The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

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An address - an epochal event - and the story of a vision that became a probability in five years - and promises to become a reality sooner than the dreamer dared to hope.

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"I Bring A Sword"

War in the embryo exists wherever and whenever the conditions which bring about the economic slavery of the people prevail. Which means, everywhere and always.

The only way to abolish war is to make men free. All the schemes advanced to rid humanity of bloody conflict fail to recognize this fundamental truth. They proceed from the false notion that nations fight, while the most patent fact is that war is merely the organized expression of the urge for economic security which results in strikes, thievery and legalized rascality within the nations.

Political economy does not recognize national boundaries—any more than chemistry does. Nature has made no provision for nations in its scheme of things. Neither has she ordained any rules for segregating peoples into races, clans, governments or ideologies. These are but the mechanisms of man, the primary purpose of which is to enable some men to deprive the rest of their production.

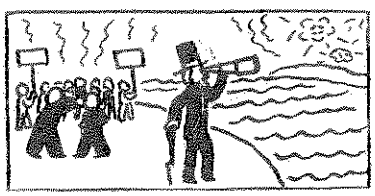
For men live only that they may live and enjoy life. And for this purpose they work and they play. If the things they produce for themselves are appropriated by others, whether by highwaymen, tax-collectors or legalized landlords, their lives are, to the extent of that deprivation, frustrated. That the robbery is sanctioned by the formality of government, or sanctified by the glib rationalizations of learned professors, does not in the least mitigate their sense of injustice. They are irritated and want to fight. In fact, the successful screening of the robbers behind plausible phraseology merely increases the hurt, for an unknown and unseen enemy is the most aggravating.

Let men alone, let them enjoy the products of their labors, and they will not fight. There is no other way.

The governor of Minnesota and the governor of North Dakota do not have to enter into any defensive or offensive treaties merely because the citizens in these political divisions can trade with one another more or less freely. Except for some petty—scandalously unnecessary—interferences from officialdom they hardly recognize boundary lines. They swap their products to their mutual advantage, the girls and the boys fall in love and marry, and the notion of war between the states is unthinkable. Yet, once a governor of Minnesota sent his militia to the border to prevent the drought-stricken cattle of North Dakota from being driven to the more fertile fields farther east. The resentment of this interference with the right to live was so strong that only the withdrawal of the troops prevented trouble.

We hear a lot of balderdash these days about ideological wars. People do not fight because of phrases. Ideologies are thought-schemes devised by intellectuals to flatter their word-mongering proclivities, and used by politicians, plutocrats and plutogogues to bedevil the improverished populace. What an elusive scapegoat an ideology is! How nice to tell your hungry people that the cause of their hunger is the wrong thought of their neighbors! If only we could get these benighted neighbors to think right—at the point of a bayonet—all of our problems would be over.

And then we are told that war can be averted only if we isolate ourselves from other nations or join with them in some sort of collective security pact. Everybody knows there is no such thing as isolation. When we want rubber we send our automobiles to Africa in exchange for this product. For our morning cup of coffee we give to Brazilians whatever we have that they want. Japanese girls make silk for the stockings worn by American girls, and American men pay the bill with scrap iron. The way to isolation is the way to doing without. If every nation isolated itself—if it could—the world would die from attrition.



As for collective security, upon analysis this chimerical scheme resolves itself into the taking of sides, the preparation for war. Fundamentally the idealists who advance this proposition suffer from that "better-than-thou" complex which always leads to a fight. For anyone who refuses to adhere to this compact, because he feels he can satisfy his desires better by not limiting himself, becomes ipso facto the bad boy who must be punished. Every collective security pact must contain a sanction clause. Sanctions are war.

Suppose America should free its own people. Suppose every American could go to work whenever he wanted to, without being required to pay tribute to a monopolist for the privilege. That means, of course, that his wages would be determined only by his skill and industry. All he produced would be his. Suppose, too, that the government did not take any of his wages from him—the tax collector abolished. He would be truly rich. He would not envy his neighbor, nor would he hate anybody, regardless of race, creed or color. If he produced more of a certain kind of thing than he needed he would find at the market, whether in this country or abroad, others who would be glad to exchange their surplus products for his. What would he want to fight for?

To establish peace with our neighbors we must make for peace in our own home. External strife is merely an expression of internal strife, arising from poverty and the fear of poverty.

—F. C.

I am delighted to hear of the remarkable advance which the School has made, and I wish it every possible success. I look forward with pleasure to visiting the School when I am next in New York, if you will give me the privilege of doing so.—ALBERT J. NOCK.

The Clarions of the Battle Call

By Harry Gunnison Brown

It's really the landowners who've done it to us. They are the ones who have clamored, year after year, to get "tax relief for real estate." They are the ones who have supported tobacco taxes and other state and Federal excises, sales taxes, and all the host of burdens on the little we earn by our weariness and sweat. They are the persons because of whose dominating influence on the "liberal" legislators of this "liberal" New Deal era, we have poorer food for our children, poorer and, in the case of some of us, inadequately warm clothing for them, and fewer of the toys and simple amusements which all children everywhere long for.

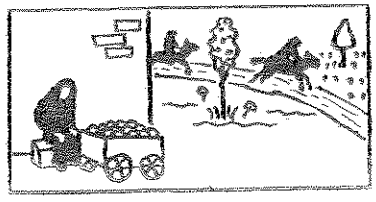
There's been a lot of talk about "relieving" the poor home owners of taxes. Probably plenty of these have joined in urging the new taxes on those of us who own no homes but pay rent to others so we can have a place to live. But perhaps this is because they don't understand what the new taxes are doing to them and us—consumers.

We're tired of the pretended concern of legislators and of big landowners for the poor home owner. We're tired of the crocodile tears they shed about the home owner's tax burdens. For if they were sincere and had any real comprehension of the problem, they would have to admit that just to abolish taxes on houses and other improvements, while raising the tax rate on the land or site, would give home owners all the relief they can fairly demand; and that this relief would be still greater if taxes were abolished on the goods which home owners—and the rest of us—consume.

If the landowners who are constantly insisting on "tax relief for land" by what they are pleased to call "broadening the tax base," really wanted to aid the poorer home owners, they would not propose, in place of taxation on the small amount of community-produced site values these poorer home owners enjoy, taxes on food, clothing and all or nearly all of the things that home owners buy. Most of all do the landowner cohorts who keep insisting on low or no taxation of community-produced site values, ignore the welfare of those of us who have no homes but are striving our best to acquire them. For in order that they may enjoy to the full the community-produced annual value of land and sites, they want the revenues of government collected as largely as possible from those who do not own any land. They want increased taxes on the "ability" of the salaried store clerk or the craftsman to earn a living by hard work, lowering the exemption limit on workers' incomes so that larger revenues can be collected from them. They want increased taxes on the expenditures of all workers, both skilled and unskilled. Already, they have succeeded in getting many such taxes levied. Thus, it becomes progressively harder for those of us who have nothing but our labor, to buy or build homes, and many of us never succeed—and can never hope to succeed—in accomplishing this end which our professional well wishers so often say they desire to help us accomplish.

Nor is this all. Untaxing site values makes it easier for speculative holders of vacant lots to hold their lots out of use. Untaxing site values so makes available land comparatively scarce. The sale value of land is made higher both because of speculative holding and because untaxing land leaves owners a larger net rent to capitalize into a high sale value. And the greater salable value of land is certainly a further obstacle in the way of those of us who are ambitious to become home owners.

