economic division of the League of Nations, told how the Georgist doctrines had attracted his attention. He explained that although he was not yet a confirmed Georgist, he had seen the manifestations of monopolistic privileges in his work at the League.

Mr. Edwin Ross, Assistant Director, stressed the importance of completing the elementary courses in the alloted fifteen weeks. Mr. R. Joseph Manfrini and Mr. Lloyd Buchman delivered short talks giving the Georgist viewpoint.

Marshall De' Angelis won the prize for the best one minute impromptu speech in a contest conducted by Miss Dorothy Sara, Chairman of the Speaker's Bureau. The judges were Mrs. Mary Heybrock David S. Hiller and DeWitt Bell. The contestants included the Misses A. Christianson, Grace Chodorov and Margery Warriner, Mesdames Erna L. Nash and Ami Mali Hicks; also Gaston Haxo, Marshall De' Angelis, Emanuel Choper, C. O. Steele and Grant Lyons.

New Logic Course

A new course in Formal Logic has been added to the curriculum. Other advanced courses will include Advanced Course in Fundamental Economics, Basic Course in Sociology of Economic Institutions, Advanced Course in Social Philosophy, Principles and Problems of Tax Policy, Principles and Problems of Social Policy, Public Speaking and Basic Principles of Composition.

New Peace Lecture Series

"Fundamental Conditions for a Lasting Peace," a new series of lectures featuring outside speakers to be given at the School are being arranged by Sidney J. Abelson. The first lecture will be delivered by a speaker representing the Council Against Intolerance in America on November 4. On November 18 a representative of the League of Nations Association will take the platform. Mr. Abelson will announce other lecture dates in the near future.

Dr. Bowen Lectures at Sante Fe

SANTE FE, N. Mex.—Dr. Elizabeth E. Bowen and her husband, George L. Rusby, both veteran Georgists and prominent in the activities of the Henry George School, New Jersey Extension, conducted a Lecture-Forum on Fundamental Economics at the Arsunna School of Fine Arts in this city while on a visit. Dr. Bowen addressed the audience on the basic economic problems of the day advocating the adoption of Henry George's doctrines, and following the lecture Mr. Rusby led a general discussion. After the meeting tea was served in the Sun Room of the Arsuna.

"The Georgists" Celebrate

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The large group of Georgists who celebrated Henry George's 101st Birthday at the Robin Hood Theatre, Arden, Delaware on Sunday, September 8, heard inspirational and sincere messages, which they will long remember. Miss Lucia Cipolloni, Secretary of "The Georgists," reports. Among those who spoke were Henry W. Hetzel, Chairman; Mrs. Kitty Ross, of Arden; Julian P. Hickok, Secretary of the Philadelphia Extension; Dr. Henry George, 3rd of Wilmington; and Harry L. Weinberger, Esq., of New York.

Lecture Forum Schedule

The new Assembly Room recently completed at the National Headquarters Building of the Henry George School will be opened to the public for the first time on Sunday, September 29 when Henry A. Lowenberg will start the Fall lecture forum series with a talk on "Criminal and Prosecutor—Cause and Effect."

Mr. Lowenberg was a pupil of the late Oscar Geiger, founder of the Henry George School, and is a prominent criminal attorney, having appeared as defense counsel in many important trials. In his talk Mr. Lowenberg will outline the economic background of crime and analyze the effectiveness of criminal prosecution under existing social conditions. His intimate contact with the victims of "underworld" environment, his frequent encounters with prosecuting officials and his knowledge of underlying sociological and economic forces provide this speaker with an exceptional understanding of the crime problem.

Continuing the policy of previous seasons the lecture forums will be open to the general public. Admission is free.

Hamilton, Ontario, Reports

HAMILTON, Ontario, Canada—Robert Wynne, secretary of the Hamilton, Ont., Extension, School of Economic Science, reports inauguration of the Fall sessions on September 20 with a class in Fundamental Economics at 80 Victoria St. John Wilson is the instructor.

