

The Freeman

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Ten Cents

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The Myth of Free Enterprise

AN EDITORIAL

The Myth of Free Enterprise

"FREE ENTERPRISE and the sanctity of contracts are largely responsible for America's growth," writes Roger W. Babson. The words have a familiar, sanctimonious, ex-cathedra sound; they are "safe and sane," possessed of all the proper and conventional qualities. Most responses would be "Amen, Glory to God," but mine is, "Good Lord, deliver us." It is supposed to be the truth and with the unthinking multitude passes as such. But when closely inspected and analyzed, it turns out to be but a prize specimen of high-class bunk, a camouflaged lie.

"Free enterprise" is also largely responsible for many other things not so gladsome and gracious. It is "largely responsible" for the enormous waste of our natural resources for the benefit of a greedy, grasping, covetous few; for the ravenous destruction of our forests, the frenzied waste of our oil and gas resources, for the unparalleled exploitation and depletion of all other valuable mineral resources; waste often almost equalling useful production. It is "largely responsible" for millions of tons of coal being left in mines through hasty, careless, indifferent mining methods, in the search for quick profits regardless of waste or future need; fortunes in culm piles and the other mining wastes; the utter destruction, by incessant, greedy cultivation, of the rich cotton and tobacco lands of the South, with the result that countless thousands of acres are deprived of all fertility and humus, thrown aside, neglected, ruined by erosion.

A few made rich by free enterprise or the destruction of the nation's resources, with the mass of our people helping, at little more than subsistence wages, to destroy their own heritage and the heritage of future generations, that a few might shine in fabulous wealth and splendour, while the masses, thus bereft, are doomed to permanent, increasing helplessness and poverty.

"America's growth." America has not grown. As a land she has been exploited and depleted. Nor has her people, as a whole, grown rich and prosperous. Her land upon which all must live and her resources from which all must derive their living, are held and controlled by a comparative few. No others have the right to live upon and use the earth except by the permission of these few, and by paying such tribute as may be demanded. These so-called owners

must be the "children of men" to whom the Creator deeded the earth. All the rest of us are but step-children. Our place, our destiny is to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for our masters upon whose earth we must live. Here we are on a planet where we have no right to be; strangers and sojourners here for a season, not with the Lord as the Bible declares and as manifestly the Creator intend it to be, but with the landlords whose ways differ greatly from those of the Lord.

Few of us begin to realize "where we are at" economically. In 1926 a reliable government commission reported that fifty-nine per cent of the Nation's wealth was owned and controlled by eight per cent of our people. Since then this concentration of wealth has been going on at a fast and furious rate and it seems probable that this eight per cent of the people now own fully seventy-five per cent of the nation's wealth. But worst of all, the God-given natural resources are monopolized to such an extent that the production of wealth, and the lives and welfare of the people are largely in their hands.

We can dwell on this planet and make use of its resources to supply our needs only by paying tribute to these, our masters. Small chance for us to grow great and rich and prosperous.

Those of us who feel the urge to observe, reflect, and reason, well know that the riches, grandeur, and greatness of this country are due to the benevolence of the Creator in endowing this land with fabulous natural resources, and to the ambition, intelligence, efficiency and skill applied by the people who in the providence of God came to possess and inhabit the land.

"America's growth"—how has she grown? In population? Yes. In riches? Yes. Enormous riches for a cunning, crafty, privileged few. In greater freedom or a higher level of prosperity for all her children? No! Towering riches overlooking deepening cavernous slums of poverty. Stick to the truth. Face the facts. Tell the truth, the whole truth. Take the bitter with the sweet, and your fervid panegyrics to the riches, greatness and glory of our land will be a shade less glowing.

Why should progress be attended with great riches for a few and ever deepening poverty for the masses? This has been the history and fate of all civilizations of all nations in all time. Where wealth

They Wouldn't Listen

Two men, sitting over their after-dinner coffee, were discussing the philosophy of Henry George. Said one, the dissident, "If your Henry George was so smart, why are his teachings seldom heard of, and his followers so ineffective in getting his program adopted?"

The other answered: "Twenty years ago General Billy Mitchell tried to tell the American people and the army brass hats about air power, but they wouldn't listen. Today we are beginning to realize what a tragic price we must pay for that indifference. The country pulled another Billy Mitchell in the case of Henry George. But in time this lesson, too, will be learned; the penalty will be paid, and we shall live in a saner, happier world because of the teachings of Henry George."

SANFORD FARKAS

accumulates, why do men decay and nations lose their hope, their strength, and vigor? Why do great riches for the few inevitably mean dire poverty for the many? Why, as wealth becomes more abundant, should hunger and nakedness prevail among the workers who, from the resources and materials freely furnished them by their Creator, produce all wealth? Why should they be poor and in distress at any time? Why does poverty keep pace with, even at times, outrun progress?

Are these statements true? If so, why? What is this fatal disease that has strewn the paths of history with the works of the great nations and civilizations of the past ages and seems to have gained a stranglehold on the great civilizations of our day?

These are the questions which our so-called Christian civilization puts to the sphinx of Fate which, not to be answered and answered correctly, is to be destroyed.

R. W. STIFFEY



Especially The Hide!

THE EDITORS OF THE FREEMAN have received a number of letters criticizing them for having published Dr. Robert C. Clothier's "To A War Objector" and Mr. Raymond Hammond's "Can Georgism Bless War?" in the September issue of the magazine.

None of those who objected to the Clothier piece took the occasion to commend the printing of the Hammond article; nor did any who resented the Hammond viewpoint bother to offer a word of approval of the publication of Dr. Clothier's counter-opinion. Indeed, one correspondent—whose letter is printed in this issue of The Freeman—achieved the wellnigh unbelievable in finding these diametrically opposed viewpoints *equally obnoxious*.

All of which adds up to nothing except that Freeman readers are a highly individualistic group of men and women, with strongly held ideas of their own; and that an editor should have an abundance of tolerance, an unfailing sense of humor, and the hide of a rhinoceros.

Especially the hide!

THE EDITORS

The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

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Are Rights Natural?

By DOMINIC DELLA VOLPE

Whether rights exist in or by nature or are purely useful human arrangements, or a combination of both, may be revealed to some extent if we take note of the natural human elements in connection with which rights operate and of the individual's relation to society.

In general, a right may be defined as a claim established in tradition or law on behalf of the individual, or society or both, and enforceable by rules of conduct. Moreover, a right may be either absolute and inalienable, or conditional.

An absolute right is a claim, but a one-way claim, that is, with no corresponding obligation to those who exercise the claim. Consequently, such a right is not an absolute right at all but an absolute wrong. It may be a privilege or just a plain fraud. If it is acknowledged and upheld, it is because it masquerades as a two-way claim, thanks to unsocial ignorance and ethical distortions. The history of despotism, aggression and exploitation is a history of the absolute right.

The individual may feel instinctively that certain individual rights are inalienable and paramount to all possible considerations, yet, is there not still a crucial question of their feasibility in association? Such claims of right overlook the fundamental fact that they are made not merely by the individual as such but by a joint unit, or member of society.

Thus, one may claim a right to refuse to take up arms on the ground that it is so natural, inalienable and absolute that all consequences to society are, therefore, irrelevant. Yet, the rights of participants to self-preservation and to full benefits of their sacrifice would be equally natural. Would not their burden increase and benefits decrease as a necessary result of the non-participant's very membership in society in receiving protection and sharing the fruits of victory, so that rights of others are infringed and

nullified. Such personal unilateral rights carried out fully and universally would ultimately result in mutual nullification of rights whether natural or not.

On the biological side, it is a matter of natural law that factors of self-preservation must correlate with and be subordinate to factors of race preservation if there is to be any preservation at all. With the exception of mating, association can serve no useful purpose unless its benefits outweigh and liquidate its disadvantages.

A conditional right, on the other hand, is a two-way claim. It is a claim which at the same time admits and upholds a similar claim or corresponding counterclaim. The rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are typical conditional rights. Though apparently absolute, they are truly conditional, "Live-if-you-let-live," relations in their nature and function. Moreover, such rights are not single and simple in their nature, but are a combination of various distinct elements. Claim and counter claim are its poise and equipoise in a balance of benefit for benefit and sacrifice for sacrifice. It is clearly the conditional, the reciprocal right which Henry George means by a natural right. It is equally clear from his observations that the natural urge to satisfy desires with least effort is the basis of the balance between claim and equal counter claim. The conditional or social right alone, despite flagrant vagaries, validates claim for claim on a basis tending to equality of mutual benefit in association.

We might well inquire, then, whether man acknowledges counter claim naturally and in response to some irresistible moral law, human or Divine, or whether he does so because he knows his claim will be acknowledged and upheld only if he does likewise.

Henry George's assertion that rights are natural and of Divine

origin is at such odds with his description of their nature and function that one is led to conclude that the assertion is purely an expression of religious faith. A reasonable inference from his observations is that rights are not distinct, independent existences which inhere in nature but that they are relations which arise out of the nature and necessities of association by willful and deliberate agreement or acquiescence. It is the urge to establish some relation which shall enable man to survive with least effort that is primordial and natural and not an urge to establish any one particular type of relation.

The capacity to choose between one-way and two-way claims is as natural as any primary urge. The actual choice depends on variable factors such as advantage, will, wisdom, experience, foresight, etc. The conflict arises from the natural tendency to favor the relation that best suits the chooser. Furthermore, if an equitable right arises only on concurrence of claim and counter claim, the right is subsequent to the mutual acknowledgement, and is clearly not an independent existence or pre-existence or either external or human nature. It would appear, therefore, that a right is, at best, a relation.

It is to be noted that observations which apply to the nature of relations in general apply equally to the nature of human relations. A right is a social relation. However, a relation is not an independent or self-existence. It is a state of mutual connection between actual or presumed things.

Thus, just as time and space are not existences in themselves but concepts of relation between things, so is a true right not an independent existence but a state of mutual connection between two mutually acknowledged claims. That is, no concurrence of claim and counter-claim, no right. Because civilization is a

There Is No Interest

By M. S. LURIO and SANFORD FARKAS

Based on reasoning similar to that of Mr. Paul Peach in his article, "The Nature and Causes of Interest," in the September Freeman, we reach a different conclusion, namely that interest must tend to zero in this economy, as well as in a free economy.

Of the three factors of production, only land and labor are unique categories. Capital is the product of land and labor. With two unique factors producing wealth, how can there be three unique sharers of the product?

Interest refers to the return to capital after its replacement. There is no more reason to deduct replacement than there is to deduct maintenance or subsistence of labor from what we call wages. Political economy is not directly concerned with consumption or depreciation. Distribution takes place as wealth is produced; consumption and depreciation are "sinks" wherein wealth disap-

(*Mathematicians and physicists use the term "as points of creation and extinction" "sources" and "sinks" in a "system of the thing under discussion.")

direct expression of the cooperation, exchange and mutual benefit from this concurrence, wisdom and foresight compel men to formulate rights as relations that ought to be.

It is said that the best philosopher is he who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. We might paraphrase this by saying that Henry George is a philosopher who shows why and how to make two-way rights grow where only one-way rights grew before.

Mutual benefit is the very core of association. George is pre-eminently the philosopher of this mutuality. He reveals why rights serve as social values in exchange and that ethics should be the yardstick of these values in social or mutual benefit. He shows that the one-way right is a social value in one-way exchange and that the two-way right is a so-

cial value in two-way exchange. In a word, that they are devices of social arrangement, responsibility, utility and ethical purpose.

Replacement is the share of wealth that covers the rent and wages for the land and labor required to restore capital used up in production. Our position is that wealth is distributed only as rent and wages, for the land, labor and replacement of capital used in production; that there is no surplus above replacement ascribable to the contribution of capital and given the name of interest.

This is borne out by the following excerpt from George's discussion of interest, which was also cited by Mr. Peach: "I have endeavored at this length to trace out and illustrate the law of interest more in deference to the existing terminology and modes of thought than from the real necessities of our inquiry In truth, the primary division of wealth in distribution is dual, not tripartite. Capital is but a form of labor, and its distinction from labor is in reality but a subdivision In our examination, we have reached the same point as would have been attained had we simply treated capital as a

form of labor, and sought the law which divides the produce between rent and wages; that is to say, between the possessors of the two factors, natural substances and powers, and human exertion—which two factors by their union produce all wealth." (Page 203, Progress and Poverty).