Crocodile tears for home ownership! Much palaver among radicals about the wicked "capitalists" and



the shortcomings of "the profit system"! Slogans about the importance of "broadening the tax base," when the real thought is to untax community-produced values enjoyed by landowners and to tax instead the necessities of the workers! Slogans about making taxes "conform to the principle of ability," when the thought really is to put more burden on the middle-class white collar worker or skilled craftsman who is able to earn by his labor and skill a trifle more than the unskilled worker, so as to enable landowners to enjoy more of a value that is almost altogether produced by the community! And with it all, this unending talk about the "out-of-dateness" of the view that the community should seek to take in taxation the situation value which it, and not individuals, produces! With it all, remarks intimating that to take for public use location values which are most fabulous in our great cities is an "agrarian" reform of no significance in our largely urban civilization! With it all, too, vague suggestions about the wonderful "liberalism" of politicians and "intellectuals" who are willing to do anything for the workers except what is most necessary for their welfare!

Should most of us have to pay a few of us for situation advantages produced by all of us? Should most of us have to pay billions of dollars a year merely for PERMISSION to work on and to live on the earth in those locations which geological forces and community development have made relatively productive and livable? These are questions that are persistently ignored by the men who assume to be our political leaders. Are they afraid of the political influence of a dominant landowning class! These are questions that are ignored by conservatives. Are they anxious that there be no discussion about them, no awakening of public thought about them! These are questions that are ignored by the "highbrow" magazines and the literary intelligentsia of "liberal" proclivities who contribute to these magazines. Is it that discussion of such questions

does not sufficiently interest their readers to make the discussion pay, while it arouses a more violent opposition from landowners than do vague criticisms of "the profit motive," and that so such criticism butters no literary parsnips!

Behold a question perhaps as fundamental as any about which human beings can take sides, the question whether some of us should have to pay others of us for permission to live on and work on the earth. And it is THE SUBJECT OF THE GREAT SILENCE. Politicians will not discuss it, at least not in this land of the free. Landowners must not be offended by proposals that there be too much freedom, such as freedom to use land now held out of use by speculators who don't want to use it themselves, or freedom to live on the earth without paying private individuals for permission to do so. Conservatives, of course, are not interested. But the radical literary intelligentsia and their high-brow magazines also ignore it. Are they, too, afraid of it? If not, **why are they silent?** Who, in a position of power or influence or prestige, will insist that this be the subject of the great silence no longer? Or can discussion start only among the proletariat?

Are there to be found, anywhere in the United States, men of great wealth, themselves perhaps beneficiaries of the system as it now is, able to live luxuriously and to accumulate increasing wealth from their absorption of community-produced value, who are yet sufficiently unprejudiced to join wholeheartedly in the fight against the system that enriches them? Are there to be found, anywhere in the United Sates, men of great wealth who desire neither to mark themselves off from common folk by profuse expenditures and display, nor to distinguish themselves as donors of piles of brick and stone, whether universities, art galleries or research laboratories, to perpetuate their names to posterity, but who can interest themselves in the high adventure of promoting a great reform, though this adventure bring them no honor in their world of fashion, prestige and power? And where can there be found the owner of a great newspaper who will see to it that at least occasionally—say once every week—his paper contains at least one interesting and pointed editorial on this most basic of all economic problems? Or can we who are the victims of this system and the victims of landlord propaganda on tax relief for land, hope for no help whatever—in these days when help is so needed to spread understanding—from the politically powerful, the rich, and the masters of the press? Can serious discussion, even, of reform, begin only among the inconspicuous and the poor?

See: "The Economic Basis Tax Reform," by Harry Gunnison Brown, pp. 105-140.

Who Pays and Pays and Pays?

In these time, when it is so difficult to find afe investments, the following will be useful to Real Estate brokers who are trying to make sales. To buy real estate is a method of shifting your taxes to tenant on labor buyers.

It seems a startling statement, but the fact is that under normal conditions the purchaser of "real estate"—whether of unimproved land or of improvements on land, or of both—pays, as owner, no taxes at all.

When he acquired vacant land, the holder of it knew that the purchaser would have to pay yearly assessments on the land. Accordingly, the purchaser required and received an abatement from the price, to make up for the liability he must incur by holding the land. He gets an extra allowance, by way of insurance against his taxes being raised.

If public improvements continue as expected, and if taxes are less than expected, the purchaser will gain an addition to his speculative profits. If contrariwise, of course the purchaser will lose proportionately.

Likewise, in short—the purchaser of improved property calculates what it will rent for, and expects to collect all charges on the property from his tenants of from a later buyer. On that calculation he bases the price he will pay.

Bolton Hall.

Co-operators Boost Rent

The Jubilee of the founding of the Scottish Co-operative Society's Shieldhall estate was celebrated in Glasgow recently. Reynold's News, reporting the meeting, says: "Maxwell and his fellow directors examined many sites on the outskirts of Glasgow before Shieldhall was selected. The price of land went up as soon as negotiations began. The 12 acres which were bought cost L500 an acre. As agricultural land the price was 30s. There were many who grumbled at that extravagance. Maxwell's idea, however, was sound. As Glasgow grew the value of the land around the city increased enormously. The landlords exacted their toll. Shieldhall, in fact, has provided the Land Taxers with an overwhelming argument. As the estate flourished and the original 12 acres became too small, an ever-increasing price had to be paid for additional land. And the price went up because of the initiative and enterprise of the Scottish Co-operators. In 1914 the price of additional land was L1,400 an acre. Later L2,911 was paid. To-day's price, demanded by the landlords for convenient sites, would even be higher."

Waiting Ground Hogs

"There are 500,000 families in New York City who cannot afford to pay $30 a month for an apartment. A great percentage can afford to pay but $20 a month."

We quote from Mayor LaGuardia's message submitting his housing plan. Not a word in this message about the 21.6 percent of the land in the metropolis that is completely held out of use—of the 75 percent that is used for shacks, taxpayers, fire-traps, hovels. To enable these landlords to get the prices they have been holding out for, he proposes a sixteen million dollar bond issue, the interest on which will be paid by the citizens in increased taxes. Some of these taxes will be paid by "foreigners"—American citizens who do not live in New York—because he proposes to get help from the federal treasury. The ground hogs are waiting for the Mayor's plan to go through.

The Problem of Tax Delinquency

By Paul Peach

Every evil thing breeds fresh evils, and depends upon this progeny for its own survival. The evil offspring of our system of taxation and land tenure are so numerous, and of such variety, that our attention is drawn to the more spectacular of them, more or less to the exclusion of the rest. A recent publication of the TAX POLICY LEAGUE (June, 1938) contains a discussion of tax delinquency; a problem which has little appeal to the imagination or the emotions, but is nevertheless of importance in public finance, and has theoretical aspects of much interest. The TAX POLICY LEAGUE report contains a statistical summary, a discussion of suggested remedies, and a bibliography.

We infer easily that a profitable property is not likely to be behind on its taxes, and the statistics confirm this guess. In the communities studied, vacant lots account for proportions of total arrears ranging from "slightly more than half" in Westchester County, N. Y., to 96% in the town of Tonawanda, a suburb of Buffalo. Such vacant, delinquent parcels are most numerous near the outskirts of cities and in their suburbs, and are usually in subdivisions which have failed to jell. Land speculations such as these result in a loss to at least some of the speculators; real estate men are often at much pains to remind the public that their operations are not invariably profitable.

A collateral fact, which they sometimes emphasize with comparative mildness, is that the heaviest losses fall upon the community in which the speculation has taken place. Taxes upon such properties are often uncollectible, and the indebtedness which the people incur in order to provide the new subdivisions with streeets, water mains, sewers, and other facilities, must in general be liquidated by new taxes. Foreclosure sales offer no remedy in the majority of cases, because of the low market value of the land and the inordinately high court costs involved.