A class in Democracy Versus Socialism is being organized for opening early in October. Sessions will be held at 20 Chedoke Ave. The instructor will be Frank Greensides.

A. J. Nock Lectures

NEW YORK—Albert Jay Nock, author of "Our Enemy the State," "Jefferson," "Henry George," "Free Speech and Plain Language," "A Journal of These Days," and other books, will deliver a series of four lectures in the new auditorium at the School, beginning Tuesday, October 29, at 8 P.M. Attendance will be by invitation, limited to faculty and graduates. There will be an admission fee of Three Dollars for the entire series. Applications for tickets are being received.

La Grange Holds Re-Union

LA GRANGE, Ill. — Thirty-nine La Grange graduates of the Chicago Extension of the Henry George School met at a re-union dinner in the White House September 9, to hear director Henry L. T. Tideman review the principles of freedom. Mr. M. J. Maiers was master of ceremonies. Mr. E. C. Swanson was in charge of the arrangements.

50,000 in Chicago

CHICAGO—Announcements of 20 fall term classes went into the hands of 50,000 Chicagoans the week of September 9, Henry L. T. Tideman, director of the Chicago Extension of the Henry George School, reported as the first classes opened on September 16.

Thirty thousand triple postcard announcements were mailed. 18,000 distributed in Loop office buildings by Postal Telegraph, and 2,000 distributed at strategic Loop street corners by a volunteer crew.

Posters with 10 enrollment cards each attached were mailed to 2000 Chicago manufacturers with 50 or more employees.

Miss Betty Louise Foyer assisted by Mr. O. B. Collier prepared individualized publicity for each neighborhood or metropolitan newspaper serving one or more of the classes. The first clip sheets received at headquarters indicate a friendly reception by the editors who often gave front page space.

George H. Moyland, in charge of the street distribution of triple postcards, found that two men can easily hand out 650 cards in twenty minutes. About 10 per cent of the cards are thrown away by passers-by who take them. Leonard K. Nitz, Ray Haberman, and Paul Kantrowitz were members of the distribution crew.

The speakers' bureau under Mrs. Edith Siebenmann and Mrs. Beatrice Ortis is getting a steady stream of invitations for Schoolmen to make brief announcements of the classes or to make longer talks, all with a view to arousing interest in the course.

"All these promotional activities," said Mr. Tideman, "would be impossible without the growing financial support of the friends of the School. Miss Wilma Dougherty has just completed a ledger card index of all contributors to the Chicago extension and finds that 436 have chipped in anywhere from 25c to $250 since September 1937. The number of contributors increases each term and many are now renewing their previous contributions."

Additions to the teaching staff this term include Arnold Friberg, R H. Vrooman, Dr. Joseph B. Salberg, Mrs. G. H. Van Hyning, G. W. Hillman, Mrs. Olga E. Furty and Victor Cronk.

Classes at Hudson, N. Y.

HUDSON, N. Y.—Classes in Fundamental Economics will start Wednesday, October 2 at the Presbyterian Guild House, 13 S. 4th St., Hudson, N. Y., under the direction of Willis A. Snyder.

Mr. Snyder has accepted an invitation to address a gathering held under the auspices of the Orthodox Greek Lithuanian Church at Hudson on September 29. He will speak on Henry George. The program, which will include addresses by the local Congressman and other officials, will be broadcast.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES (FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMICS)
Fall Term 1940—Boston Extension
HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

BOSTON

Mon., Sept. 30, 7:45 P.M.—Doll & Richards Gallery, 138 Newbury St.
Thurs., Oct. 3, 7:45 P.M.—Doll & Richards Gallery, 138 Newbury St.

ARLINGTON

Wed., Oct. 2, 7:30 P.M.—Robbins Library, 700 Masse Ave.

BROOKLINE

Wed., Oct. 2, 7:45 P.M.—Brookline Public Library, 361 Washington St.

CAMBRIDGE

Mon., Sept. 30, 7:45 P.M.—Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University

MALDEN

Mon., Sept. 30, 7:45 P.M.—Room 526, Dowling Building, 6 Pleasant St.