Is this not a denial of interest, which is neither rent nor wages? If all wealth is divided between rent and wages, then interest cannot be. Incidentally, there may be a little confusion in the reference to capital as but a form of labor. While capital is resolvable into labor alone in the sense that the rent belongs to the community and the balance is labor, from the point of view of the individual producer capital is generally produced by labor on and from land that commands rent, and he must get both the rent and the wages for the land and the labor required in the production of wealth used as capital.

The importance of proving the non-existence of interest lies not merely in resolving a moot point. It affects the philosophy of the bi-lateral right is by far the more effective as a means of satisfying desires with least exertion when the results of ensuing cooperation cannot be intercepted by the apostles of unilateral rights.

Henry George's application of the philosophy of two-way rights to political economy is only a single detail of its more comprehensive scope in human relations. Its broader aim is to foster adequate and effective rules of conduct to this larger purpose. With an abiding faith in human nature he reveals both how and why the philosophy of the two-way right can effectively replace the fraudulent philosophy of the one-way right and thereby direct the vast potentialities of association toward the high ethical purpose of equality, progress, peace and freedom.

Yet, strangely enough, these diametrically opposed philosophies appear to spring from the same natural urge of self-survival; from the tendency to satisfy desires with least effort. Nevertheless, the hope of mankind lies in the common man's understanding and realization that

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tively disposes of the Marxist conclusion that interest is the means whereby the Capitalist may continue to reap without continuing to sow; and it enormously simplifies the statistical study of distribution.

Even after analyzing Bastiat's illustration of the plane, and concluding that interest could not be "if wealth consisted but of the inert matter of the universe," George, asking interest for granted, felt constrained to find its cause, justification and law. "It seemed" to him that there was an "increase" or increment to capital used in the reproductive mode (over replacement) that did not belong to land and hence belonged to capital. The proof that interest exists, therefore, is made to hinge upon the existence of this increment in what he calls the second and (similarly) third mode of production.

This classification of production into adapting, growing and exchanging seems to have no essential purpose other than to serve to explain the cause of interest, a case of cutting the suit to fit the cloth.

If we go back to the meaning of the term land, we need not concern ourselves with the boundary line between reproductive and non-reproductive forces, for

"The term land necessarily includes, not merely the surface of the earth as distinguished from the water and the air, but the whole universe outside of man himself (and his products) . . . embraces, in short, all natural materials, forces, and opportunities." (Page 38, P. & P.)

Hence the reproductive forces of nature, just as the mechanical, chemical or electrical forces, are land, by definition. All of them are utilized by labor in its various applications. Where such forces are freely available to everyone, as air or sunshine, they command no rent. There may be a physical increment due to growing forces, but it can have no extra value in the marketplace if no extra rent is paid for permission to use these forces.

This is clearly seen in the very simple example of wild berries beginning to ripen on free land. There

is an increase in the sense of size and ripeness. But the price paid in the market is simply the wages for the labor of gathering and marketing. The same thing is true if the berries are planted on free land — the market price covers only the labor of cultivation and gathering and marketing; otherwise labor would flow in that direction for more than prevailing wages.

The law of interest, as given in *Progress and Poverty*, is not expressed in the same dimensions as the laws of rent and wages. There is no necessary relationship between the average power of increase which attaches to capital from its use in reproductive modes, and the margin of cultivation (or at least no attempt has been made to prove the necessary relationship).

Consider some examples to show that replacement is all that is necessary for the production of capital. A primitive man gathers mussels — his wages. In his spare time he may cultivate berries or hollow out a log as a canoe. If by exchanging the berries or the canoe, he receives more than average wages and possesses only average quality of labor, others will do the same until wages reach a common level.

Suppose he hires out the boat. He now gets in installments the wages of building, negotiating the hire and trying to maintain its continuous hire. The tendency is for his return to be the same, all things considered, whether he sells the boat or hires it out. He will continue generally in any pursuit, laboring for immediate consumption or in the production of capital, as long as he gets the prevailing rate of wages for his labor.

So may we take any modern productive enterprise, whether involving reproductive or non-reproductive forces. The capital used may have been produced on the spot, purchased from another outright or on the installment plan, or borrowed. There must be a return to capital to cover the labor in the capital — if more, that is, if interest exists, labor will turn to producing that form of capital; if less, labor will go elsewhere

to get the prevailing return.

If interest rose as wages rose, according to George's law, then in a free economy, there would be higher wages and higher interest and an ever-growing class of capitalists supported by and increasing their capital without working, which ultimately leads to absurdity. But if there is no interest, Georgists then can logically maintain that the so-called capitalist cannot exploit labor as a capitalist but only as a landowner or the possessor of other privileges.

Why, then, does the lender of capital in our present economy get a commercial return for the use of his capital which appears to contain an ingredient over and above that of replacement and compensation for risk? The answer, it seems to us, lies in privilege, which yields a spurious interest. Large corporations, for example, usually have valuable lands and patents. They can afford to distribute a small part of this privilege to the public in the form of securities, the proceeds from the sale of which usually enable them to acquire additional privileges. It should be noted, too, that if their calculations go astray our laws of reorganization are such that the public investment takes the shrinkage, while the privileges remain with the privileged or the insiders. Thus commercial interest is made up of compensation for risk, wages of superintendence and replacement of capital, plus a return due to privilege. Borrowers of capital generally must compete with those who borrow on privilege — hence all commercial interest must contain this ingredient.

There may be an occasional or fortuitous examples of what appear to be unusual rates of interest, but windfall interest, like windfall profits, are partly compensation for risk and partly higher wages temporarily paid in special fields of production.

With interest eliminated, George's philosophy is simpler and sounder than ever. A perplexing factor disappears. The vision of things that might be — on Earth — takes clearer outline.

William Dean Howells and Altruria

By RUSSEL B. NYE

The period of American history following the Civil War and extending beyond the turn of the century marked a new low in social and economic conditions. As one writer phrased it, the Gilded Age defaulted on its promises to pay, and the nation entered into the Age of Guilt. Poverty and unemployment stalked the streets; the trouble was, so Mr. Dooley pungently said, that the single great achievement of the age was "th' cash register." The problem was perfectly clear—too many men were not receiving what the Constitution and the very fact of their existence guaranteed them: life, liberty, and the fruit of their labor; in short, the right to work and live as human beings.

During the decades of the later nineteenth century many came forward with solutions. The pioneer and greatest of these was Henry George, whose *"Progress and Poverty"* and *"Social Problems"* remain today as the most distinctive American contributions to sociology and economics. Others followed George's lead, attacking different aspects of the situation with varying degrees of success, presenting vari-colored and many-shaped Utopian patterns of a better world. Among the more successful was Edward Bellamy's fairy tale of social felicity, *"Looking Backward"* (1888), with its concept of a somewhat Prussianized super-state, which sold nearly four hundred thousand copies in two years and gained a host of followers. Another was a disciple of Henry George named Hamlin Garland, who called himself "the first actual farmer in literature," and who dramatized unforgettably during the nineties his master's doctrines in *"Main Travelled Roads,"* *"A Spoil of Office,"* and *"Jason Edwards."*

All in all, nearly forty such Utopian novels appeared in the closing decade of the century, most of them now forgotten, and all of them under

the thinly-veiled disguise of fiction, presenting a picture of some future state founded upon a perfect social and economic system—Rosewater's *"'96, A Romance of Utopia,"* Welcome's *"From Earth's Center,"* Vinton's *"Looking Further Backward,"* the ubiquitous Ignatius Donnelly's *"Caesar's Column,"* Fuller's *"A.D. 2000,"* Chauncey's *"The Crystal Button,"* Brown's *"2094, or The Fossil Man,"* Astor's *"A Journey to Other Worlds,"* to name a few. Despite differences of approach and widely varying resolutions, they all agreed with Hamlin Garland, who, echoing Henry George, summed it up with the statement, "Nature is not to blame. Man's laws are to blame."

To find the name of William Dean Howells among those who made an attempt to put the times once more in joint is nearly as surprising to our own age as to his, for if any writer of his day seemed a product of a world less interested in social and economic problems, it was the Ohio novelist who had been accepted, much to his pleasure, into the prosperous, tight little world of the Boston Brahmins where such things never came. Yet *"A Traveler From Altruria,"* the work in which Howells drew his own sketch of Utopia, was the product of several years of a gradually increasing awareness of the seriousness of the situation, and of a growing desire by some concrete and definite plan of action to get to the roots of the problems. Known as a novelist of manners and ethics, as in *"The Lady of the Aroostook"* and *"A Modern Instance,"* Howells after 1885 became in a gentlemanly way a novelist of reform, the most eminent of all the literary men of his time to espouse the unpopular cause of the underprivileged and the economically repressed. An inkling of the change came in *"The Minister's Charge"* in 1886; it grew through *"Annie Kilburn"* (1888). *"A Hazard of New Fortunes"* (1890, and

one of his best novels from a literary viewpoint), *"The Quality of Mercy,"* and *"The World of Chance"* in 1892 and 1893, to the full Utopian picture in *"A Traveller from Altruria"* in 1894. A belated sequel in 1907, *"Through the Eye of the Needle,"* added little to the earlier book.

There were several reasons why Howells, the literary apostle of sweetness and light, should turn to the Utopian novel of reform after 1885. In that year he moved from Boston to New York to join the staff of Harper's, coming into close contact for the first time with the world of labor and capital. The bitter strikes of the late eighties in New York City attracted his sympathetic attention, and the Haymarket riots of 1886 in Chicago stirred him to a spirited defense of the anarchists, an act worthy of commendation considering Howells' position and what he stood to lose by it. Furthermore, he read Tolstoy and Edward Bellamy, and he was already familiar with Henry George's ideas, telling Hamlin Garland in 1888, "Your land tenure idea is one of the good things which we must hope and strive for by all the good means at our hands." As he later wrote, "In those days the solution of the riddle of the painful earth through the dreams of Henry George, through the dreams of Edward Bellamy, through the dreams of all the generous visionaries of the past, seemed not impossibly far off." Taking something from Bellamy, more from George and Tolstoy, and most from the Bible, he evolved his own land of Altruria as the realization of the future state in which the "riddle" might be permanently solved.

The derivation of the name of Howells' fictitious country, obviously a coinage from altruism, gives the key to the principle upon which his Utopia is based. Altruria, in simplest terms, is a nation whose social and economic system is founded upon

universal brotherhood, the golden rule of Christian ethics. Howells believed in "The Minister's Charge" that "No one, for good or evil, for sorrow or joy, for sickness or health, stood apart from his fellows, but each was bound to the highest and the lowest by ties that centered in the hand of God." Altruria is a projection into reality of the idea that each man is his brother's keeper; it is a Christian socialistic state, its existence dependent solely upon altruistic brotherly love, a place where "the faith of the nation is pledged to secure every citizen in the pursuit of happiness," where "neighborliness is the essence," where the Kingdom of Heaven is realized on earth. The goal is the complete happiness of the individual; the method is socialistic; the result a state "which will at once employ and support all its citizens."

The pattern of "A Traveller from Altruria" is implicit in its title. A visitor from the newly discovered continent of Altruria, one Mr. Homos, arrives in America to learn something of the customs of the people, famed throughout the world as the most advanced of nations. As a guest of the novelist, Mr. Twelvemough, he meets at a New England summer resort a banker, a minister, a lawyer, a doctor, a professor of political economy, a retired manufacturer, a giddy socialite, and a discontented young farmer. The contrast between Altrurian and American social and economic conditions, skillfully brought out through Mr. Homos' questions and the self-revealing answers of his hosts, forms an ironic and crushing indictment of the times.

Throughout the body of the book we find out about Altruria only obliquely, until in its closing chapter the complete history of the Utopian commonwealth is drawn for us. The land and its people, it seems, were first discovered by a shipwrecked traveler, from a Roman Christian commune during the first century of the Christian era, who established there a state founded upon the teachings of Christ. In time, recounts Homos, the commonwealth faded, and civic and economic warfare rose

in increasing strength and bitterness as commerce and industry changed Altruria from an agrarian to an industrial country. The monsters of monopoly grew as business became more and more the reigning influence, until one gigantic monopoly of wealth, called The Accumulation, claimed went toward beautifying the ruled the land. Still there was wealth and want, the few rich and the many poor, an alternate glut and dearth of the things of life. The Accumulation protested to the people that it had their interests always at heart, that it was necessary to the nation's existence, that it was divinely ordered and inherent in the nature of things, but the people wondered.