When taxes upon land fall into arrears, the immediate effect is to increase the tax rate. The revenue which was to have been collected from the delinquent properties must be obtained from some other source; this means, in most cases, new taxes upon production, new levies against wages and interest. The expense of policing and maintaining the new subdivision is another drain upon the rewards of capital and labor. The cost of the elaborate but necessary bookkeeping is a further charge. Mention has already been made of the public debt. Such gravy as may be upon the producer's potatoes is licked away by myriads of taxes; the potatoes themselves are at the mercy of his landlord; if by a miracle a steak appears upon his plate, his rent is raised; and at last, ruefully contemplating an empty dish, he folds his hands, production stops, and depression sets in.

The report of the TAX POLICY LEAGUE recognizes the fact that land speculation is a major cause of tax delinquency, and mentions several possible remedies. One is that we pass a law against it. Whether the speculative urge can be curbed by a new prohibition amendment remains to be seen. Another suggestion is that foreclosure proceedings be made more simple and inexpensive. It does not seem certain, however, that speculation would be discouraged by throwing upon the market thousands of parcels of land for whatever they could be made to fetch at a forced sale. The alternative of stamping out speculation by taking the profit out of it is not mentioned.

The writer has no desire to impugn the high-minded altruism and public spirited generosity of real estate operators; but one may yet be permitted to doubt that they would continue the speculative subdivision of land into building lots if the venture promised no reward but the approbation of a grateful public. If all profits accruing to land were paid into the public treasury, if the entire economic rent of land were collected as a tax, then land would be subdivided as the necessity arose, and not before. Taxes upon land which is being used in a manner consistent with its value are practically never in arrears, even nowadays. With the elimination of land speculation, we might reasonably expect the problem of tax delinquency to vanish.

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Hide-and-Go-Seek Economics

By Frank Chodorov

A New York bank issues a table, reproduced herewith, of income distribution under the title "Your Securities and Income taxes." These statistics, like most of the figures on income which are issued by governments, are misleading, because the sources of income are merely bookkeeping terms, rather than fundamental factors of production. Ledgers record results in convenient phrases that do not necessarily reflect economic processes.

An analysis of these "sources" of income would be more revealing if the bases of these categories were available. But, enough is known of prevailing accountancy methods to show how difficult it is to evaluate such figures so as throw light on the social problem of wealth distribution—that is, to indicate the tendency of wages, as a proportion of production, to the minimum of mere existence, and the tendency of rent to absorb a constantly increasing share of production.

For instance "Interest." Undoubtedly included in this item are the returns to the owners of government bonds. Since the wealth invested in these bonds is not used in the production of more wealth, the returns to the owner is not economic interest but taxes. A government bond is a lien on the taxing power of the government, and the recipient of "interest" is merely a tax-collector, once removed.

"Interest" received from corporation bonds is to a very large degree rent, since bonds are mostly mortgages on natural resources. The holder of railroad bonds is part owner of the land holdings of that railroad, and his income derived from this monopoly privilege. He is just as much a receiver of rent as is the man who owns a mortgage on land and collects the 'interest'. Insofar as the money deposited in a savings bank is loaned on land values, the "interest" received by the depositor is rent.

Similarly, it is evident that much of what is called "dividends" is not return from the use of capital in productive enterprise but from tribute collected for the use of land. Those who own securities in the United States Steel Corporation are collecting, in their dividends, rent of the mines owned or controlled by this company. Even a life insurance policy holder receives rent in his "dividend."

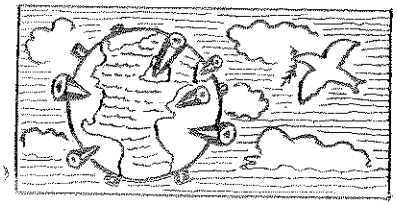
SOURCES OF INDIVIDUAL TOTAL INCOME, AS SHOWN BY FEDERAL TAX RETURNS

		Percent of total
Interest	$ 944,321,000	5.5
Dividends	2,234,727,000	12.9
Net Capital Gain	509,714,000	2.9
Business and Partnership Profit	2,594,841,000	13.0
Salaries, Wages, Commissions, Fees, etc.	9,900,578,000	57.2
Fiduciary	328,978,000	1.9
Rentals and Royalties	572,060,000	3.3
Other Income	231,286,000	1.3
	$17,316,505,00	100.0

Latest published figures, issued October 1937, for the year 1935.

In every item of "income" listed in this table (with the possible exception of the one called "other income") there may be, and probably is, more or less payment for the use of land. Even the item of "Salaries, wages, commissions, fees, etc" contains the element of rent; for the lawyer who negotiates a transfer of realty obtains a fee which may come from rent, and surely the agent who is paid for collecting rent from tenants is paid out of his collections.

On the other hand, the income called "rentals" contains a return to capital and to labor—that is, interest and wages. In fact, since building values are, on the whole, greater than the values of the lands on which they rest, the "rentals" represent a return on capital (and wages for building management)



more than the collection of rent.

From these observations it becomes apparent that such income figures, which are the only kind available, furnish no clue as to the amount of wealth production which flows to the three economically fundamental classes: those who contribute labor, those who own capital, those who own land. There are difficulties in determining such incomes. First, because there is no measurement of rent independent of price indices. Secondly, because many capitalists are also landlords and laborers. But, a fairly accurate return to rent, wages and interest could be ascertained by an analysis of the incomes of a representative cross-section of large industries, or even of ten thousand individuals in various occupations and various sections of the country. An income tax blank could be devised for this purpose, and the resulting answers would furnish a reasonable guide to the relative distribution of wealth.

Since no accurate statistics, or even indicative data, on the subject of incomes are available, we must resort to the deductive method for conclusions. Thus, we are forced to rely upon the irrefutable correlation of the laws of rent, wages an interest—in which we find that every increase in the productive power of capital and of labor tends to increase the demand for, and price of, land. Which leads to the conclusion that rent must tend to absorb a constantly increasing amount of the wealth produced, at the expense of wages and interest.

Who Gets It All?

The New York Board of Education proposed the building of schools costing a total of $233,900,000. It is not disclosed how much of this will go to the landlords on whose land the buildings must be built. The neighborhoods will become more valuable because of the erection of these schools. Therefore rentals will go up. Nor must we overlook the toll to landlords who own the land from which the materials must be obtained.

MACHINERY ON THE SPOT AGAIN

By C. O. Steele

John L. Lewis, chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, says that another depression is on the way. "Just the moment business increases," he told the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at their Atlantic City meeting, "they will begin modernizing their plants, tearing out the old machinery, replacing it with more efficient labor-saving devices and laying off men and women. These men and women go out of the market as consumers. So every period of business prosperity in America carries with it the seeds of the next depression."

Few will quarrel with Mr. Lewis' forecast of another depression, unless it be those cheerful souls who say we will not have another because we will never get out of this one, but the thinking will grieve at the naive inference that machinery is to blame. Such reasoning would lead to the conclusion that the cure for unemployment is to replace old machinery by older machinery, or, better still, to do away with machinery entirely.

If it is more toil rather than more wealth that is wanted, that would undoubtedly do the trick; so would requiring each worker to tie one hand behind him or to work blindfolded. The modicum of our foreign trade that has been able to survive the effects of the protective tariff would, of course, disappear instantly. Those perverse foreigners, less nobly inspired, would probably insist on continuing to make things the easy and efficient way so that Americans could not compete abroad, and tariff walls against incoming foreign goods would have to be raised sky high. Imagine the strain on a patriotic American worker's conscience at having to choose between a good pair of machine made shoes (foreign) at four dollars, and a poor pair of handmade shoes (U. S.) at fourteen.