MEDFORD

Thurs., Oct. 3, 7:45 P.M.—Children's Library, 115 High St.

NEWTONVILLE

Tue., Oct. 1, 7:45 P.M.—Newtonville Library, 345 Walnut St.

SOMERVILLE

Tues., Oct. 1, 7:45 P.M.—Somerville High School, Highland Ave.

WATERTOWN

Tues., Oct. 1, 7:45 P.M.—Watertown East Branch Library, 451 Mt. Auburn St.

WOBURN

Thurs., Oct. 3, 7:45 P.M.—Y.M.C.A., 553 Main St.

Classes in the following cities have been organized. The time and place will be announced in a later issue:

Belmont, Everett, Lynn, Quincy, Revere, Wellesley, Winchester.

Hartford Goes Ahead

HARTFORD, Conn.—Plans are completed for the opening on October 7 of permanent headquarters for the Henry George School at 18 Asylum St., advises Miss Ann C. Martin, Secretary of the Hartford Extension. The expenses are being paid by 100 graduates of the School, each having pledged $1.00 a month.

Five classes in Fundamental Economics will start sessions the second week in October. Among the instructors will be James V. McNally, Harold G. Leibe, Nathan Hillman, Allan R. Meyers and Ethel Lyman Stannard. Mr. Hillman, in addition to teaching a class in Fundamental Economics, will also conduct a class in The Science of Political Economy.

St. Louis Fellowship Forum

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The Henry George Fellowship, St. Louis Extension, held a Forum Meeting at the Central Library Auditorium on Monday, September 9. The principle speaker was Dr. Harry O'Neal, Dean of the School of Business Administration, St. Louis University, who discussed "The Mechanics of Price in the Competitive System—with some reference to the effect of monopoly on Price, Wages and Unemployment." N. D. Alper is Extension Secretary and William Hoeflin acting General Chairman.

Toronto Class

TORONTO, Canada—The first session of a class in Fundamental Economics was held on September 27 at the headquarters of the School of Economic Science at 991 Bay Street. Ernest J. Farmer is the instructor.

Activities at Berkeley

BERKELEY, Cal.—The East Bay Henry George School Extension opened its fall term September 17. During the summer months 12,000 postcards announcing the course in Fundamental Economics were addressed by enthusiastic workers under the direction of a Committee which included F .W. Hyndam, Jerome Crawford and Arnold Irwin all of Oakland; Miss H. D. Denbigh and Miss H. C. Wilson, of Berkeley.

In addition to sponsoring the work of the School, the Fellowship has planned regular monthly meetings to be held on the fourth Monday of the month at the Alden Library, to which all graduates of the School and their friends are welcome. Among the events to be featured are a speech by the President, Mr. Crawford, as well as brief talks by members of the group to be followed by discussion

Women's Clubs For Single Tax

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Woman's Single Tax Club, a member of the District Federation of Women's Clubs, under the chairmanship of Mrs. H. H. McEvoy, President, acted as hostesses at the Convention of the Henry George Foundation held at the Washington Hotel, September 25, 26 and 27.

Among the organizations which attended this convention in a body were the Woman's National Tax Relief Association. The Incorporators include Mrs. Jennie Knight, Mrs. G. M. McKenzie, Mrs. Esther Daggitt, Mrs. Margaret Reece and Miss Elizabeth Gollus, all of Washington. Mrs. Walter J. White has been elected President.

Fall Classes in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The following Fall classes conducted by the St. Louis Extension of the Henry George School are announced, the date given being that of the opening session:

Central Library, 14th & Olive Sts., Monday, Sept. 23, 6 P. M. N. D. Alper, Instructor.

Webster Groves, Mo., Tuesday, Sept. 24, 7:45 P. M. N. D. Alper, Instructor.

Cabanne Branch Library, 1106 N. Union Blvd., Wednesday, Sept. 25, 7:45 P. M., Mrs. Elizabeth Angell, Instructor.