After generations of failure and defeat, workmen began to band together—a few in one trade, a few in another—until unions grew to fight The Accumulation. At last the unions merged into one huge federation, and the nation was split into one vast union battling one vast syndicate; economic class warfare had reached the ultimate stage, and the workers, with the monopoly controlling all means of production and distribution, found themselves beaten. However, The Accumulation had forgotten, in its careful gathering-up of all possible methods of control, the ballot-box. The worker still retained the voting franchise, whose power the monopoly had simply nullified by corruption, and his sudden realization of its potentialities spelled ultimate victory. By degrees the workers began to vote power away from the monopoly to the government—first the telegraphs became state property, next the mails, next mines and minerals, then all lands, public and private. At last, by a single statutory stroke, all business and commerce were transferred to the government and the pattern of the Altrurian system was complete. By degrees, beginning with the basic utilities of communication, production, and distribution, a completely socialistic state had been evolved.

With private monopoly dead the Altrurians proceeded to fill in the

outlines of their Utopia. First the factories stopped making anything shoddy or useless, an act which served several purposes—it made certain of a sufficient supply of that which was useful and necessary, it guaranteed the best possible quality of the product, it saved time and labor, and provided constant employment for all. The time thus re-nation through public works and the lives of the people through increased leisure. All inventions and machines were used to speed production of the useful necessities and to lessen labor, until it was found that if each person worked three hours a day, none need work longer. Each Altrurian, therefore, spent that amount of time in labor each day, the proceeds of his work going to the state. For three hours daily he produced that all might live, and the rest of his time belonged to him. "Nobody works for a living in Altruria," explained Homos. "He works for others' living." For his labor the state repaid him with tickets, redeemable for his share of clothing, food, and shelter. Since all labored exactly the same amount, all received the same share of each; every person in Altruria had a right only to what he could use, and if he could not use it, his right to it lapsed. Money did not exist, and with money gone, the power to purchase disappeared, allowing no one to obtain more than he needed. In the event that a person, by reason of physical or mental disability, could not work, he was supported by the state as its Christian duty. There was then, in Altruria, no economic inequality, no poverty-stricken masses or individuals, no unemployment or starvation wage, for "to have poor and rich is the worst form of incivism."

Other aspects of Altrurian life were consistent with its economically socialistic system of production and consumption. Since a living was guaranteed for all by required daily labor, art and science were pursued in the ample leisure time simply for love of beauty and devotion to progress. A poet might be a shoemaker in his "obligatory" vocation, and a shoemaker might be a poet as a

"To Thine Own Self Be True"

By STEPHEN BELL

Raymond Hammond poses this searching question for Georgists to answer:

"Can Georgism give its blessing and support to the nation's war effort without doing violence to its principles?"

He would appear to answer it in the negative, believing that to so bless and support the war would be hurtful, if not fatal, to the movement. It seems to me that he has not reasoned the thing quite through for his own logic should lead him to a contrary conclusion.

There will be no dissent with his statement that George believed war to spring from a violation of economic laws. His distrust of armaments as security against attack (not as a means of defense) and his trust in a long-range program for peace with

"voluntary" vocation. Thus, too, was individuality maintained, for a man might do exactly as he pleased so long as he gave the state the amount of labor he owed it and did nothing to injure his neighbor. And why should he injure his neighbor? Since he could not obtain money, or goods, or any sort of economic, social, or intellectual advantage or eminence by so doing, crime in Altruria disappeared. There remained but one way to attain distinction in the land—"The great man is the man who, for the time being, has been able to give the greatest happiness to the greatest number." All Altrurians worked for the civic good, and "no one among us is quite happy," explained Homos, "unless he had dedicated himself, in some special way, to the general good. . . . The possession of great gifts, or any kind of superiority, involved the sense of obligation to others, and the wish to identify one's self with the great mass of men, rather than the ambition to distinguish one's self from them."

(To Be Concluded)

Free Trade as the keystone were well founded, as was his disbelief in the innate "cussedness" of other nations. But what has all this to do with charting a true course for us in the present emergency? To teach fire prevention when a great conflagration rages is usually futile.

Truly the genius of Georgism is educational. For this reason alone, if for no other, it becomes those of us who desire to aid in educating mankind along the lines of social or economic sanity to do all in our power to preserve and perpetuate the means and opportunities now at our disposal for continuing our educational work. We all agree with him that it is only in times of peace that the seeds of the philosophy of economic freedom can germinate and take root. Surely Mr. Hammond cannot believe that our abandoning the field to the Axis powers would bring peace to the troubled world. Indeed, he himself seems to say all that is necessary along that line:

"The Nazis know how to make war. There is no conflict in their minds. It is easy for them to accept war as a solution. Believing as they do that other nations are responsible for their misery, their object is to destroy the offending nations."

Of course Georgism cannot "bless war," but it may properly object to being destroyed, even while it heartily damns the war and the necessity therefor which has been forced upon it. By Mr. Hammond's own statement we have no choice left us except to crush the malign power of those who hold to the damnable Nazi philosophy.

"If the philosophy of ethical democracy cannot live by education, then it must die," he says. I agree, and by that token I insist that it is not only our right but our duty to do what we can to preserve the conditions in which education may proceed.

Fortunately, an abler pen than

mine has said on this question what may be considered the "last word." The late Henri Lambert, a Belgian manufacturer and economist, wrote a quarter century ago or more as follows:

"The fight for survival is the natural law of all beings deprived of morals; it remains the law of individuals and collectivities in those surroundings where an inadequate morality obtains—a state of things for which, by reason of natural solidarity, responsibility is forced on all. War is, therefore, if not a criminal or immoral act, at least a phenomenon caused by 'a-morality,' signifying non-morality—that is to say by ignorance or inadequate knowledge of the moral laws which should prevail in international relations. The wills and conventions of men can never make moral that which is immoral or 'amoral.' Logic and force of things will ever impede the introduction therein of a—so to speak—false morality. This only is given to men: to substitute by study, knowledge and practice of morality, the moral state of things for the 'amoral' state. Such are logic and just law. International morals and laws of war will ever be hollow conceptions and sterile script. There can only be international laws and morals of Peace." (Laws of 'Civilized' Warfare, Pax Economica, page 42.)

I may say of Henri Lambert that he knew and thoroughly understood the Georgian philosophy, and freely admitted its basic character. He regarded it, however, as too deeply basic for the nations to delve into it while wars and the fear of wars distracted them. His concept of the importance of trade seemed to outrun that of George—it filled his economic firmament. Civilization began when men began to exchange, and all the vast cooperations which make civilization possible were its fruits. Our sense of justice itself grew from the

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On Rent, Land Values, Speculation and Taxes

By C. VILLALOBOS DOMINGUEZ

In a letter to the editor in the April issue of *The Freeman*, Mr. John Z. White takes exception to my thesis that every tax must eventually come to rest upon the landowner, as set forth in my article, "A Reply to Critics," in the March *Freeman*. In voicing his dissent, however, Mr. White is guilty of misconstruing certain of my statements. He writes, "He argues that of total production an indefinite amount must go to wages." What I did say—and though I wrote in Spanish the passage was correctly translated—was this: "It must be admitted that in some indeterminate proportion the wages of specially remunerated workers can be indirectly reduced, temporarily or permanently, by the pressure of taxation." I maintain that the statements are by no means the same, and this misinterpretation of my views leads me to remark that, whatever the amount of production and its value, the part apportioned to wages is sufficiently definite. It is, in short, the indispensable minimum which workers, with the exception of those of special skills who are specially remunerated, must have in order to live.

Mr. White says further, "George argued that speculation in land is the great practical evil." I have seen no such assertion in any of George's writings. Instead he repeatedly stated that the great evil in modern society is the private ownership by some men of the land upon which all must live and work.

If the thought of George was as Mr. White states, it would have been a very narrow view. Speculation is a phenomenon secondary, adjective, occasional and local. It is not a fact general or constant, although to Americans and inhabitants of other "new" countries the rapid growth in rent and the selling price of land, making for speculation, might make it appear otherwise. This advance in land values has been due to the fact

that the growth of population in these new countries has been stimulated by immigration, as well as to the advance in technological processes.

Yet the great evils of private ownership in land persists, and in even more severe form, in European and Asiatic countries where the value of much of the land has long remained virtually unchanged and speculation in land is of infrequent occurrence. As a matter of fact it has been my personal observation that immigrants from Spain and Italy to Argentina knew nothing about land speculation, or that—which was common knowledge to us—land values in countries still in the process of settlement tend to increase. If Mr. White were correct, these static countries would not have any "great" economic evil, but surely this was not the view of Henry George!

It is therefore of great importance to keep in mind that the fact of fundamental significance is the private ownership of land, and that the various evils springing from the institution of private property in land are not in themselves fundamental at all.

Having this in mind, several problems are cleared up, and one is not tempted to think, for example, that the mere checking of speculation can in any way result in a lasting improvement in social conditions, or that, as Mr. White says, "With greater production wages would be much higher." The fact is that neither an increase in production nor reduction in public expenses will affect wages, for the simple reason that the owner of land would automatically reap the benefits.

No one should forget the wise words of Henry George: "Thus where private property in land has divided society into a landowning class and a landless class, there is no possible invention or improvement, whether it be industrial, social or moral, which, so long as it does not affect

the ownership of land, can prevent poverty or relieve the general conditions of mere laborers. For whether the effect of any invention or improvement be to increase what labor can produce or to decrease what is required to support the laborer, it can, so soon as it becomes general, result only in increasing the income of the owners of land, without at all benefitting the mere laborers. In no event can those possessed of the mere ordinary power to labor, a power utterly useless without the means necessary to labor, keep more of their earnings than enough to enable them to live." (*The Condition of Labor*).

And again: "A reduction in the amount taken from the aggregate produce of a community by taxation would be simply equivalent to the increase in the power of net production. It would in effect add to the effective power of labor, just as do the increasing density of population and improvement in the arts. And as the advance in the one case goes, and must go, to the owners of the land, in increased rent, so would the advantage in the other." (*Progress and Poverty*).

At all events, the only effective way to eradicate land speculation is to make land common property, just as the only conclusive way to eliminate smuggling is to suppress custom houses. But, I must add, it would not be practical to do either of these things by abrupt or revolutionary means.

Another point that can cause mistakes, is the correlation between production, rent and land values. If "artificial scarcity" of land checks production and can increase speculative land values, it is not true, as Mr. White appears to believe, that the process can be repeated over and over, production repeatedly being checked and land values continuing to gain. The absurdity of such reasoning, when carried to its logical

On Shifting The Tax on Land Values

By LANCASTER M. GREENE

Though economists, real and alleged, agree that a tax on land values cannot be shifted, it is difficult for the average man to see wherein such a tax differs from others, most of which, as he well knows from painful experience, finally come to rest on him.

Put abstractly a real estate man may not see this proposition and may argue that the rent can be passed on or shifted. He may prove to you that the tax must come out of income, from land and buildings at any site or out of other earnings by the landlord. You may admit this. He may then argue that therefore the

conclusion, can readily be seen: when production had been reduced to the minimum, or nothing, rent would be at the maximum height. But we know well that rent, like wages and interest, can come only out of production.

Because the landowner gathers at the end the net surplus of production, whatever it may be, after payment of wages, interest, amortization and taxes, one ought not to be puzzled, as Mr. H. W. Noren seems to be in his editorial in the May Freeman, by the fact that "at recurring intervals millions of tenants have had their taxes increased and the rent raised at the same time." This would only prove that the increment of rent has been greater than the increment of taxes; which is quite possible if the land value of production has increased more than the sum of wages, interest, amortization and taxes.

Suppose it is proved (though it is of little consequence) that "at all times, total taxes come close to equalling total rent." it does not follow that "if all taxes were paid out of rent there would never be any net rent to be capitalized into land values," because the so-called total rent is the remnant of

tax on land values can be shifted, a conclusion which does not follow if the landlord digs up from other earnings or if the building is being milked to pay the tax on the site value

Ask the real estate man "Will a higher real estate levy in your city lower or raise land prices?" His answer will be unequivocally, "It will lower the price of lots."

On the other hand, ask your landlord, "Will lower real estate levies raise the price of lots?" The answer will be "Naturally."

A Mr. Arnold was widely publicized for his successful campaign to cut the cost of public services in

the aggregate produce of the community after the payment of all wages, interest amortization and taxes.