Preposterous nonsense, certainly, to come from the most influential labor leader of our times but not more crackpot than many of the ideas emanating from the school of economists—heaven save the name—who supply the most influential party leader of our times with schemes for the more abundant life. When the simple truth is realized that the way to increase the wealth of a nation is to produce more wealth, and that the cure for the maldistribution of wealth and unemployment is not to do away with machinery but with monopoly, beginning with the granddaddy monopoly of them all, private ownership in land, so that every worker, being free to apply his labor to the natural resources whence comes all wealth and thereby having always another job up his sleeve, can tell the rapacious employer to go to hell, then, and not until then, will there be hope for the country and for democracy.

Truth Will Out

A friend of mine who purchased a copy of "Progress and Poverty" from me was asked about it by a young employee. The following day the young man came to my office to get a copy.

A week later he bought two more copies and soon had bought a total of seven. I had not yet seen him but decided to call him and learn the story behind his purchases.

He told me he had successfully disputed the factors in the production of wealth as taught in his class at night college. His professor had to admit that land, labor and capital are all the factors.

Other problems found this young man in the forefront of discussions. His classmates asked, "Where do you find this material; it isn't in our textbooks?" Upon learning his source a number gave him their dollars to bring them copies of the book which helped him to lead class discussion.

—L. M. G.

Labor on the Block

The labor unions are being importuned by some brilliant minds to adopt "bargain clearance sales" temporarily, in order that the glutted labor market can be liquidated. Union leaders may not admit it, but such clearance sales of labor values are constantly going on. Starvation always breaks down wage scales.

Moral Murder

A city Councilman hurled the charge of "moral if not legal" murder against the Tenement House Department of New York. Five persons had lost their lives in two fires within a month; both fires occured in old tenement houses. It is the poor inspector who is to blame. The landlords who collect rent on these 20,000 fire hazards are scrupulously left blameless. They might be banks, or powerful politicians, or members of our "best families."

Not for the Gander

Nathan Strauss, Administrator of the U. S. Housing Authority, hailed the action of the Alabama State Supreme Court in ruling that low-rent housing projects are exempt from state and local taxation. Twenty-eight states now grant this exemption.—If tax exemption is good for public housing why not for private housing?

Why Men Work

We have all heard the story about the stranger who was watching the Italian laborer industriously working in a ditch. Finally the stranger asked: "Why do you work so hard at digging the ditch?" Combining the answers of the laborer to the several questions asked by the stranger, we have: "I diga th' ditch to getta th' mon to buya th' food, to giva th' strength to diga th' ditch."

Barber Shop Economics

Dear Governor Marland: I have been reading with much interest about the Oklahoma law fixing the prices of haircuts, and while I am entirely in sympathy with the purpose of the law, I don't think a flat forty-cent charge is the best thing for the barber. I therefore suggest a sliding scale, with charges increasing toward the end of the week, when the barbers' business is most rushed. Haircuts could be free on Mondays, a dime Tuesdays, two bits Wednesdays, and so on to five dollars on Saturday nights. This would provide for those who cannot afford to pay, and also enable the barber to clean up when business was best.

—PAUL PEACH

Depression: Price of Land Gambling

By Dr. George Raymond Geiger

From "Theory of Land Question"*

One of the first considerations that present themselves . . . is the effect of land value taxation on land speculation. When this matter of the holding of land out of use for expected rises in land value was formerly introduced by single taxers, the stock answer of many economists was to deny that there was any significant failure to use land. However, since 1929 that stock answer is not being heard so often, especially if the economists have paid attention to the many technical studies that have appeared in the last few years.†

These studies have demonstrated that a major item in our present deflation has been the collapse of inflated and speculative land values.

The following statement, for example, is not from a follower of Henry George, but from a former member of the peripatetic Ely Institute: ". . . Real estate, real estate securities, and real estate affiliations in some form have been the largest single factor in the failure of the 4,800 banks that closed their doors in the early nineteen-thirties, and in the 'frozen' conditions of a large proportion of the banks whose doors are still open. . . . As the facts of our banking history of the past three years come to light more and more, it becomes increasingly apparent that our banking collapse during the present depression has been largely a real estate collapse." (Simpson, **Real Estate Speculation and the Depression, op. cit.**, p. 165.)

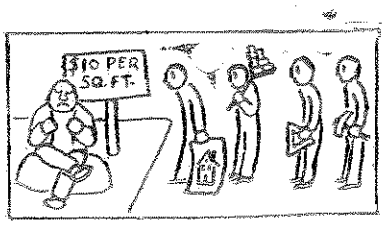
Dr. Simpson buttresses his contention as follows: All financial resources are taxed to finance land speculation — government officials, construction groups, public utility interests, all work hand-in-hand to force speculation and over-development. (p. 164.) The loan structure depends for solvency on the continuation of real estate absorption and turnover. Revenues are based on inflated land values; this was a leading force in Chicago's fiscal difficulties. "Hundreds of other cities and local governments in the United States are now in default or on the verge of insolvency for substantially the same reasons. The impairment or collapse of their finances and credit has seriously impaired the credit situation in their various communities." (p. 166.) Real estate speculation is indicted as a racket. (p. 167.)

Largely the same arguments and the same data feature the other monographs. A digest of this material is added (at least, this may serve to remove some of the doctrinaire flavour of the whole present discussion):

From Fisher (**op. cit.**): Speculation in suburban lands is "condemned as socially undesirable." "It is very difficult to discover any economic function which this kind of speculation performs." (p. 155). **In most urban communities, for every lot in use there is another lot vacant.** (p. 157.) (This statement is substantiated by figures for Chicago, Grand Rapids, and Milwaukee.) New lots are increasing more than double the population increase. In Chicago in 1960 there will be in use only 90 per cent of the lots **already available.** (p. 157-8.) "That some form of social control is desirable does not need to be argued." (p. 162.)

From Simpson and Burton (**op cit.**): 30 per cent of Chicago lots are vacant; and 69 per cent in Cook County outside of Chicago. (p. 12.) Of the subdivided area of Cook County, including Chicago, only 54.5 per cent is used for building. (p. 17.) Much agricultural land of the county has been ruined by being put in cold storage with resulting frozen assets. (p. 44.)