Barr Branch Library, 1701 South Jefferson, Friday, Sept. 27, 7:45 P. M. William Hoeflin, Instructor.

Kirkwood Library, Kirkwood, Mo., Monday, Sept. 30, 2-4 P. M., Mrs. Daisey Wingfield, Instructor.

In addition to those listed above two classes will be conducted in private homes.

The list of graduates of the course in Fundamental Economics offered by the St. Louis Extension now includes 126 men and women. The Extension also conducts advanced classes, two groups already having completed the course in Principles of International Trade.

Only Seven Present

CHICAGO—The 101st anniversary of the birth of Henry George was commemorated at a dinner sponsored by the Single Tax League at the Central Y.M.C.A. Cafeteria, Tuesday, September 3. George T. Tideman was chairman of the arrangements committee. Speakers were John Z. White, 86-year old faithful; Walter J. Tefo, a recent graduate of the Henry George School and past commander of the Constitution Post of the American Legion; John Lawrence Monroe, extension director of the Henry George School; and Mr. Tideman. Henry H. Hardinge was toastmaster. Seven of the guests rose in response to the question. "How many of those present knew Henry George personally?"

Pioneers in Democracy

NEY YORK—Four lectures on "American Pioneers in Democracy" will be delivered in the new Auditorium on Thursday evenings at 8 P. M., beginning October 24. The subjects and speakers will be: "Tom Johnson," Lawson Purdy; "Joseph Fels," Louis Wallis; "Dr. McGlynn," Stephen Bell; "Louis F. Post," Phillip H. Cornick. The public is invited, and there will be no admission fee.

Detroit Classes Started

DETROIT, Mich.—Classes in Fundamental Economics were started in this city on September 13 in the Main Library, William J. Palmer, secretary of the Detroit Extension, Henry George School, reports.

Mr. Palmer also announced that a seminar is scheduled for October 4 and 5 restricted to the teachers of social science in the Detroit schools.

Boston Starts Season

BOSTON, Mass.—A meeting of the local Fellowship and members of the faculty at the Pioneer Hotel, September 17, inaugurated the Fall 1940 term of the Boston extension of the Henry George School. Harold J. Power reported on the publicity work and on the financial campaign; over $800 had been subscribed for the season's work. John S. Codman, dean of the faculty, spoke on the need for teachers, and their being better prepared by more extensive study. Frank Chodorov, of New York, emphasized the need of the school as the only institution teaching the principles of democracy in a totalitarian-minded world. R. George Almond, president of the Fellowship, presided.

San Diego Fall Term

SAN DIEGO, Cal.—Grant M. Webster, secretary of the Henry George Extension in this city, announces that the Fall term opened on Wednesday, September 18, in Room 5, San Diego County Court House.

Henry George Woman's Club

CHICAGO—The Henry George Woman's Club opened the season at Normandy House, September 10 with a dinner in honor of Mrs. W. H. Hermsdorf, president of the Ninth District of the Illinois Federation of Woman's Clubs; Henry H. Hardinge, "father" of the Club; John Lawrence Monroe, extension director of the Henry George School; and Captain William Grace, past chairman of the Committee to Keep America Out of War, who was the speaker of the evening. Mrs. Edith Siebenmann, president, presided.

Miss Grace Coogan, author of several books on the money question, will address the next meeting of the Henry George Woman's Club, Tuesday evening, October 8, at the Headquarters, 600 Garrick Building, 64 W. Randolph St.

An afternoon tea for all women graduates of the Henry George School will be held at the residence of Mrs. Walter Burley Griffin on Saturday afternoon, October 2. Mrs. Griffin will give an exhibition of her architectural drawings.

Objections Overruled

(Suggestions for presenting the Georgist doctrines simply and effectively to "doubting Thomases.")

Are there basic economic laws—laws which underlie economic activity the world over?

You will find that most so-called "liberals," as well as collectivists of all shades, have many doubts on this question, for, obviously, if there are "basic" laws they must be laws of nature—and not of man, and this would conflict with the "liberal" and socialistic policies of depending on human cleverness and theoretical inventiveness to solve human problems.