It is true that "all history and all countries proclaim the fact that those who hold landed estates are the permanently rich, their riches always maintained by their collecting and keeping as their own the rent of land, which would otherwise constitute public funds. But it does not follow that because "economic science has no room for a class of men who can live without producing," the assertion that the landlords finally pay all taxes must imply the belief that there are "miracle men who, out of nothing, pay all of their own and other men's taxes."

Well, in the history of all epochs and countries there is plenty of information upon seeming miracle men who have lived comfortably without producing anything, and who, furthermore, paid the expenses of government. The landlord slaveholders in the Southern States, for example, did not necessarily work, yet they lived more luxuriously than their slaves, and certainly were, among both, the only taxpayers. Out of what resources could the slaves, the only producers, have paid the taxes?

Nebraska by eliminating profit. He organized tax payers' groups whose accountants checked myriad possibilities and cut the cost of municipal, county and state operation by millions. Mr. Arnold did this as a public service, and to build up the demand for his own farm land, and for his services as a broker and dealer in farm lands. Mr. Arnold's plan succeeded so well that every state saw taxpayers' federations by landlords who hoped to raise the price of land through government economy. The catch is that rising land prices call for more govern-

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In what respect is the condition of modern wage earners essentially different?

It is not economic science that makes room for "miracle men." It is personal coercion and direct or indirect coercive laws that do it. Finally, from the fact that men of the time of Locke were wrong in their belief that agriculture alone was productive, it does not necessarily follow that one is equally wrong in thinking that merchants will not pay taxes and that laborers cannot.

Summing up the objections made by five critics of my statement that in all times and circumstances (excepting, obviously, those of extremely arbitrary tyranny) the burden of every tax falls substantially, in the final incidence, upon landowners — and whose objections I have answered in this article and in my article in the May Freeman — I can assert, it seems to me, that my thesis has not been destroyed nor weakened. Possibly further and more penetrating criticism, such as a matter so charged with consequences deserves, may uncover a weakness in my position. But unless it can be shown by tion. If not the argument for economic reform will have to undergo substantial modifications.

The Secret of Russian Resistance

By JOSEPH PUSATERI

It seems that most Gorgists have joined the distinguished group of intellectuals who attribute everything to land, including love, honor and the Brooklyn Dodgers. I am referring to Harry Gunnison Brown's article entitled, "Russian Bravery and Russian Land." (Freeman, Sept., 1942). The Russians have proved themselves to be a brave and superb fighting people. Of this there can be no dispute. However, though we may praise their courage to the skies, we need not attribute their success to "Socialism," any more than they need attribute our success to "Capitalism." Have we already forgotten that our alliance with Russia was actuated by nothing but the force of circumstances! Yet it seems as though we have made a virtue of necessity.

Mr. Brown has made a vain attempt to link the land policy with the motive for Russia's resistance. He writes,

"What of the fact that all of Russia's natural resources ... belong to all the Russians? In other countries it is not so. They belong to comparatively few."

This is a mere assumption, unsupported by the facts. There is no proof that common ownership of land impels a nation to fight more bravely or efficiently. The Russians of 1812 did not repulse Napoleon's army because they owned natural resources. The Chinese are not fighting so bravely and resolutely for that reason, either. Russia's poor showing against Finland recently, despite a tremendous superiority in equipment and numbers, had no connection with Finland's private ownership of land, or Russia's common ownership. The British had challenged the Nazis while unprepared, and withstood severe bombings for a year. Surely the British people did not demonstrate this courageous resistance because of common ownership of their land, or for the British

landlords. The landless people there are out to smash Hitler. The Cliveden Set, who own most of Britain's land, are against the war! These facts positively contradict Mr. Brown's statement that "common ownership of land is the reason for Russia's resistance." If Socialism is responsible for Russian successes, then Socialism is equally responsible for Russian reverses.

What arguments, then, can be advanced to account for this resistance? Here are several factors that have undoubtedly played important parts in shaping the war to its present state:

1. The Russian people (like all others) deeply resent intrusion and unwarranted attack.

2. To support this feeling, Russia was prepared, politically and economically, due to the regimentation that is part and parcel of the Socialist system. She had a full year's preparation to arm to the teeth, while England and Germany were exhausting their supplies in battle, prior to the Russian invasion. Russia boasted of the largest standing army and air fleet in the world. Controlled radios and newspapers harped on the war theme for years. However, these points are not a credit to Russia any more than they are for Germany, who has made similar preparations. But it was this war economy advantage that gave both Russia and Germany a few years' start over the democratic nations.

3. Russia is self-sufficient. Her vast natural resources furnish her with an unlimited supply of war materials. Her great population gives her unlimited reserves. Her fertile lands yield her sufficient food.

4. The 2,000 mile border was a natural Russian advantage.

This long border scattered the Nazi army into much smaller units, thinning out the real massed power of the Nazi "Blitzkrieg" machine,

depriving it of its former effectiveness.

Nazi successes, or that of any other aggressor, can be attributed to promises of rich rewards at the expense of scapegoats, plus years of preparation and planning.

Mr. Brown, by failing to distinguish between common ownership of land under Socialism, and the collection of economic rent in a free society, has left the impression that the Socialist conception of common ownership of land is desirable. He writes, "No landlord can force the (Russian) people to pay him for location advantages that the people themselves have produced." Whereupon a Socialist might add, "But that isn't all. The Russian people own all the factories and machines. We do not separate these things in common, from land. Not only do we fight against re-introduction of landlordism, but also against capitalism, with its attendant extraction of surplus value!" Thus Mr. Brown would be forced to undertake the tedious task of proving that the Russians fight only because they own the land, and not for the other means of production.

No private landlord can, but the State landlord brings on new abuses that deprive the Russian workers of a large part of their production. The Russian people own their land as does the American tramp, who theoretically owns our parks in common. But the "Keep Off" sign is addressed to its very owners.

It is the unscientific use of land and capital that bring the Russian people down to a low standard of living. With the absence of competition in a free market, the value of land can never be accurately ascertained, and thus cannot be utilized to its maximum yield. For what may a parcel of land be used most economically—a farm, a school, a factory, a theatre, or a skyscraper? A school may be built on land that may yield

many times more for production purposes. The effect and social loss is the same as if all types of laborers were scrambled and placed at different and new jobs, regardless of their productive ability at certain trades. The tremendous loss under this "planned" use of land is apparent. Under the Georgist scientific use of land, it will be entrepreneurs who are willing to stake their life's savings upon their foresight and experience, to select the proper place for the proper business. Once his business proves to be a failure, it is removed from the market. Under Socialism, uneconomical enterprises are never discontinued, for there is no way of determining their success or failure because of the lack of competition. Losses are socialized, charged to the people, and become a heavy drain upon the nation's production.

As for private landlords collecting for the advantages of better sites, what happens when 50 million Russians seek location advantages, and only one million such places are available? Who obtains these advantages?

There is only one answer—the group that has the power to secure them—the minority Communist party and bureaucrats. They reap the rent privilege from the rest of the people. Thus, while the "Capitalist" nations pay landlords, the Socialist nations pay for similar abuse and misuse of the land. The income that might go to support private landlords, is more often never even produced. The manner in which a vast bureaucracy can devour national income causes surplus value to pale into insignificance by comparison. To quote Joseph E. Davies, Ambassador to Russia, "The great natural wealth of Russia makes her self-sustaining not because of socialism, but in spite of it."*

Most wars are caused by internal failures. It is here that the land question enters. Interference with natural laws is bound to have its evil effects, and any nation, "Capitalist" or "Socialist," is apt to start a war for these reasons. They seek a solution beyond their borders at the ex-

Truth Is Where You Find It

By HELENA PLATHKIN

Once upon a time I went to an institution for a formal education. I took many courses and accumulated many credits, four in economics. The first semester I got a B; the second semester, an A. I read the textbook dutifully—it was dry stuff. I even did some outside reading. It made the bibliography on my term papers look so well.

In a general way, the institution had the lofty objective of turning out educated men and women who would make the world a better place. Economics I and II did not seem to furnish the spark that would start off this betterment. I put away the book on a lower shelf (it looked aloof next to the flippantly orange-bound SHOW BOAT).

My next venture was in Sociology. This was interesting. Here we thought in terms of human beings instead of abstractions like money, business, management. We even visited a boys' club. Wasn't it appalling the things that boys did in the "gang" stage. You need only understand that a boy's home lacked love and understanding (maybe his mother was too busy scrubbing floors to earn enough just to keep him alive) and you had the "gang" instinct licked. A nice boys' club with athletics and a little culture thrown in was supposed to remedy that. And if a boy got into trouble, an understanding judge would not hold it against him because—well, his home lacked love. Yes, Sociology was getting a little warmer, human.

pense of others.

In closing, I also wish to pay tribute to the heroic and courageous Russians for their great fighting, and also to the British and the Chinese, and all of the United Nations. Let us concentrate upon the task of winning the war, and let us not allow our enthusiasm to lead us to exaggeration, lest we create more work to be undone in the future.

*Mission to Moscow.

This course was followed by Psychology. The complexes, psychoses, neuroses, instinct, emotional blocks, frustrations that beset man! Here was the clue to the better world. You learned that if a guy lacked a couple of inches in stature he would compensate himself by a Napoleonic streak. If he were a frustrated artist, he would try to conquer the world. If a woman-hater, he had his mother on a shrine and didn't know it. But we in Psycho. 018 knew it. It was practically in the bag, the pattern for a better humanity. And what brought it about?—Psychology!

The credits mounted, the institution honored me with a diploma, and I was released. For a long while thereafter, my reading followed fancy. It was grand. No term papers, no reports, no book reviews. Just read aimlessly and enjoy it. And then I came upon "PROGRESS AND POVERTY." I need hardly elaborate on the revelations contained in its pages. Here was economics, sociology, psychology, but above all, here was literature, truth and wisdom. All the pompous chapters of Economics I and II—agriculture, business, banking, railroads, labor, population, money, unemployment, taxes, natural resources, public utilities—fell into place like orderly planets revolving around the sun. All the "ologies" on their wobbly pedestals made way for the simple, irrefutable truths of cause and effect. I was so elated I wanted to spot these truths over and over wherever they had been hidden by obscure meanings and pompous terminology. Many paths lead to the truth and I wanted the adventure of trodding them all. I wanted to meet other travelers who were heading for the same destination. I tried very hard to keep up with all the reading I encountered in and out of classes at the Henry George School.

I had made a motley crew of friends. To them I became the butt

of many wise cracks. When I met one of them in the subway I desperately tried to cover my assignment (from *THE RHYME OF REASON* by Holmes) for my logic class. "What's this?" came the taunt. "A compilation of stuff from *THE NEW YORKER*?" Another friend, seeing *THE STATE* by Oppenheimer drooled: "A detective story, eh, the State vs. Who." Hirsch's *DEMOCRACY VERSUS SOCIALISM* brought forth, "Say, I didn't know you were a pink." Another fingered a copy of *THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY*. "Heavy stuff, isn't it?" "REBEL, PRIEST AND PROPHET" by Bell? Never heard of it. Sounds like a good movie number. "THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREEDOM"—Oh, she's a highbrow. Doesn't bother with fiction."

"But I'll get around to some light reading, this summer—perhaps," I resolved. "How can I do so now with a class to prepare for, weekly volunteer work, *THE FREEMAN* to read, *LAND AND FREEDOM*, and squeezed somewhere into the twenty-four hours, the daily newspaper?"

Then summer comes and I do read fiction. A good book, a best seller, "FAME IS THE SPUR" by Howard Spring. Now, this is not going to be a gushy book review. It's a little late for that, for the book's been popular for a couple of years and rumor has it that Hollywood is flirting with it. So I'm going to relax and enjoy the story, no notes to make, no references to look up. But whoa! What's this on page 387? "And someone owns the mountain, someone who isn't God looking down from the Heaven on the mole-hill, someone named the Marquis of This or Duke of That, who never carries a Davy lamp, who never has red lips and white eyes shining in a black mask, but who is lord and master of all this coal, all this petrified vegetation that aeons ago was trampled by mammoths and mastodons and drank in the light of a day before *Homo Sapiens* began to squat on his hunkers. All the old sunlight, transmuted into trees, transmuted into leaf mould, transmuted into coal, is

theirs because they are clever enough to own the fruit of all the sunlight that shone on steaming swamps before the first man uttered his first grunt, clever enough to own the mountain they have never seen, let alone what is going on under it."