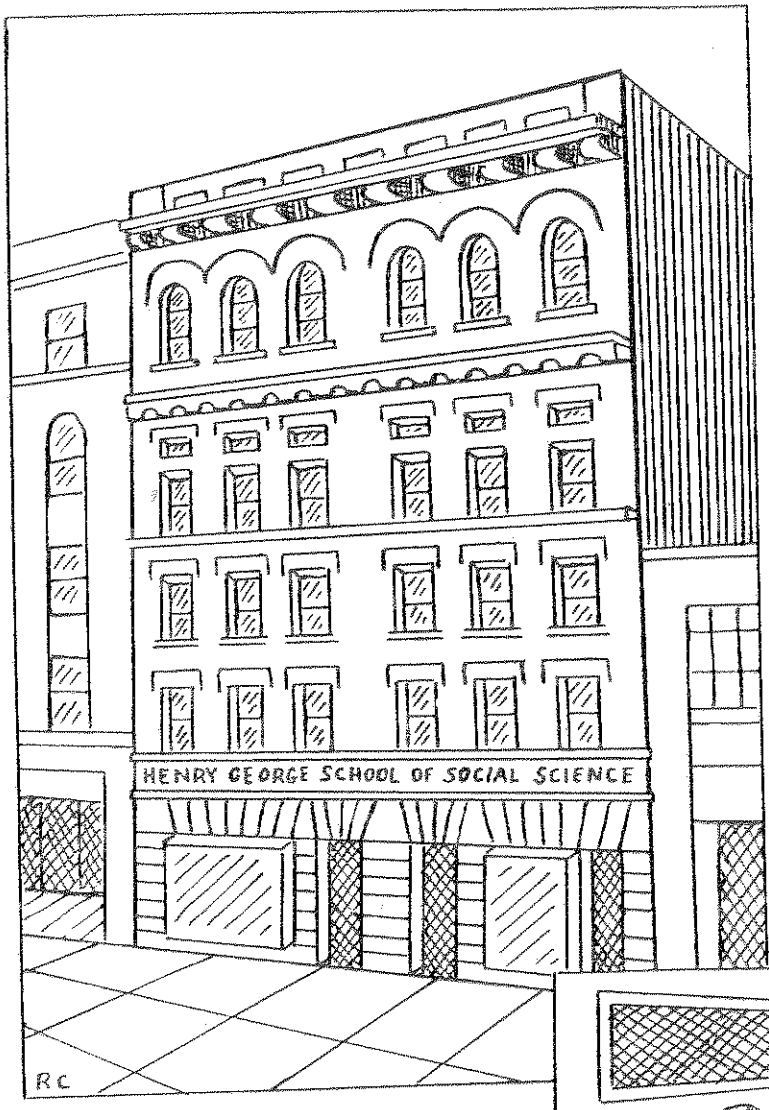
From Holden, a well-known architect (**op. cit.**): "The harm which is done by speculation in stocks and bonds is as nothing when compared to the harm which is done by speculative trading in real estate. . . . We cannot depend indefinitely on ballyhoo to keep a docile and credulous public buying land at inflated values. The whole house of cards is almost ready to come tumbling down. (p. 679). "It will be a fictitious and dangerous prosperity if it leads us to overlook once more the hard fact that the real value of land depends upon its earning power, not upon what someone may pay for it in the hope of a speculative profit." (p. 675). "Real estate now finds itself capitalized on the basis of what was considered its salable value in the boom years." (p. 674). The defunct Bank of United States heavily sold in speculative real estate. (p. 673.) Capital is now dangerously frozen in real estate. There are enough subdivided lots on Long Island between Patchogue and the New York City line to accommodate the whole city population in one-family houses. (p. 676.) Undeveloped land is draining the resources of both owners and municipalities that have financed improvements.



That land is held out of use for speculative reasons can hardly be challenged after objective studies such as these, studies made by men who have, in most cases, little sympathy for land value taxation. Moreover, that the collection of all, or nearly all, the annual ground rent of land by taxation would make speculation so expensive a procedure that it could not possibly flourish, is a r e c o g n i z e d fact; even if those who deplore land speculation are not all advocates of land value taxation does not contradict this contention. The fact is that these men often are afraid that the cure might be worse than the disease—that is, they are opposed, many of them, to land value taxation for other and more general reasons.)

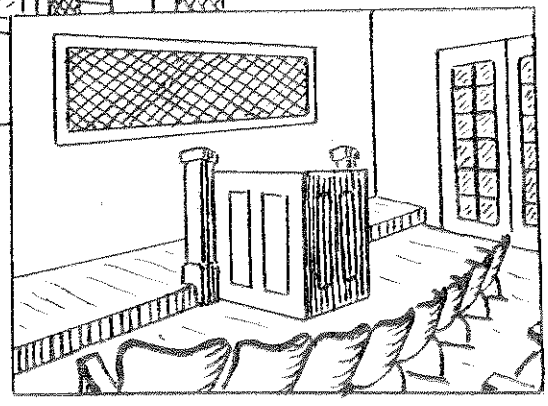
"Land would have to be used or it could not be economically owned. If land value taxation would do nothing else but smash the land racket, and remove one of the major props from the periodical American orgy of

(Continued on page 17.)



CAPACITY:
21 CLASSROOMS
OFFICE SPACE
MEETING ROOMS
CAFETERIA

MAXIMUM:
6000 STUDENTS
PER WEEK



IT ALL STARTED IN THIS
ONE ROOM, SEPTEMBER 1933

Thirty East Twenty-Ninth Street

Events frequently center around a place. Movements, cultures, schools of thought live in men's minds. But somehow even trends of thought assume personality and definiteness when associated with a particular 'ocality. In the annals of the Georgist movement the new address of the Henry George School of Social Science must perforce centralize the struggles and achievements of the men and women who are now and will be in the future connected with this endeavor to liberate our country from economic ignorance.

The building is located in a very busy section of the New York City. Within a radius of about a half-mile are such indices of population density as the Grand Central Terminal and the Pennsylvania Depot. Such historical spots as Gramercy Park, The New York Public Library, Madison Square and Union Square (closely associated with the political campaigns of Henry George) are within a few minutes' walk. Facing the building is the famous Martha Washington Hotel, and on the next block is the fabulously romantic Little Church Around the Corner. Dozens of well-known hostelries abound in the neighborhood. Fifth Avenue is one block from the building, Broadway two blocks.

This density of population, and this easy accessibility, augurs well for the character and quantity of available students. Within three blocks is one insurance building with eighteen thousand employees, just as an example. The daytime population of the immediate, walking-distance vicinity is close to a million. For the benefit of these office, factory and mercantile workers the school plans to run classes from 5:30 to 7:30 every evening. Classes will also be held from 8 to 10 P.M. The financial section of the city and City Hall, with its many thousands of civil service employees, are less than ten minutes' ride from the building. The Gay White Way is within easy walking distance, and for the denizens of this night-life district morning and afternoon classes will be offered.

Transportation facilities are ideal. The Lexington Avenue Subway has a station at Twenty-eighth Street and Fourth Avenue, a block and a half away. The B.M.T. Subway Station is at Broadway and Twenty-eighth Street. The Lexington, Madison and Fifth Avenue busses all are within a block or two of the building, and the Hudson Tube, which taps New Jersey, has a station at Twenty-eighth Street and Broadway. The Seventh Avenue Subway station is at Twenty-eighth Street. The Third Avenue "L" station is two blocks away. Only the Eighth Avenue Subway is not accessible; one cannot have everything.

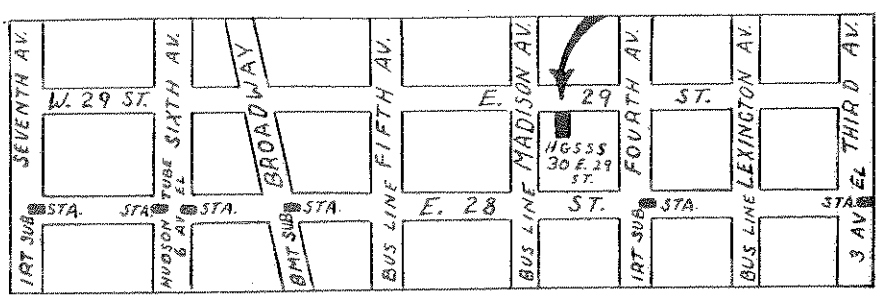
The building, a fire-proof structure formerly occupied by the telephone company, is fifty by eighty feet. The lot extends twenty feet to the rear. A fire-proof stair-case and an elevator in the center of the structure are encased in a fire-proof brick tower. The floors are concrete. The fire escape in the rear is enclosed in a steel tower. The school could not have a safer structure against the hazard of fire.

The ground floor is divided into two halves. On the right is a room large enough to house the secretarial activities of the school—registration office, correspondence course division, extension department—with all the necessary filing systems and mailing facilities. The director's office will be in the center of this busy hub. The entrance to the left leads to a large, tiled room which was used as a cafeteria in the past. The present plan is to open, as soon as feasible, an eating and meeting place in this room for the convenience of students and visitors. Here over lukewarm cups of coffee the hot arguments begun in the classrooms will be continued until the lights go out.

The second and third floors will be divided into ten classrooms, each large enough for the convenient seating of twenty-five students. In addition to these rooms there will be a library or reading room, also a sizable room for congregating before entering classrooms, on each floor. The fourth and fifth floors will contain six rooms each. The building affords the opportunity of teaching between 650 and 700 students at one session, also library rooms, space for committee meetings, an office for the Freeman—and a basement large enough for more storage than we have any present expectancy of using.