Now if there are no fundamental economic laws how can we ever hope to establish an orderly economic society? What progress could a chemist make, a physician or an engineer if their respective professions were not founded on invariable and universal laws established by nature and beyond the scope of man's power to alter or rescind? Obviously orderliness in practice of any activity is possible only if there exist natural laws with which man cannot tamper.

And so in economics, as in other sciences, the solution of our problem lies in the discovery of those invariable natural laws which make for progress and security and not in the makeshift, patchwork "laws" established by legislatures. The doctrines of Henry George are an exposition of such laws—George did not invent, he discovered.

Our hope lies not in "fighting" nature, but in obeying her.

●

Questions and Answers

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

* * *

Q. Do you regard the Single Tax as a panacea for the cure of all kinds of social disorder?

A. Not a panacea but a necessary condition. When a famous American announced his conversion to the Single Tax in a letter to Henry George, he took pains to state that he did not believe it be to a panacea, and Mr. George replied: "Neither do I; but I believe that freedom is, and the Single Tax is the taproot of freedom." This question may be answered in much the same way. Freedom is to social order what pure air is to physical health, and rent socialization makes freedom possible.

Q. If a man owns a city lot with a $5,000 building on it, what, under the Single Tax, would hinder another man, perhaps with hostile intent, from bidding a higher tax than the first man was able to pay, and thus ousting him from his building??

A. The question rests upon a misapprehension of method. The Single Tax is not a method of nationalizing land and renting it to the highest bidder. It is a method of taxation. And it would not only hinder, it would prevent the unjust ousting of another from his building. The Single Tax falls upon landowners in proportion to the unimproved value of their land; and this value is determined by the real estate market—by the demands of the whole community—and not by occasional and arbitrary bids. No one could oust a man from his building by bidding more for the land on which it stood than the occupier was paying; the Single Tax would not be increased in any case unless the land upon which it fell was in so much greater demand in the market that the owner could regularly let it for a higher rent, and this would not be so unless the neighboring land were similarly affected.

* * *

Q. Hasn't every man who needs work a right to be employed by the government?

A. No. But he has a right to have government secure him in the enjoyment of his equal right to the opportunities for employment that nature and social growth supply. If government secured him in that respect, and he could not get work, it would be because (1) he did not offer the kind of service that people wanted; or (2) he was incapable. His remedy, if he did not offer the kind of service that people wanted, would be either to make people see that they were mistaken or to go to work at something else; if he was incapable, his remedy would be to make himself capable. In no case would he have a right to government interference in his behalf, either through schemes to make work, or by bounties, or tariffs, or in any other special way.

* * *

Q. What would be the effect of the Single Tax if you still left railroad, telegraph, money and other monopolies in private hands?

A. The real strength of all monopolies is land monopoly. Observe, for example, the land holdings of the inside rings of railroads. Abolish land monopoly, and the power of all the others will go, as Samson's strength went with the cutting of his hair. Retain land monopoly and the abolition of every other kind will avail nothing in the end.

Letters to The Editor

Correcting a Cartoon

The leading cartoon in your September 1940 issue (page 243) conveys an impression which needs correcting.

The cartoon depicts a worried looking Uncle Sam driving the car of National Defense. He seems to have bogged down because of flat tires—Poverty, Depression and Unemployment. He has just passed a sign-post marked "Flats Fixed—H. G. Garage, 30 East 29th St., N. Y. C." Unfortunately, Uncle is looking the other way.

On the back of the truck is marked "Billions for Defense—Not One Cent From Ground Rents." The implication, is that despite the mounting burden of taxes under which this country is staggering, our landlords are getting off scot free. But since a large part of government revenue is derived from ground rents, the implication to the contrary is untrue.

The great ideal for which both **The Freeman** and the Henry George School stand needs no distortion of the truth to uphold it. That ideal is nothing less than the restoration to every member of the community of his right to the results of his own production, by the abolition of taxes on labor products, and the restoration of his joint right to natural resources, by the collection of ground rents for community purposes . . .