I read this over. Why, it's an old thought, so familiar that it has become my own. I read on and stop at page 449.

"They can't see it (Labour) as anything but a handful of working men in the House of Commons, perpetually in opposition, perpetually arguing about an extra ha'p'orth for the poor. . . ."

This is a story! And I thought I was going to get away from it all by indulging in fiction. (Escapism, Psycho 2.) Why, it's one of those paths I'm treading with someone who is seeking the truth! I know the truth now and I can recognize it anywhere. After all, what is a story? And one of the characters answers me on page 626.

"... it's about all the boys and gels I knew. That was it. That was the essence of any story and the story was much the same whether they were chimney sweepers or golden lads and lasses." "... the stuff historians wrote missed the point, that for each one of us history is neither more nor less than what happens to me. And the boys and gels I knew." The time or period, locale or setting are just that much embroidery for truths to shine forth if one but knows them.

On page 528 "FAME IS THE SPUR" takes us back to the time of World War I. "It was not to be endured that at a time of such enormous national peril, the miners should think of striking but there seems no doubt that they would do so." Why I read that in the newspaper only yesterday and this is the time of World War II. Mr. Lewis!

I indulge in a few minutes of revelry over this page. World War II. Good Heavens! What have we done with the interlude between wars? How was it that we lost ourselves so hopelessly and now are stumbling along the same bloody road? We

Man Is Never "Satisfied"

By LANCASTER M. GREENE

(The following letter from the Chairman of the Board of the Henry George School of Social Science to the editor of *The Wall Street Journal* was published in the September 17th issue of that paper. It is reprinted here by permission. —The Editors.)

In your editorial "Free or Controlled" (Sept. 14) you speak of the resistance to the teaching of fear and "take what you want" on the part of "a happy and satisfied people."

A better word than "satisfied" seems desirable in this connection, for Emerson pointed out that man has an important asset, a driving force in his "divine discontent."

Henry George pointed out that man is the one animal whose desires

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won. Where is our victory? And our politician hero answers my query several pages later: "When somebody wins, and whoever that may be, the common people—the people in whose name both sides are fighting—will say 'Thank God that's over' and, a good deal poorer and sadder, they'll settle down till another saviour comes along to ruin them. If I could be sure of having one prayer answered, I would pray for this: that for fifty years throughout the whole world, politicians of all breeds would leave the people alone. We might then have a better world, we couldn't have a worse one."

The tale draws to an end. The characters are old and sad and wise. But not entirely disillusioned. Out of their turbulent lives they have shed illusion, expediency, compromise. "No government," says our hero, "can do more than maintain a clear framework within which the essential acts of private life may go on. Even a politician would realize that the more virtue we have, the

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Eulogy in Memory of Civil War Veterans

By RABBI MICHAEL AARONSOHN

(The following eloquent address was delivered by Rabbi Aaronsohn on the Memorial Services Program of the forty-third national encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in the Taft Auditorium, Cincinnati, Sunday evening, August 30, 1942.—The Editors)

April 1861, April 1865: four years, one thousand, four hundred and sixty days.

Four ordinary years in the history of a nation might not be regarded as indispensable. But there are years and days in the life of a nation which are as indispensable and precious as is a gram of radium to the tons of ore from which it is extracted.

Between April 12, 1861 and April 9, 1865 the pages of American history include a revolution in naval warfare, an upheaval in the social structure of the nation, a complete overthrow of an economic order. These one thousand four hundred and sixty days witnessed the end of a political dynasty, the emancipation of several million human beings, the death or disablement of hundreds of thousands of citizen soldiers in the prime of their manhood.

These 1460 days brought forth men of lofty spiritual and moral stature, men of unrivaled valor, and men of unexcelled military and political leadership. Such names as Foote, Porter, Farragut and John Worden of the Navy; Grant, Thomas, Mead, Sherman and Sheridan, Jackson, Johnston, Stuart and Lee of the Army; Shilo, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Chancellorsville, Cold Harbor and Savannah match those of Nelson and Napoleon, Marathon and Waterloo.

During these one thousand four hundred and sixty days, men of the same speech, the same religion, the same customs and traditions killed and maimed one another in a veritable deluge of blood. They were not giants pitted against dwarfs. They were not Mongols or Huns sweeping down upon the innocent and the unarmed. They were not

invincible Macedonians or Romans joining battle with the weak and the effete.

They were giants against giants. They were Macedonians against Romans. They were Spartans against Hannibal's Carthaginians.

About six hundred thousand men were battle-slain during these 1,460 days. About five billion dollars, more than the market value of all the slaves, were spent for those four years of war. Grant and Lee both called it an unholy conflict. Sherman styled it the work of Satan. Lincoln said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." Julia Ward Howe sang, "Let us die to make men free."

What did those four years of bloodshed, terror, destruction, desolation, hatred and sacrifice of human life decide? The institution of slavery was already on its way out. England and Russia had freed millions of black and white slaves without shedding a drop of blood. These 1,460 days did what four score and seven years of bitter debate and compromise and philosophic and even theological disputations could not accomplish. This, then, was written in the hearts of men everywhere, engraven on the records of nations everywhere; that government of the people, by the people, for the people must not perish from the earth.

Not government by kings, nor by oligarchy. Not the rule of a political dynasty, nor the sway of a military conqueror. Not government by absentee landlords, nor the invisible dictatorship of planters, prelates or plutocrats or the proletariat. Out of the carnage of Shiloh and Cold Harbor, out of the mortal ruins of the heroes of Chancellorsville and Chattanooga, out of the enriched soil of Antietam and Atlanta, out of the fresh graves of Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the voices of the hosts of Liberty, carried on the wings of the wind throughout the world rang out:

"We the people do ordain . . ."

Six hundred thousand men! Six hundred thousand men of valor, six hundred thousand men of intelligence, free men, were battle-slain to teach the world the truth, that the basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. Cities were burned, commonwealths were ravaged, great arteries of trade and commerce were severed, a confederation of states was crushed in order that other nations also might see and fear the jealousy, wrath, and titanic strength of a truly free and enlightened people.

It is not for me here to plead for a better understanding of this fundamental principle of liberty. It is not for me here to warn you of the evils ever present in our democracy and of the adversaries ever watchful of the moment to overthrow our republic.

Let the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave again stir the better angels of our nature. Let the supreme sacrifice of those 1,460 days strengthen our resolution and our faith in liberty. Let the majestic spirits of Grant, Lee and Lincoln guide us as a pillar of cloud by day and as a pillar of fire by night through this great World War. And may the Almighty Ruler of nations move in the midst of our camps today, in every part of the world, as He did in those 1,460 days and nights of woe and wondrous vision and courage.

Tax Idle Land

By VERLIN D. GORDON

(The following article, published as a letter to the editor in The Wall Street Journal of September 10, 1942, is reprinted by permission. The writer is a young Georgist of Lima, Ohio, whose views and comments appear frequently in the highly

Believe It or Not

By H. W. NOREN

In physical science progress is made because the scientist works on inanimate things. He shapes them to his heart's desire, iron, gold, wood or what not. To the extent he understands natural laws the elements become his obedient servants. But not so man. He has a mind and he alone can manage it. In the July, 1942, issue of his magazine, Mr. Flint Garrison gives a good illustration of what we are up against when

competitive "Letters-To-The-Editor" columns of that well-known financial publication.—The Editors)

When are we going to come to grips with the vital land problem? It may, on the surface, appear to be an unimportant issue, however upon it rests our hopes for triumphant production and victory in the conflict. Upon it depends whether or not we shall have ample materials and foods to avoid sending a poorly equipped army into the battle, and a poorly fed multitude of defense workers into the shops and mills. But the fact is, an incessant stream of propaganda flows from many sources proclaiming that taxes on real estate are already too high. Certainly taxes are too high on real estate, because real estate includes buildings and improvements. Many mines, for instance, remain idle in the face of this present material shortage for the simple reason that at the first sign of productive activity, when the first little shack rears its head, it will be taxed back out of use.

Let us then look to the justice of laying a tax only on the land, but not on the improvements. To lure idle lands and natural resources into use; to prevent the reckless razing of much-needed buildings to save taxes; to insure home owners against the loss of their homes, etc., it is only necessary that we shift the burden of taxation from improvements

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we try to influence men's minds. Says Mr. Garrison:

"The problem of unemployment in time of peace is unsolved and must be solved."

Among politicians we sometimes find men who assume ignorance to better appeal to or flatter uninformed constituents, but I will grant that Mr. Garrison believes what he says. Has employment or unemployment ever been unsolved since man came upon the earth? When man goes to work on his own he solves the problem for himself and by example for Mr. Garrison. Adam had to employ himself and man's relation to the source of his sustenance is the same now as then. Henry George lived in our industrialized era and in his examinations didn't leave unemployment unsolved. Mr. Garrison does not know this and therefore assumes that no one else knows it. He says: "No informed person will contend that industry as at present organized can *** give all the people employment in industry and, at the same time, return to them the buying power necessary to buy and use the products of their employment. Our economy is not yet automatically self-adjusting."

The purpose if industry is to produce goods, not to employ people. I don't want to speak for the communists, but there are hints in their writings that they reverse the order, making employment the primary purpose and production of goods incidental. Mr. Garrison speaks of returning to the employees "buying power necessary to buy and use the products of their employment." Since the product can belong only to the producer, why speak of returning it to him? He owns it already, all of it. Not even the rent is a deduction from his product, for rent is a plus, a product of society or all of us in common and does not appear where men pioneer by themselves. He says: "Our economy is not yet automatically self-adjusting." But it is, or would be but for two interferences, first; Rent diverted into private pockets and capitalized into price of land, thereby preventing free access to self-employment, second; Deduction

of taxes from the product. The problem is not of returning anything to the producer, but to quit robbing him.

Freeman readers will be surprised to learn that, "If trade, industry and finance were left to their own devices at the end of this war we would have world wide economic chaos."

It would be interesting if Mr. Garrison would cite an instance where and when trade, industry and finance produced chaos. If men with the itch to levy tribute would leave trade, industry and finance to their own devices these productive services could operate in a normal world and we would not at any time have the chaos we now have to put up with at all times, peace or war.

It isn't industry which fails us. The latter has failed to attend to its own job, which is to see to it that all men within its jurisdiction have equal, that is, free, access to land, instead of constantly interfering with trade, industry and finance.

And what does Mr. Garrison suggest for after-the-war relief? In his own words: "More governmental interference at the close of this war." Believe it or not!

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are never satisfied short of infinity.

When any other animal has satisfied its desires in the direction of food, shelter and its reproductive instincts, then it settles down to sleep. When man has reached a comparable state of satisfaction, he has but set his foot on the first rung of a ladder of infinite progression, away from and above the beast. Quantity achieved, quality is sought.

If you would change that word "satisfied" to "hopeful," I would consider it a great improvement in a fine editorial. I agree that a hopeful, vigorous people will not believe their destiny lies in taking what they want from others.

Lancaster M. Greene
New York City

* * *

Mr. Greene's point is well taken and we are glad to accept the correction.—Ed.

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

A Veteran's View

(On request, the writer of the letter below has supplied the following information: "I was born in Richmond, Maine, July 18, 1857, so was 85 on my last birthday. I became interested in the George philosophy, I think in 1887, by hearing him speak in Tremont Temple under the auspices of the Typographical Union. I attended the convention held in Cooper Union on his return from his trip around the world, hearing such speakers as Tom L. Johnson, Bolton Hall, Louis F. Post, Judge Maguire, William Lloyd Garrison and others."—The Editors)

I would suggest that our Candidates for Congress take a course of instruction in a mild insane asylum to qualify them for such a position. For is there such a thing as wisdom in Washington? A short time ago, one of the superminds of Congress, a United States Senator, is reported to have said in advocacy of a sales tax that thirty-seven per cent of our people escape taxation altogether.

That seems to be a fair sample of congressional wisdom. Any intelligent school-boy knows that there is not a self-supporting person in the country that does not pay taxes in some form or another. But what are we to expect of a body of men (with due respect to the ladies) that still insists in maintaining an economic system that breeds affluence for the few and poverty and misery for the many?

There are those in Congress that prate about a free country when there is not a square foot of land in it to which we can apply our efforts in the production of wealth without paying tribute to or or asking the permission of some one in order to do so. We hear them speak of liberty as though it was something they had accomplished for us; why the beasts and the birds enjoy that, until interfered with by so-called humans.