Now for a dream-castle, beneath which to build solid foundations. When, in due time, the publicity efforts shall have attracted that many students, and our volunteer teaching staff shall have been built up to the requirements, we should have three sessions daily, at each of which six hundred students will attend. Eighteen hundred citizens a day studying fundamental economics, from seven to nine thousand a week. Three courses a year, and you have twenty-five thousand who have at least been introduced to correct economic thinking. Even half that number is a mighty force—yes, even in mundane New York. It can be done. It will be done.

When we review the toil and labor of the past forty years we cannot but reflect on how much more effective our efforts would have been if we had been able to cooperate with an organization like the School.—GEORGE L. RUSBY and ELIZABETH E. BOWEN.



Brief History of the School

On September 15, 1932, the Board of Regents granted a provisional charter to the Henry George School of Social Science, incorporating it as an educational institution to maintain and conduct schools and lecture forums for the purpose of teaching fundamental economics and social philosophy.

For several years previous to this incorporation the work of the School had been conducted as an independent enterprise by Mr. Geiger. The value of his work was recognized by those who attended his lectures, who felt the need of extending this educational venture through the means of an organized School. Among those who appreciated the value of this teaching was Dr. John Dewey, who thereupon accepted the honorary presidency of the School.

The headquarters of the School was established in the building at 211 West 79th Street, New York. These consisted of an office and library, and a classroom. Three years after, the entire building above the ground floor was taken over. The School premises now consisted of four classrooms, a library, an office devoted to local classwork, an office for the correspondence division, and an office devoted to extension classwork.

In the first year eighty-four students were enrolled. Weekly public forums were conducted for the general public. In June, 1934, Oscar H. Geiger passed away. Mr. Norman C. B. Fowles was elected director the next month, and in September classes were resumed. The interest in the School's work evidenced by many friends and contributors throughout the country suggested the possibility of opening extension classes in other cities where qualified teachers could be secured. The School syllabus and classroom helps were printed for this purpose, and a field director, Mr. John Lawrence Monroe, was assigned to the work. The growth of the School required also the services of a business director, and Mr. Otto K. Dorn, a retired business man of considerable experience, volunteered his services.

The following table of enrollments in the fundamental course, not including advanced courses, and the gross expenditures, will give a graphic picture of the growth of the School, from its beginning to December 31, 1937.

Year	Local Classes	Students Enrolled	Exten. Classes	Exten. Students	Corresp. Students	Total Students	Expenses	Cost. per Stu. Enr.
1933	11	84	None	None	None	84	$ 1,618.39	$19.22
1934	18	335	4	48	None	383	5,534.30	14.45
1935	33	811	71	1438	None	2249	9,464.30	4.22
1936	44	1196	166	3069	None	4265	14,069.74	3.30
1937	77	1710	207	3877	2475	8062	28,150.58	3.49

At first the faculty consisted of Mr. Geiger, his son, George Raymond Geiger, Ph. D. (Columbia), Mr. John Luxton, teacher at the Tilden High School, New York City, and Mr. Max Berkowitz, A. B. (C.C.N.Y.) In 1937 the faculty of the School—including extension classes—consisted of over two hundred instructors.

The School year ending December 31, 1937, gives a picture of the rapid growth of the School from its humble beginning. The strain upon its excellent staff of devoted volunteers (including twenty instructors) became too great. It was necessary to supplement this with a full-time director and with several full-time secretaries. This was made possible by the increase in the number and size of the donations and by several generous bequests. Mr. Frank Chodorov, A. B. (Columbia), a former school teacher and an experienced business man, and active in the work for twenty years, was engaged to take charge of the School. A Correspondence Course was added to the curriculum in February, 1937.

On July 30, 1937 the Regents of University of State of New York granted the School's application for an absolute charter to replace the provisional charter under which the School had been operating for nearly five years.

In the first half of 1938 rapid progress was made, mainly because of the training of many new teachers. In fact, the growth of the School, aside from its correspondence work, is entirely dependent upon the development of trained instructors. In January the School started its work, in New York City, with forty-one regular instructors. Of this number half taught classes in the School headquarters, the other half being distributed throughout the city in rent-free places. The fall term, opening in the new building, will start with sixty-five instructors. A new Teachers Training class will be begun in October.

The following figures, reprinted from the August issue of The Freeman give a picture of the School's accomplishment, as far as it can be recorded in statistics, to July 1, 1938:

Correspondence Course

Jan. 1 to June 30, 1938	2,055
Total Enrollments	4,535

New York City Classes

Jan. 1 to June 30, 1938	1,861
Total Enrollments	6,450
No. Spring Classes	32

Extension Department

Jan. 1 to June 30, 1938	2,862
Total Enrollments	10,080
No. Spring Classes	92

Grand Total

Total Spring Enrollments	6,678
Total School Enrollments	21,065
Total No. Graduates Reported	8,835*

* The average "term" of the correspondence course is over six months. Of the two thousand enrollments this year very few completed the course by July 1, and most will not become "graduates" until Christmas.

SHE SMILES, WINS—ORGANIZES CLASSES

The charming smile you meet on the first floor of the building of the Henry George School of Social Science adorns the personality of Teresa McCarthy. And when the smile breaks, out comes a delightful brogue that completely robs you of any critical animus, self-consciousness or parsimonial intentions. You came, you saw: but you were conquered.

Miss McCarthy has won many friends for the school. Querulous and doubtful students have taken the course because of her persuasiveness, and have become active workers in the school. Visitors from other cities and from Europe have carried away to their home towns a fuller understanding of School policy and methods, as a result of her sympathetic presentation.

And throughout New York there are secretaries of Y. M. C. A.'s, ministers and rabbis, public officials, building managers and others who could not resist Miss McCarthy's salesmanship when she "sold" the idea that a class in fundamental economics would be a valuable addition to their edifices, rent free. The success of our extension classes in the city are primarily due to her efforts. If we had had more teachers she would have gotten places for them.

While, for lack of trained teachers, the extension work in New York must temporarily be suspended, the management of one hundred classes a week in the new building, the campaigns for getting thousands of students, the assigning of classes and the multifarious duties of being the major-domo of this larger undertaking will keep her busy. But she will smile nevertheless, and you will like it.

ATTIC DWELLER SPURS MAIL COURSE

In the attic of the old building housing national hedquarters of the Henry George School of Social Science you can find him almost every night in the week. Before him are dozens of correspondence course papers, letters from students requiring answers. The Freeman subscription lists, books dealing with the school's accounts—or maybe he is working on a budget.

For these are the things he does. When the Correnspondence Course grew to such proportions that the director and his volunteers were no longer able to cope with the job, Gaston Haxo joined the staff as a regular. Of course, he had been putting in five nights a week before that.

Now he puts in seven days and seven nights. Because the Correspondence Course was not enough work for him he takes care of the books of account, as well at The Freeman subscription accounts, reads proof and teaches.

For a little fellow he gets away with a lot of work. We could say much of Gaston Haxo, for we remember him twenty years ago. He was a worker always. But he was a terrible soap-box orator!

Robert Chananie

When the negotiations for the purchase of a permanent building for national headquarters of the Henry George School of Social Science had proceeded to the point where architectural advice was necessary, the director learned that there was an architect in the advanced class studying "the Science of Political Economy." The architect, Robert Chananie, enthusiastically volunteered his service, and the necessary renovations will be done under his direction and according to his plans.

Charles Joseph Smith

Throughout the negotiations for the new building for the Henry George School of Social Science in New York, the trustees have had the legal guidance of Charles Joseph Smith, whose time and counsel have ever been at their disposal. Mr. Smith is one of the first graduates of the school, having studied under Oscar Geiger, and has been a member of its faculty for the past three years.