Failure of the government to collect the full value of all ground rent deprives each individual of his equal right to the value, which he, as a member of society, helps to create. To deprive the public of this right it is not necessary that the government fail to collect all of the ground rent. Even if it fails to collect only a part injustice ensues. And it does collect a part.

The major source of municipal revenues in this country is real estate taxes. Unfortunately they include a levy on improvements as well as on land. Yet real estate taxes take about one third of annual ground rents . . .

As far as income taxes, both state and federal, are concerned, the land owner receives no special consideration. The recipients of ground rents must part with at least as much of their net incomes as those who come by their incomes in a more commendable manner. They are not tax exempt.

My objection to the cartoon is twofold; it is based on principle and on policy.

As a matter of principle we should not misrepresent facts, whether by implication or by direct statement. As a

matter of policy we should capitalize the fact that some ground rents are already being collected, and that the machinery exists for collecting all of it. In troubled times like these all sorts of schemes and panaceas are proposed for the correction of our economic and social ills. Each new proposal is subjected to searching criticism. Is it American or un-American? Is it democratic or will it lead to dictatorship? Is it practical or does it stem from starry-eyed dreamers?

The taxing of land, based on assessed values, which are presumably capitalized rental values, is already an integral part of the American fiscal system. What could be more democratic than to give every citizen an equal interest in "his" land by carrying this tax to its logical conclusion—the pooling of all ground rents. And what more practical than the exclusive use for public revenues of that tax which, even in embryonic form, is the mainstay of our municipal budgets.

The cartoon appeared beneath an editorial entitled "Rendering Liberty Unto Caesar." Let us, with respect to taxation also, render unto Caesar. Our unsound, unscientific tax structure is badly in need of correction. But let us not make it appear more than it is . . .

If we will but be honest mechanics, our reputation will spread. As it does, Uncle Sam is bound to hear of us. Perhaps, after all, he will bring his car to our garage.—Isidore Platkin, New York.

A Canadian Sees

Travelling from Halifax to Winnipeg on a special train carrying a party of 175 war guest children from England, there was little time for meditation; I was in charge of 50 of these children aged from 5 to 15 years.

I was impressed however, as the train sped along mile after mile by the wide open spaces of unused land, and I wondered whether the English system of land tenue will in the not too distant future create the same conditions on this continent that have led to economic upheavals and war in Europe.

These war days are causing many of us to think more seriously about the cause and cure of war, and when we see these children torn from their home and parents, facing life at such tender ages in a new country amongst strangers with strange customs, voices and ideas, one begins to face the realities of war. Most of these children had heard the screaming of sirens, explosion of bombs, and were glad to be out of reach of these awful things. They were little children with no experience of being away from home, and their worst trial was sheer homesickness, for their mothers and fathers, their playmates and their familiar childhood environment.

As a Georgist I was more than ever convinced that we must work and work and work, to bring about a society where this kind of thing cannot happen again. —Strethel Walton, Montreal.

Who's Who in Georgism

A. W. ROEBUCK

Arthur W. Roebuck, Canadian Georgist leader of Toronto, was born in Hamilton, Ontario, February 28, 1878. Both his parents, Henry Simpson Roebuck and Lydia Abigail Macklem, were Canadians. He is a grand-nephew of the Right Honorable John Arthur Roebuck, M. P., Sheffield, England.

Mr. Roebuck's professional career began as an elevator operator. Thence he went into newspaper work, later taking up the practice of law. He served as a member of the Ontario Legislature from 1934 to 1940 and as Attorney-General of Ontario from 1934 to 1937. During his term of office as Attorney-General, Mr. Roebuck appeared before the Privy Council in England on different briefs. (**The Freeman's** accompanying sketch was made from a photograph taken, wig and all, at the time of one such appearance). Mr. Roebuck resigned that portfolio in 1937.

Mr. Roebuck became interested in the Henry George movement on reading "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade" some forty-five years ago. He has written, spoken and taught the principles of Henry George ever since.