They glory in the efficiency of our home market, and grieve at the loss of our foreign trade. "They appropriate millions of dollars to improve our harbors to let commerce in, and build tariff walls to keep it out." They urge production and penalize the producers. They profess to believe in the wisdom of Nature's God, and then proceed to enact so-called laws to supersede those of nature and invite disaster by doing so.

I think poor old Solomon would blush at his ignorance compared with the wisdom of our modern minds? Or would he?

I wish especially to commend the letter of Jean Lackey in your August issue. Soslindale, Mass. Walter A. Verney

Chicago Celebrates

CHICAGO—Undaunted by driving rain, 200 enthusiastic Georgists gathered in the dining room of the Central YMCA on the evening of September 2 to celebrate the one hundred and third anniversary of the birth of Henry George. Alexander Greene, long leader among mid-west Georgists, presided. The Proclamation of the Mayor of Chicago, Hon. Edward J. Kelly, naming September 2 as Henry George Day, was read by Wallace G. MacCauley, clerk of the Probate Court and one of the mainstays of the Chicago Henry George School.

John Z. White, dean of Georgist "old-timers," told of his association with Henry George; Mason Gaffey, a young recruit to the Georgist movement, described his search for economic enlightenment in an eastern university. Featured speakers of the evening were Miss V. G. Peterson, secretary of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation of New York and Monsignor Luigi G. Ligutti, executive secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. The success of the occasion was said to be due largely to the efforts of John Lawrence Monroe, Associate Director of the Henry George School of Social Science in Chicago.

News From Kirkcudbrightshire

NEW YORK—From London comes word that Mr. E. J. McManus (c/o Leath's Cottage, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire) has organized his second Economics Class and will have 25 readers of Progress and Poverty, although not so many will be able to attend the class regularly. The interest of those who have to absent themselves will be maintained by personal visits to encourage them in the study and discuss with them any matters that arise. It is the war work, civil defense, etc., that takes up so much of their time and, also, working hours have been increased. This makes things the more arduous for Mr. McManus, but, as he says, difficulties exist to be overcome.

The Scots Are On The Job

GLASGOW—Messrs. Douglas MacDonald and William Reid, president and secretary respectively of The Henry George Freedom League, with which is incorporated The Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, are appealing, by means of a direct mail campaign, for public support of the League's proposal that for tax purposes land and improvements be valued separately. Pointing out that the ten-year orgy of land speculation which followed the first World War was largely responsible for the world-wide depression which set in in the late 'twen-

ties, and sensing the danger of a recurrence of such land value inflation, the authors state: "The schemes for replanning and rebuilding devastated areas will necessitate large purchases of land, and already all sorts of vague and ineffective proposals for restricting land speculation, or for some application of utterly unworkable betterment taxation are being discussed."

The preamble to the League's Memorandum of Proposals reads as follows:

"The ownership of land is a favor conferred on the individual by all the citizens of a country. The value of the holding represents the benefits which the holder receives from the community, and is a reliable measure of what he owes and ought to contribute to the upkeep of local and national government. The non-use of natural resources or of the advantages conferred by public services should not excuse payment to the community for value received."

Following the preamble, steps by which the end sought is to be made effective are set forth in detail.

Notice

The Freeman is informed that Henry B. Cramer, 3207 McCall St., San Diego, Cal., has 25 cartons of WHAT'S WRONG WITH TAXATION?, by Jackson H. Ralston, which he is willing to send to any activity center or Georgist group that can make use of them at no other cost than shipping charges. Each carton contains approximately fifty copies of Judge Ralston's 188-page book.

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need of evaluating things and their equivalents in trade. The extending of trade areas meant the broadening and deepening of civilization. Impeding and obstructing trade by any means meant the narrowing and retarding of civilization. Trade is the very lifeblood of civilization, whose circulation can be restricted only at our peril—if carried too far it may mean the death of civilization. Have we not seen it?

He was a pacifist of pacifists, who knew, as Cobden had said, that "Free Trade is the international law of the Almighty," but he had a "deadline" beyond which there could be no peace.

It's a Girl at the Bremer's

NEW YORK—The arrival of a young lady who may be elected president some day on a Georgist platform is announced by the proud father as follows:

"Born to Lester E. Bremer (member of the New York School) and his wife, Catherine, a baby girl, Ann Blakemore, in Christ Hospital, Jersey City, N. J., August 16, 1942. Weight: eight pounds, ten ounces. Baby, mother—and father—doing well."

Who Doesn't Like It?

CHICAGO—Typical of the comment evoked by Gösta Larsson's folk-tale of the coming of land reform to a Graustarkian kingdom, "Revolt in Arcadia," is this from a Chicago business man who, after reading the book himself, was so pleased that he passed it on to other members of the family for perusal: "Jane loves it and Marion says it is the best thing of its kind she has ever seen."

Mr. Craig Is on the Job

NEW YORK—Following are excerpts from a letter, written from London, from Mr. C. S. Craig, British Mercantile Marine, whose visit to the Henry George School of Social Science in New York was reported in the August Freeman:

"I am writing to you so soon after being at the school, because it may be some time before I am able to get in touch with you again. We have been successful in forming a small group of seven, and the members have already filled in the 'Questionnaire,' read 'The Problem' and been issued sheets for Lesson II. . . . The class has been acquainted with the generous assistance given by the New York School, and has undertaken to complete the full course of ten lessons without missing one. I shall be after any who does; with this advantage—that I know he can't get very far away! Even difficulties seem to have their possibilities. (It would be pretty hard to give the slip to the chief engineer on ship-board at sea.—Ed.)

Although it may be some time before you hear from me again, the class will still be going on, and if ever we are in New York I hope I may be permitted to bring the members along to see your fine building and the magnificent work you are doing over there.

A Fertile Field

OMAHA—A brief talk announcing the classes of the Omaha Extension and explaining something of their purpose was made to an August meeting of the Omaha Central Labor Union. This was followed up by two similar talks to member unions, and several personal interviews with local leaders. It is hoped in this way to interest a number of active unionists in the School.

Faculty Meetings

NEW YORK—"Economic Geography" was the topic at the September 9th faculty meeting. Mr. William Strnad lead the discussion, which was participated in by a number of those present. Mr. George H. Royal presided.

The subject for the September 24th meeting was "Proposed Post-War Plans vs. Henry George." Speakers were Marshall De Angelis and Richard Moos. Following their talks the meeting was thrown open for general discussion of the subject.

Omaha Prepares For Fall Opening

OMAHA—As a result of continued activity through the summer months of the Omaha Chapter of The Henry George Fellowship, a decided increase over last year's enrollment is expected for the fall classes which open the first week of October.

From a social standpoint, the highlight of Georgist activities during the summer was the Fellowship picnic in July. August was marked by a supper in honor of Miss V. G. Peterson of New York, Secretary of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. Miss Peterson's talk on the work of the Foundation and the school was enthusiastically received.

Dropping the Wrong Tax

CHEYENNE, Wyo.—It is announced by the Wyoming State Board of Equalization that state property taxes for 1942 will not be levied. Reasons given are excessive federal taxes and sufficient revenue from other sources. Two other sources are: revenue from the state owned wholesale liquor stores and the state sales tax. The latter was first initiated in Wyoming as an emergency measure, and later made a permanent law by the legislature. The Wyoming property tax was one mostly on land. (The potentialities are obvious to Georgists!)

Just Missed Pearl Harbor

NEW YORK—Visiting The Freeman and the school last month was H. A. Jackson, now a resident of Los Angeles, who left Honolulu but a few days before the Pearl Harbor attack, after living a number of years in the Hawaiian Islands. Mr. Jackson, long a Georgist, will write an article for an early issue of The Freeman on the land situation in Hawaii.

Christianson Speaks in Jersey

NEWARK, N. J.—A. P. Christianson, member of the faculty of the Henry George School of Social Science in New York, addressed a gathering of some forty people at the home of Mrs. Geoffrey Estey in Westfield, N. J., on the evening of September 15th, preparatory to the

opening of the fall class in Progress and Poverty in the Westfield area.

We Knew He Would

NEW YORK—From far-away Australia, land of the duckbilled platypus, the dingy and the barking lizard, comes word that Captain William H. Quasha, U. S. Army, is carrying on in the new fight for freedom with the same skill and devotion to duty that marked his activities as teacher in the Henry George School of Social Science and legal counsel for the school and The Freeman until his induction into the army last year.

Commenting on the manner in which Captain Quasha is meeting the heavy demands of his dual job as member of a three-man board of contracts and adjustments and Executive Officer for the General Purchasing Agent and Chief of the Statistical Division, his commanding general reported on a recent visit to the United States that "he has a wonderful head on his shoulders. He seems to have the ability to analyze the toughest problem and find the proper approach 'just like that.'"

Thank You, Mr. Nichols

I have enjoyed very much the Woodlock articles and especially Professor Brown's reply. I think we need very much the patient, reasoned, tolerant, calm explanation and exposition of our thesis. Some day I may tell you the antithesis of this, which I do not like, of which The Freeman had too much. I am glad to say it has much less of that recently.

Wellesley Hills, Mass. John R. Nichols

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fewer treaties we shall need." ". . . above all," meditates our heroine, "truth, wisdom, beauty, justice, are there, absolute, neither to be implemented nor destroyed by the haggling of politicians."

The story is finished. I don't know how long I shall remember Hamer Shawcross, Ann, Pen, Arnold, Charles, Alice, Lettice I don't know when I shall travel again with an auditor into the coal mines of the Rhondda Valley, over the moors at Baidon, into the slums of Ancoats Street, dine with nobility, or convene with the House of Commons. But the truth as I have learned it from Henry George I shall recognize anywhere. It is omnipresent and omnipotent and I need only look—to find it.



Mr. Ganschow Says Fight

As a recent graduate of the course given by the Newark Extension, I was very much interested in the letter of criticism written by Una E. Miller of Summit, N. J., in your June issue.

Granting that the starters of this war were "believers in the Malthusian Theory and Power Politics," we must now face the cold fact that we are facing the most powerful destructive forces ever conceived or produced by man. All of us are against war; we showed that by our hesitancy in granting powers to those in authority to build up our military organization. At this time, however, when we are fighting with our backs to the wall to save our very lives, to say nothing of saving our free democratic form of government, it seems untimely and futile to say we are against war and therefore must not render what Miss Miller terms "lip service."

If the destructive forces now on the loose win this war, there will be no opportunity for us to express our views on any public question. So, I say, let's all get behind those who are conducting the war, whether we like their politics or not. Winning the war should be the first consideration of all; we can argue our views after we have destroyed the forces now trying to destroy us and everything that modern civilization holds worth while.

Incidentally your June issue was very interesting and I feel that an orchid in your direction would not be out of order. Hillside, N. J. F. W. Ganschow

Georgists, Take Notice

There is before the House Judiciary Committee a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States to raise revenue by taxing land values. If you have not already done so, could you advise your readers to write to their representative for a copy of it, and, also, to express their approval of the measure? Further, they should write to Hon. Zebulon Weaver, House Judiciary Committee, voicing their approval.

Asheville, N. C. Mrs. Bertha Sellers

(A copy of the proposed amendment was published in the September issue of The Freeman.—The Editors)

Sees The Light at 69

I have been particularly impressed by the article in the July and August issues of The Freeman captioned "The Foolishness of the Wise Men," by Stephen Bell. If I could afford it, I'd ask your permission to have it reprinted in pamphlet form to be distributed far and wide, for it is so pertinent and in keeping with the need of this terrible time. Together with this I should quote Henry George:

"... It has come to pass that the great republic of the modern world has adopted at the beginning of its career an institution that ruined the republics of antiquity; that a people who proclaim the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness have accepted without question a principle which in denying the inalienable right to the soil finally denies the equal right to life and liberty; that a people who at the cost of a bloody war have abolished chattel slavery, yet permit slavery in a more widespread and dangerous form take root."

This "root" we must destroy, if we are to achieve our birthright—the "right" we long ago "sold for a mess of pottage" (some mess!). Certainly we should not entertain thoughts of vengeance, for we are all guilty. Not vengeance, but understanding is what we should cultivate; understanding of the universal, irresistible force operating wherever humanity congregates. Once understood, we can, if we will, work with it for our common good. We have stupidly worked against it; chaos, destruction, the result. So, it is up to us—the people—to destroy the evil root. Until this is done, there is no use in prayers for peace. "The most effective prayer is intelligent action." Let us so act.