They All Worked

A year ago it became evident that lack of space would hamper the work of the school. The director pointed to the necessity of limiting enrollment, of the turning away of the overflow of the unsatisfiable demand for advanced courses, of the lack of storage space for printed matter, of the crowded conditions in the office.

The trustees doubted the wisdom of expansion. Better a successful small school than a large undertaking which might collapse for lack of operating funds. For months the matter was discussed. But, as is usual in such debates, the force of circumstances settled the issue; the continuing space problem called for bold action. The job of looking for a building was assigned to Otto K. Dorn. For months this good friend of the School contacted brokers and banking institutions, looked at scores of places, studied assessments, investigated and scrutinized. Fortunately, Gilbert M. Tucker, of Albany, spent last Winter in New York, and in between teaching a couple of classes he helped Mr. Dorn with this house-finding job.

Finally, the choice, because of location and price, settled on 30 East 29th Street, owned by the telephone company. And now came the delicate job of "higgling". On the theory that a good stock broker knows no "bottom" these days, Lancaster M. Greene entered into the negotiations. Of course, the venerable attorney of the movement, Frederic C. Leubusher, had a good deal to say about the contract, so that the interests of the School were well taken care of.

The work that was put into acquiring the buildings is another evidence of the inspired devotion that this School movement calls forth.

The Henry George School of Social Science is the most encouraging institution I know. The world seems to glory in the immoral doctrine of expediency and the School stands for the sanctity of moral law. He that endureth to the end the same shall be saved.

—LAWSON PURDY.

The Growth of an Idea

By Joseph Dana Miller
Editor "Land and Freedom"

I like to dwell upon the remarkable career of Oscar Geiger, founder of the Henry George School of Social Science, whose name is now linked indissolubly with the history of the movement. It is not too much to say that he has brought definitely nearer the accomplishment of our great purpose. In the time to come when, in a world redeemed, the name of Henry George is hailed as the great pathfinder, Oscar Geiger and his work will not be forgotten. His fame is secure.

I am making no attempt to compare them intellectually. It was not in the power of Oscar Geiger to give to the world a "Progress and Poverty." He was not a superlative writer but a good one. But he had the vision, and his powers of reasoning were of the highest order. He was not unacquainted with the various schools of philosophy and he was a mathematician and was schooled in astronomy, frequently lecturing on that subject.

Few had a more profound knowledge of political economy. He knew his Henry George and his "Progress and Poverty" as few know them. He had built around these a philosophy that was all-satisfying. He was very daring in his applications and there were times when I hesitated to follow him. On one occasion I ventured to remonstrate with him and suggested that even if he were right it was perhaps injudicious to claim so much. His reply was, "I believe it—why should I not say it?" As if that were all!

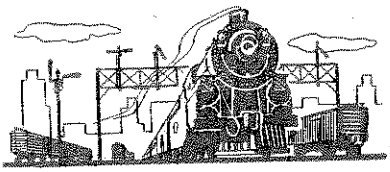
He had the prophetic instinct. It is sometimes regretted by those nearest to him that he did not live to see the astounding growth of the School he had founded, that he could not possibly have foreseen it. But he did. Frequently he said to me: "This idea will grow more and more and when it has spread over the land and to other lands it will be said that that little fellow did it." He was playful like that among his intimates and no trait of his character was more lovable than this.

His faith was greater than the faith of those who surrounded him. It seems incredible now that there should have been those who advised against the starting of this great venture or who urged him to delay it until some more propitious time. Many of lesser faith were swayed by his enthusiasm but had their doubts. "Where will the money come from?" I asked him. His invariably reply was, "It will come." Such was the faith that moves mountains.

One fault Oscar had. It was his undoing. He could not delegate his tasks to others. If anything was to be done, lessons to be prepared for the students, letters to be addressed, people to be seen, he must do all this himself. So he worked through the night. And he broke down. Strong as was his constitution, athlete, and capable of splendid physical effort, he demanded of himself too much. The constant strain on his soaring spirit broke suddenly. A great movement must make its sacrifices. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.

Let us turn now from Oscar Geiger the man to the institution that is the living and growing witness of his greatness, the Henry George School. From its early beginning when he was the only teacher with a mere handful of students, let me draw attention to the grand total of nine thousand graduates, an amazing increase over a period of a few years.

And still growing! It is not a fanciful estimate that in a few years it will have sent forth a larger number of graduates than any institution of learning in the world. This is well within the range of probability.



It may be said that the methods of teaching are being constantly scrutinized and improved. "Progress and Poverty" is the basic textbook, and the teachers—of whom there are now some sixty odd in New York City alone—see no reason for change in that Book of a Thousand Years if it were written tomorrow. Room for amplification and application there is, but none for revision. We are glad to see, too, that the spiritual ideals of the founder are the animating inspiration of the teachers and help to inform the dry bones of the science.

It has been my privilege to sit in many of the classes. It would be invidious to select names of any of the teachers for special mention. But all have aroused the spirit of inquiry among the students. And when it is considered that most of these teachers had only the faintest comprehension of the principles they are inculcating a few months back, the picture takes on a new significance. For these young people, teachers and students alike, are what George called "the file leaders of public opinion." It is inevitable that in the time to come they will influence popular thought and help to direct what Abe D. Waldauer happily called "the movement of mankind to the stars."

It is true that the students sometimes stumble. Who among us has not? But it is always noticeable that some one or more of the students volunteers a correction and the currents of thought move on to apparent agreement.

What is particularly to be observed, and which Director Chodorov has done much to encourage, is a spirit of tolerance among the students and teachers. No attempt is made to cram anything down the throats of the students and the result is a surprising open-mindedness. No attack is made upon socialism, communism or fascism. The School has its story to tell and it tells it. The antidote for false theories and

misconceptions is in the teaching. That is all that is necessary, and it works.

No Henry George adherent visiting New York City should fail to spend one evening at the School. There he will observe a scene of activity that will amaze him. Miss Teresa McCarthy, capable and efficient as well as amiable and charming, is in charge. She is aided by five or six stenographers and clerks who contribute to the admirable esprit de corps. All are competent servants of a great cause and take pride in their work. And not to be overlooked are the volunteer workers, graduates who, after their daily labors, come to the School to help in the mighty work.

An irresistible impulse has been set in motion. The way has been found. And with the establishment of a permanent School building that is described elsewhere are the beginnings of a University from which the stream of world-wide educational movement will be directed.

SPREADING THE SCHOOL BY MAIL

At this writing—one must include the time element, because of the constantly increasing figures— nearly 5000 people have enrolled in the free correspondence course offered by the School. About half of this number have either completed the course or are sending in lessons.

The course was first offered in February of last year. There are peculiarities about a mail course which make statistics based upon a term or a year of little avail in seeking conclusions. Some students complete the course within three months; some take a year. Others drop out after a few lessons and resume the study suddenly after a lapse of months. It seems now that the average "term" for the course is six months. It seems now that of those who enrolled not over twenty-five per cent will complete the ten lessons; that of those who start 75% will go through an average of three lessons, an average made low by the fact that many find the first lessons "tough going."

Sixty percent of those who enroll buy copies of the text book, "Progress and Poverty." Many who buy the book advise that they are reading but do not care to answer the question papers. This collateral result of the course, which cannot be recorded in any statistics, is undoubtedly as important in spreading a knowledge of Henry George as is the course itself.

During the past months an average of two hundred lesson papers have been received each week. The correction of these papers, under the direction of Gaston Haxo, is supplemented with printed answers and explanatory notes, also with special letters wenever needed.