Mr. Roebuck married Inez Perry. They have a daughter, Glenna.

On the Margin

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," said Thomas Jefferson. Eternal activity, believes **William H. Quasha,** instructor at the Henry George School, New York, is the price of success for the movement. He never misses an opportunity to "plug" the school. Recently he had a notice of forthcoming classes mailed to all members of the Young Men's Board of Trade.—P. S. Mr. Quasha is the Board's counsel.—P. P. S. **Lancaster M. Greene,** Henry George School trustee and **Stanley Bissel,** instructor, are members.

* * *

Another go-getting booster is **Gilbert Cope,** Henry George School correspondence course graduate of West Chester, Pa. Mr. Cope has had printed and distributes at every opportunity a blotter with a message urging readers to take the course in Fundamental Economics.

* * *

"It is only a democratic system of government in which a free people, through the free exchange of the products of their labor will be free to develop new opportunities for all the citizens . . ." so reads in part—no, not a Georgist proclamation, but a statement of the Montreal Young Women's Christian Association. **Margaret Bateman,** head of the Montreal Extension of the Henry George School, is a member of the Y. W. C. A. Board of Directors.

* * *

"I do not go all the way with him," is the way President Roosevelt expressed his feelings for Henry George. What's Willkie's position? **Willis A. Snyder,** head of the Hudson, N. Y. Extension of the Henry George School wonders if the Republican candidate shares the views of his supporter, Samuel Seabury, the nemesis of Tammany Hall and ex-president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Mr. Snyder, in a letter to the Hudson Daily Star, quotes Seabury as follows: "I have no hesitation in saying that if the World of Tomorrow is to be a civilized world and not a world which has lapsed into barbarism, it can be so only by applying the principles which Henry George taught."

* * *

Donald MacDonald, veteran Georgist and member of the Alaskan International Highway Commission, still insists Canada and the United States need a first rate highway link for defense purposes—and newspapers all over the country recently printed his views at length. **K. Marootian,** Henry George School graduate, sends a clipping on Mr. Macdonald all the way from the Los Angeles Times.

—BILL KITAY

Wish Me a Happy Birthday!

Here's how -

It was three years ago this month that I came upon the scene—only because, as my sponsors put it, there seemed to be a need for a better interpretation of current events. Maybe not a "better" one; but certainly one from a definite point of view. That is, one that holds that the individual, the human person and not the State, is the be-all and end-all of human existence; that the individual is thwarted in his search for a nobler life by State-given privileges enabling some persons to exploit others; that these privileges necessarily bring about the poverty and the degradation of the many; that of these privileges the most wicked and far-reaching is that of collecting tribute from labor and capital for the use of the earth, without which existence is impossible; and that unless this rent-collecting privilege is abolished the thralldom of the people must bring about their spiritual debasement, resulting in the consequent economic collapse of the social structure called civilization.

* * *

There were ten million or more unemployed when I started my career; reports have it that the number is about the same now. Taxes—which is the life blood of bureaucracy—have increased in number and in quantity. So many people have become wards of the government that both parties in the current political campaign are advocating a continuance of this condition of servitude. The army of public officials has increased, and necessarily the extent to which private life has become public business has widened. We are being prepared for war. The State is supreme; the individual is disappearing.

Which only proves that my sponsors were right when they recognized the need of a publication that would throw the searchlight of freedom on the moving scene. Whether the articles, editorials, illustrations and other devices which my hard-working volunteer staff have contributed were done effectively is a matter that you—dear reader—must decide.

* * *

Some there are who claim that I don't speak often enough. Because events move so fast, and news is old almost before it is known, I have been importuned to bring out my interpretations and my articles at least twice a month.

The writers who make me what I am are quite willing to undertake the extra work—only if there is a real demand for it. Therefore, I put it up to you. Would you like to see me every fortnight, on better paper? The cost would be One Dollar a year, instead of Fifty Cents.

Whether the change is made depends entirely on your decision. A ballot for your important vote is printed below. Please vote, and mail your ballot promptly. I want to know.

The FREEMAN

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