Only after having reached the age of sixty-nine years have I come to see this truth. While I dislike the terms "Georgist" and "Single Taxer," I consider Henry George a greater man than even our revered Abraham Lincoln, and the greatest honor we can confer upon him is to tell the world the truth that he lived for. New York Lydia Nilsson Stjernberg

Mr. Peach Gets His

I read the article, "Mr. Bellamy's Utopia," by Paul Peach in the August

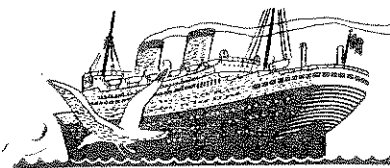
Freeman. You state that you do not necessarily endorse the opinions expressed in your editorials or articles. Nevertheless if you give the article the big headline you did on the front page, one naturally is inclined to get the impression that the editors must have thought very well of the article to give it the greater prominence. I have studied both Bellamy's books, as well as Progress and Poverty by Henry George. Am frank to admit that I am inclined to prefer Bellamy's theories over those of Henry George. I do consider Henry George a great thinker, with a wonderful mind in analyzing facts and causes. However, he cannot touch Bellamy in thoroughness in giving us a complete solution to our present day ills.

Mr. Paul Peach shows his lack of thoroughness in making deductions by showing a lack of capacity to read a book and understand what is said. His article is full of inaccuracies. In the first column Mr. Peach makes the statement that "every evening" a hypnotist comes below to put him to sleep. It is ridiculous for this is not said in the book.

He then tells us that the daughter of Mr. Leete is the sole tutor while the book puts Dr. Leete as the foremost teacher while Edith tries to help out at times. Again Mr. Peach proves that he cannot interpret correctly what he reads, by stating in the second column that the private exchange is forbidden. No more ridiculous lie has been put forth. Please quote the page where such a statement is to be found.

I could go on for pages pointing out mis-statements. If you believe in democratic principles you should publish this letter in your letters to the Editor. Mr. Peach believes that nothing is possible excepting what he considers possible and tries to cram it down our throats by making false statements. However, it is a poor way to prove one's point and I am much disappointed in the Freeman if this is the kind of article which gets the headlines.

New Orleans, La. Martin L. Belleman



Faith and Patriotism

"But we have not fully trusted her."

News dispatches in August quoted Attorney General Biddle as saying that while a certain large oil company may have been guilty of infringing certain monopoly laws, there was no reason to believe that the company had been guilty of any unpatriotic deals. The Attorney General's statement referred to the charge that agreements had been made with an enemy country in exchange for patent rights.

The incident furnishes an example of the loose way in which the word "patriotic" is being used today. The dictionary defines the word as meaning "devoted to the welfare of one's country; directed to the public safety and welfare." Most Georgists will disagree with the Attorney General. The mere infringement of monopoly laws is a serious and unpatriotic deed. It is obviously an action directed against public welfare.

At the same time there is much agitation for the suspension of anti-trust and similar laws, and for the dismissal of cases of that nature now pending, all ostensibly in the interests of national unity during the emergency. It is held to be unpatriotic to expend effort in these critical times upon such trivial matters as monopolies, trusts, vested interests and political privileges.

Georgists, however, have a much higher conception of patriotism than this, which permits selfish interests to act against the general welfare when they wrap themselves in the flag. The age in which we live is an unhappy one. What we need most urgently is a sense of direction, the faith that in teaching the philosophy of moral progress through freedom we are indeed taking the most patriotic action within our power.

No progressive movement can afford to stand still, for its very stagnation will deny it any effectiveness in a changing world, a world in which new ideologies may necessitate new tactics. This does not mean that expediency should rule, for any compromise with principle tends to a complete negation of the total structure of the premise, logic and validity of the conclusions of a philosophy. Rather, it should be an alertness as to new approaches and, as the movement grows, a display by the leading elements in that movement of an implicit faith in its objectives and the righteousness of its cause. Neither objective is being met by Georgists today.

In analyzing these shortcomings it may be well to examine more closely certain fundamentals, lest an oversight in a premise or an oversimplification born out of habitual usage should thwart the effort to find better methods of teaching how the free society which Henry George visualized is to be brought about. Failure to do this now in the rapidly changing environment of a war-torn world,

may cause the complete disintegration of the Georgist movement. There is no defeatism in Georgism, but our strength lies in clear and fearless thinking, freshly interrogating even accepted principles, following truth wherever it may lead.

The writer offers these themes for consideration.

(1) The impact of this war threatens to break the Georgist movement, as has happened before in similar times of stress. It may be wise at this time, therefore, to sit back and concentrate on the making of better teachers. This would entail work on better methods of presentation, the preparation of additional and more inclusive courses, etc. The names of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, the Physiocrats and many others come to mind; people with whose works many Georgists are but barely familiar. In short we should prepare the heavy ammunition for the time when the war is over. It seems doubtful whether much headway can be made under prevailing conditions, with many teachers and students joining the armed forces, and the civilian population busy with First Aid, Air Raid Warden duty and other volunteer war work, not to mention the strain under which everyone lives. "They also serve who only stand and wait," and in keeping the philosophy alive and without compromise, while developing a larger body of first class teachers, we may well make the greatest contribution possible to the movement.

(2) "A civilization like ours must either advance or go back," says Henry George. "The earth is the tomb of dead empires no less than of dead men." In *Progress and Poverty* he showed how OUR civilization may decline, lest we stop its internal decay before the time when "in the festering masses will be generated volcanic forces, which shatter and rend when seeming accident give them vent . . . and in carnivals of destruction brute force and wild frenzy will alternate with the lethargy of a declining civilization." Are we taking his book seriously? Are we meeting the challenge?

The motor of human progress is human power, limited by the amount of effort expended in securing a living. Thus, as inequality progresses, as the struggle for a bare existence becomes more intense and it becomes harder to find a job, the desire for security will gradually replace the desire for opportunity, the worker will become more dependent upon the existing system, and with senses dulled adjustment will be made. "The advance of inequality necessarily brings improvements to a halt, and . . . draws even upon the mental power necessary for maintenance, and retrogression begins." This is the challenge of our times and failure to meet it means resignation to inevitable failure.

Too many Georgists today consider that the whole vast problem of life will

be completely solved once economic rent is collected by the community. The first result of that panacea-mongering is to antagonize every other group working for some reform or other. There is no reason why we should not have cooperatives under Georgism, or a credit-plan, or a consumers-union, or a labor union. As a matter of fact, these will fare much better and take their proper place, once the problem of finding work for their members is no longer a throttling force.

Ours is not the only reform or revolutionary movement, and in bluntly antagonizing every other, we are simply working against ourselves. On the moral and religious side the picture is as bad. As Mr. Ludlow wrote in the July Freeman, "We have become sterile in our mad worship of logic; we have falsified the nature of man and built up a movement without dynamism, or revolutionary enthusiasm." A friend emphasized this to me recently: "You consider only the fact that there are landowners; you disregard completely that everybody who is not a landowner would like to be one, and as long as there is a chance and their moral outlook is unchanged Georgism will fail."

Considering the inevitable moral deterioration resulting from the advance of inequality, where will our answer lie? Can we just go on educating more and more people, or will there be a time when more and more people will refuse to be educated? And what of faith, the great and unshaken faith in freedom? Will that be the answer?

Georgism is not dead, nor has the chaos of anarchy overtaken our American society. And yet, who would deny that the powers of darkness are at work? "He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call." It is time to awaken from our lethargy, it is time to prepare for the decisive battle of ideologies that must come sooner or later. Some of us are fighting now with the armed forces, and in so doing will defeat any threat of armed invasion, for we doubt not our victory in battle. But Georgism will not come about by itself, and unless we are prepared for the greater struggle to follow, the forces of totalitarianism may well win out, freedom once more become unknown and the all-dominant State grow invincible. Dear empires testify . . .

First and foremost the call is for better educational methods. The will to knowledge must come from within, although it should be strongly encouraged by those entrusted with the administration of the school and its extensions. Honest differences of opinion, unless they violate fundamental principles of the philosophy, are valuable and cannot be suppressed in a group advocating freedom. By equal right, no pressure from without must shake the faith that is Georgism, the knowledge that in spreading the philosophy of moral progress

through freedom we are serving our country, are serving mankind. The responsibility is ours and its weight is heavy. When words are not heard, our lives for a cause may bear the testimony. When people become dulled by environmental forces to the complicated structure of slow and painful education, let our faith in freedom and patriotism inspire them.

Much has been left unsaid that should have been said. As it is, these are serious themes for your consideration which to the writer seem most challenging.

New York Richard L. Moos

Anent Mr. Greene's Article

In his article, "New Landlords for Old," Lancaster Greene sets forth in cogent words the underlying features of the abolition of feudal tenures in Quebec. Among thinkers who advocate nationalization of land, there are two schools: one which believes in nationalization by buying out the landowners, some representatives of which are Herbert Spencer, George Bernard Shaw and many in the British Labour party; and those of us who believe the George way. Now, if Quebec had taken a leaf from Henry George, there would have been no hangover, such as the 41 years provided for in Quebec's solution. But what American state would have done the job any better?

Mr. Greene states that "the English conquerors of Canada permitted an economic anachronism to persist," but in 1763 Tom Spence had not yet read his paper to the Royal Society, and there was no agitation for nationalization of land in Europe. That came later. The British extended their characteristic magnanimity to the French, agreeing to respect all of the grants of the French regime. That policy kept the French loyal in the Revolutionary War. England's laissez-faire policy in regard to French rights in Quebec tended, however, to slow up reform. Since Quebec became autonomous in 1867, she could at any time have done what she has now belatedly done.

Nor has the province been forward-looking in other matters. For years after other provinces had given women the right to vote, and had introduced old-age pensions, Quebec held aloof. While Ontario gave the Continent of North America—and the world—a demonstration of a publicly-owned hydro-electric system, the very considerable water-power development of Quebec is all in private hands.

But in the last four years Quebec has got a move on. A provincial embryo hydro-electric body has been formed, and an agreement has been made with the Province of Ontario for hydro developments on the Ottawa river. Under the leadership of the wife of a French-Canadian senator, though opposed by the Cardinal, the legislature has enfranchised women. Quebec has joined with the other

provinces in the federal old age pension scheme. The old sore of the seigniorial rents has been settled, though not as Georgists would wish it. And the Premier of Quebec is leading a drive for higher educational standards for the Province. The hopeful thing is that backward Quebec is going places. And maybe she will go Henry George yet if the Montreal groups continue to set the pace.

Ottawa Herbert T. Owens

Is Mr. Stiffey's Face Red?

R. W. Stiffey, in his article in The Freeman for September, "Keeping Democracy's Promise," gives the twenty-third Psalm as the source of the quotation: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." The correct source is the twenty-fourth Psalm. Even with this slight error the article is fine.

Ashtabula, Ohio P. J. Haytcher

A War Objector Objects

I strongly object to the publication in the September issue of The Freeman of the article, "To A War Objector" by Robert C. Clothier, president of Rutgers University.

The purpose of The Freeman, I have understood, is to discuss on the basis of George's teachings, social and economic affairs. Dr. Clothier's letter does not pretend to examine the issue of objection to war on the basis of principles expressed by George or his adherents.

Since Dr. Clothier's letter is entirely extraneous to the purposes for which The Freeman is published, I will not ask for space here to refute him point by point. May I, however, make the perhaps sufficient observation that Dr. Clothier's argument depends on identifying as exclusively enemy acts those very brutalities which constitute and comprise war. Dr. Clothier cannot, for instance, "condone the specious reasoning of one who can believe that war is worse than the murder of the Greek nation." Just what name does Dr. Clothier give the killing of the Greek nation?

I was a conscientious objector before I was a Georgist. If it is the present policy of The Freeman to publish articles on general sociological issues I will be glad to submit a letter, "To a War Monger" which will omit all reference to Georgism as completely as Dr. Clothier's, "To a War Objector."

New York James Wade Le Baron

That's Telling Us

It is distressing that "The Freeman" is so lacking in support of the philosophy of Henry George. Too large a percentage of your articles are in direct contradiction to "Progress & Poverty." Your contributors are just not big enough to fully understand his philosophy.

I realize that no magazine today would be allowed to be published if it spoke

the truth of war. However, it is perverting the teachings of Henry George to print such drivel as "To a War Objector" (in your last issue). With so many people completely under the sway of our propagandized press and radio, why try to print any contemporary opinion? Why not have for your comments on war, simply quotations from Henry George? I am no profound student of Henry George, but I well remember his attitude on war, and it is one hundred percent correct. You accept his fundamental teaching of political science, so why think that his diagnosis of war shows any less keenness of insight?

One of your contributors in the article, "Can Georgism Bless War?" seems to dismiss Henry George's views on war because there was no war in progress when Progress & Poverty was published. Does he forget that Henry George lived through the Civil War and the horrible reconstruction period following it. Any thinking person knows that during a war is the worst possible time to propound theories on War. Even the coolest heads are apt to be turned by the overpowering propaganda and hates. Henry George was in the best possible position to deal with war. Aside from his acute and lucid mind, the time was exactly right for observing evil causes and results of a dreadful war, after the passions that blind had receded.

War and peace are a part of our economy, and are not matters merely of hates, loves and prejudices. War trends can be just as scientifically mapped as any other economic trends. It is merely by perverting and personalizing unrelated situations that the people are deceived into wars. Henry George saw all this clearly, and his exposure is just as accurate as his exposure of the Malthusian Theory. If you wish to promote the teachings of Henry George, it is folly and worse to print the shallow, heated views of contemporary writers. They are just too small.

War is the superlame of the Monopolists. Why not be realistic? War and Poverty are the twin triumphs of Monopoly, and to view them otherwise is childish. As H. G. Wells says, to lay the war to the door of evil governments accomplishes nothing, for it is the apathy, ignorance and indifference of the people that permits wars. Don't increase the ignorance of the public. Stick to the teachings of Henry George.

While I know Henry George held no brief for labor unions, it does amuse me to see "The Freeman" spend so much space on malice toward Unions and the Farm Bloc. These are mosquito bites compared to the cancer of Monopoly. Your articles on Monopoly seem to be singularly colorless and insipid. If you have no forceful current material, there always is a wealth of the best in the various works of Henry George which

you would do well to quote again and again.

Jamestown, N. Y. A. G. Tillotson

Mr. Greene Dissents

I cannot altogether agree with Mr. Paul Peach's article on the "Nature and Causes of Interest." In our present economic system "interest" can be and often is an evil. This would not be necessary and we hope would not be true in a free economy. It cannot be denied that a large portion of present day capital used in production is not true capital, but derived from economic rent. Presumably in a free economy this, of course, would reduce the capital fund. Nevertheless we can assume that a free economy would drive interest to a minimum. Full production would increase the demand for capital, but would increase the supply to an even greater degree.

Too great a supply of capital would perhaps cause some of the surplus to disappear, as it has in the past. Our money system makes this possible. But in a free economy this should not be as vital a factor toward business depression, because (as Georgists) we believe the correct use of economic rent would stabilize the whole structure. We cannot, of course, foresee to what extent free economy would destroy the inflated importance of monopoly control of money-capital, but we can safely assume the reduction of that importance.

I cannot see why "interest" presupposes the advantage of the lender, or the disadvantage of the borrower. It seems to me that the use of capital, as in the application of Free Trade, should be mutually profitable to both parties. A very simule illustration would be the purchase of houses, or of automobiles. The buyer is at a disadvantage only if the rate of interest is exorbitant. In a free economy, capital would be used as it should be, an assistant in production, and would have a natural return. I see no reason to expect that return to be "negative."

Omaha, Neb.

George B. Greene

Mr. J. Rupert Mason Wants to Know

What agency of government should have the power to determine the rental value of a given site or parcel of land, and whether bidder A or B shall enjoy the possession, and for how many years?

Should the same agency act as rent collector, and retain control of money collected, or remit it to a central agency, to which the present federal, state and local units of government can apply for the funds requisite to meet their necessary expenses?

Should the framework of government, as it exists under our federal and state constitutions be retained, or an entirely new structure be built?

Should a user of land fail, neglect or refuse to pay the rent due, how should the situation be handled? How much time should he be given in which to pay? Present state laws allow from 6 months to five years, after real estate taxes are due, as a period of redemption, after which time the title to the property, free of all mortgages or other private liens either reverts to the state or one of its local units of government, or another person can acquire title to the property, as provided by state law. Since 1930, however, the real estate groups have succeeded in getting tax-sale moratorium laws passed in most states, until there are now millions of acres and lots upon which (although taxed each year), nothing has been paid, and these vast bodies are now virtually a "no-man's land" against which the accumulation of many years delinquent taxes, penalties and interest often greatly exceeds the figure any person would pay for the property, today.

In a few states, some attempt has been made to come to grips with this problem. How many Georgists have studied this, in their own state?

It is not enough, in my judgment to say we will give serious thought to these questions when we get to them, and that our sole job now is to let people know they should collect all the rent, in lieu of being taxed.

Obviously, there are different ideas about the "technique" that will prove most just and practical. It has been my belief that the existing tax collecting structure and officials can and should be utilized, as much as necessary, so as to involve a minimum of disturbance.

The time may be closer than some of us suspect, when wide agreement as to these "ways and means" may be essential. I should very much like to see comment and specific suggestions in the columns of The Freeman, from other readers of the magazine.

San Francisco

J. Rupert Mason

(The Freeman invites letters along the lines suggested by Mr. Mason. Because space for letters is obviously limited, writers should confine themselves to 200 or 300 words. If your letter is not printed, attribute it to lack of room.—The Editors.)

Two A Day

Two a day is not a commercial for vitamin tablets, but a plug for Henry George. It is safe to assume that the reader of this letter is a subway strap hanger; of course not losing sight of the more fortunate Georgists who live in the suburbs and smaller towns throughout the country. But regardless of whether the reader is a New York subway sardine or a country gentleman, Two A Day, can play an important part in daily life, and believe it or not, actually give enjoyment!

People, whether they ride subways, street cars, trains or buses, usually like to read. Often times, they just ride and look. This is where Two A Day, comes in. On your visits to the Henry George School of Social Science take a week's supply of booklets, and each day as you ride to and from work, leave one of the booklets on your subway seat. Or better still, if you want to see what happens, place one on the seat next to you. You will find, that almost always, it is picked up. Some only glance at it and put it down again, while others read it all the way through, and not infrequently carry it away with them. If you take the trouble to code the booklets, you will find returns trickling in in the form of new students for the school. Therefore, get in the habit of leaving Two A Day, on the subway seats.

By so doing, you will be helping to let the world know that there is such a thing as a Henry George School, and you will also be the means of getting new students for the school. Out-of-towners can write to the school for free literature, including information concerning the correspondence course.

Try Two A Day Today!

New York

Alex J. Duris

Near Miss for the Misses

That non-hog-raising letter in your August issue is an excellent example of "reductio absurdum" as applied to our program of wasting our way to wealth.

Speaking on this point, one of our Congressmen a few years ago remarked that "it was fortunate for the Dionne 'quints' that they were born in Canada rather than in the United States, otherwise the Secretary of Agriculture would have ordered at least two of them plowed under!"

Gertrude E. Mackenzie

Washington, D. C.

(Continued from page 280.)

to the land. If production means so much in this war, why don't we unshackle it by freeing it from misplaced taxation. In the "People's Lobby Bulletin" of recent date, J. Rupert Mason writes:

"The basic question is not whether the holders of title to valuable land (mineral, urban, timber, coal, etc.) can afford better to support the government, but whether it is permissible under the letter or spirit of our Declaration of Independence longer to permit those hoarding valuable land to do so without contributing a larger part of the cost of government and national defense."

(Continued from page 275)

mental charity to those who are deprived of natural opportunity by its being withheld from production. A higher charity budget takes the place of graft, but the budget tends to go up, not down.

Further evidence is shown in the following experience. One of my clients agreed to read "Progress and Poverty," which I gave him to take to Philadelphia. On his next visit, he said, "That book is a remarkable piece of literature, and thinking, but we have found out how to solve our problems in our Main Line suburb without Henry George. We threw out all the rascals and the business men are running the town with the lowest tax rate in the country."

"Fine," I said, "tell me more about this. I suppose the end of graft brought apartment and house rentals down."

"Oh, no, they went up, for everyone wants to live where there are no crooks and there is good municipal service."

"Have you any vacant land?" I asked.

"Oh, yes. With the big estates, I'd say 80 per cent vacant land."

"Then," I suggested, "with all the crooks and rascals out, this vacant land is cheap, I suppose, and you can buy a lot and put up your own house at a much lower outlay than before."

"Oh, you have it figured out wrong. Everyone is willing to pay more for land in a town where the taxes are low for here they can hold for speculation for a long period without being eaten up by the taxes. In our town land prices have doubled and quadrupled since we turned the rascals out."

"Well," said I, and remained silent.

Finally my client said, "I guess we just exchanged crooks and rascals as extractors from our pockets for landowners who did as well."

Another experience which has been valuable to me in this problem was a lunch with three real estate men who had heard much of the Henry George School of Social Science, and who had heard just enough of land values taxation to establish an im-

portant point, namely, whether they could shift a land values tax.

I went through the basic reasoning but they felt that I was choosing examples especially suited for a pro-conclusion.

"Pick your own facts as example," I suggested, "and make it difficult for this theory."

"Well, then, we'll pick a building site in the 30's on Sixth Avenue, before the demolition of the 'elevated.' The rent is \$1,200 for the site and the city is now taking \$600. When the 'el' comes down the city proposes to pay the cost of razing by taking more of the rent, say another \$600.

"But our firm fully expects to charge \$2,400 for the site after the 'el' is down. Aren't we going to pass on the land values tax?"

"Are you sure this is hard enough and unfair enough to the proposition to be conclusive?" I asked.

"That's what we tried for," they said.

"The question hangs on whether the city will have improved this Sixth Avenue site out of proportion to other values, say on Fifth, Madison, or Third Avenues," I said. "Does this prospective higher rent come because this land is improved, or made more desirable by community action?"

"By the improvement," they agreed.

"Then imagine my having the power to rescind the action to raze the elevated structure on Sixth Avenue. If I did this could your plan to raise the ground rent from \$1,200 to \$2,400 succeed even though the city should take a \$600 increase in tax of \$1,200 annually on the site?"

"No indeed, for the other sites have not increased, and we could not raise our demands unless there were a big relative improvement on Sixth Avenue. We have no doubts whatever now that we could not shift a land values tax."

They appeared quite depressed at the thought of the ending of all land brokerage commissions as soon as a sufficient number of others realize the implications of a site rent tax for equality of opportunity.

To lift their thoughts to a brighter

prospect, I asked, "Would there be more buildings to manage, without taxes on buildings and production?"

"Oh, yes," they agreed.

"And how much of the real estate business is management?"

"About 90%," they said, brightening, "but of course, the annual rent of building would be lower as more buildings are constructed, and there would be a lot."

I hope these illustrations may be helpful to those who would understand, "Why the landowner cannot shift the tax on land value."

Henry George Day

ARDEN, DEL.—The annual Henry George Day celebration was held on the afternoon of September 6th in the Field Theatre, with attendance close to record figures. Henry George III presided. Speakers included H. D. Ware of Arden, Helen Mitchell McEvoy of Washington, D. C., Julian Hickock of Philadelphia and Jean Lackey of New York.

Dinner on the Pacific Coast

BERKELEY, CAL.—The East Bay Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science met with the San Francisco group of Georgists for a Henry George birthday dinner on September 2, with Joseph Thompson, author of "More Progress and Less Poverty" as toastmaster. Speakers were Hugh de Gale, S. Edward Williams, E. P. E. Troy, J. Rupert Mason and Helen Wilson. Mr. Stephen Potter, for many years Henry George's secretary, was among those present.

Charter Granted

MONTREAL—Announcement is made that "The Henry George School of Social Science" has been granted a charter by the Quebec Provincial Government. Fall Term classes in Progress and Poverty and Protection or Free Trade were begun the week of September 28. The monthly discussion meeting of Montreal Georgists was held September 18.

Faculty Council Appointed

NEW YORK—The following teachers of the Henry George School of Social Science will comprise the Faculty Council which has been created to act in an advisory capacity in connection with the selection and training of members of the teaching staff at the New York School:

A. P. Christianson	Louis Potter
Marshall De Angelis	Wm. G. Leon
Dominic Della Voipe	Abraham Ellis
Margery Warriner	R. M. Dreyfuss
Wm. E. Dietz	Isadore Platin

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