Enrollments are received from mailings to all sorts of lists and from advertising in periodicals. The most productive lists are those received from students in the course. At least two hundred of these recommended names are received each week. Another fruitful source of names is the non-graduate lists received from teachers, showing that many who drop out of the classes want the course but cannot attend the weekly sessions.

The great advantage of the correspondence course is that it is not limited by time, space or lack of teachers. Its growth and effectiveness is determined only by the amount of money spent on getting students. Two out of every hundred names addressed enroll in the course.

Bob Clancy

Bob Clancy's an artist—or claims to be—and the little decorative and illustrative drawings in **The Freeman** may or may not prove the claims as well as the big canvases he works on. But there is no question about his devotion to the school and his ability to teach fundamental economics. Bob's been a fixture around the school since the days of Oscar Geiger, from whom, during his adolescence, he learned so well and so deeply.

He's the packer and the librarian, and he does both jobs thoroughly. He's a teacher and he helps Gaston Haxo with the Correspondence Course when the lessons come in faster than Gaston can handle them. He knows the literature of the movement, and who publishes what and where. "Ask Bob" is the answer to almost every inquiry. Without Bob nothing could be found, because the crowded condition of the revamped residence we have been using as a school building calls for a monumental memory to supplement any system of keeping stock.

Congratulations on the new building! It is another step towards the Henry George University. I am confident your new facilities will enable you and your faculty to expand the significant educational work that you are doing. Best of luck!—GEORGE R. GEIGER.

The Freeman Secretary

Helen is charged to **The Freeman** on the payroll, and she takes care of the subscription lists, types articles, and does other odds and ends in connection with the school paper. But, when the Correspondence Course is swamped with work, or Alice cannot keep up with the demands of the Extension Department, when a special mailing has to be gotten out in a hurry, Helen Sternberg "mops up". Funny how so much work is accounted for by a little girl who just keeps plugging along.

Registrar

Somebody gave her this tittle—and if it means efficiency and industry it is an apt one. For, the constant flow of circulars to secure registrations, the following up of absentees, the recording of graduates,the multifarious duties in connection with all sorts of circularizations—these are the province of Jennie Meyersohn. To say nothing of a telephone which, just before the opening of classes, seems never to stop tingling. Remember, the New York classes come from 100,000 circulars a year—which is a lot for anybody to take care of. Miss Meyerson does this, and other things, quietly and well.

Somebody once said, "Truth and Justice are the immutable laws of social order." That statement is eternally true, and I rejoice to learn that a new building has been acquired where the social philosophy of George can be taught to a much larger number of students than formerly.—JOHN ANDERSON.

Now - All Together

The only hope for democracy is in a free economy.

Every other nostrum, from our own attempts at planned economy to the various kinds of totalitarianism of Asia and Europe, has been tried and, from any standpoint of human happiness, has failed. Poverty continues, depressions recur, war is constant, cultures that have been built up by centuries of travail are being destroyed, and even in the most optimistic hearts lurks the fear that civilization is threatened.

That there is a way out we who have learned the philosophy of freedom know. We know that men build and sow in order that they may enjoy the fruits of their labor—and that in the possession of their production are their satisfactions gratified. We know that interference with production and insecurity of possession are primarily the causes of all social maladjustments.

We know, too, that the mechanism that robs labor and capital of the fruits of their exertion is the private collection of rent. And that this robbery results in the imposition of government levies on production and savings for those social services which civilized people require, and which in turn increase the fund of rent that is privately appropriated.

We know the economic laws which are violated by this unsocial arrangement, the immortality of human laws which enable a small group of people to deprive the many of their produce, the inevitable consequences to society of this monopoly of the earth secured by legislative action.

Knowing this, we could not, if we would, for one moment relent in teaching the truths we have learned to the millions who are groping for an answer.

For the world is seeking an answer. Democrat, Socialist, Fascist, Republican, Communist—every shade of political thought and ideology is today merely an honest expression of doubt. Seeking a way out of economic darkness men are attaching themselves to any promising ray of hope, accepting without examination because the need for an answer is too imminent.

I congratulate you on the new splendid development. The group of Henry George Schools have done a fine work in economic and social education and the new centre is both a reward for the good work already done and an assurance of its continued progress on a larger scale. It must be a source of great encouragement to those who have devoted themselves so completely to building up a most needed public educational work.—JOHN DEWEY.

At no time since Henry George gave the world an answer, based upon irrefutable logic and the highest sanction of moral law, have men been so willing to listen and to learn. Necessarily, the emotionalism attending the first appearance of "Progress and Poverty" subsided during the comparatively prosperous years which followed. The devil, being well, needed no advice. But, with the feeling of imminent danger to our social structure so general, now is the time to teach fundamental principles, to tell the world that in the science of political economy, not in a maze of political programs, can the answer be found.

Fortunately, the mechanism for our work has been developed during these past five years. The technique necessary for a national campaign of education, resulting from experimentation and proven by results, is at our disposal. The extension class program will be extended, with the ultimate goal a group in every town and hamlet studying the philosophy of freedom. Instead of 4000 annual enrollments in the correspondence course, there should be that many a month; names of prospective students are wanted.

And in New York City where good and valiant workers have provided the machinery for such a national campaign, a building has been acquired which provides not only sufficient space for the offices necessary for a national undertaking, but classrooms in which as many as twenty-five thousand students a year can be accommodated. Toward this goal teachers will be trained, and publicity methods for securing students will be developed.

The teachers will always—always—be volunteers. It is as undesirable as it is impossible to pay people to teach the philosophy of freedom. The very effectiveness of our teaching is enhanced by the sincerity of volunteer teachers. In terms of dollars, what is the price of such sincerity?

The clerical and directional staff is not adequate enough for so great an undertaking, but this deficiency is made up by the greater efforts of these all-day workers whose compensation is more in higher satisfactions than in salaries, and by the many volunteers who contribute their spare-time services.

But, the building has not been paid for. It is a structure which, when alterations are completed and equipment installed, will cost a total of nearly fifty thousand dollars—a price hardly commensurate with its value, which the city taxing department assessed last year at twice this amount.

Pledges and promises and the usual contributions which the School receives assures us of sufficient funds to carry on our education program. But the entire cost of the building is not yet provided for. The Trustees, acquired it because the need for it was felt, and because they have faith that the thousands of Georgists in the country would welcome this great forward step in the campaign to free our country of economic ignorance.

We must go forward. Your contribution to the **Building Fund** will impel this forward movement. Send it at once—the new home must be paid for within six months—and send as much as you can, a dollar or a thousand.

Every graduate, every friend of the School should feel that he has helped to buy a brick, a chair, a wall or a blackboard. It is Your School. Make it unanimous.

NEW COURSES FOR NEW BUILDING

For a long time the need for enlarging and rounding out the curriculm of the school has been recognized by the director and the trustees. Always the problem of space retarded the development and execution of these ideas. The new school building solves this problem. A curriculm will be developed which will greatly increase the scope of the school.

A short course has been built upon "Social Problems". Henry George suggested the reading of this book as preliminary to the study of "Progress and Poverty", and the course will be given with that thought in view. It is believed that many students who enroll in the required course "Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy", find the abstract reasoning in "Progress and Poverty" too difficult to grasp. A number of those who have dropped out of our classes during the first three lessons—where the dropping-out is greatest—have given the difficulty of understanding the book as a reason. Perhaps an introduction to this study through the reading of George's more popularly written book would ease the transition, make the study of "Progress and Poverty" less arduous, and thus increase the number of those who complete the course.

The ten-weeks course will be continued. But one or two experimental classes, with "Social Problems" as a beginning, will be started this Fall. By February, 1939, the results of this experiment may re-orientate the fundamental course.

To those who have completed the fundamental course will be offered six weeks on the "Principles of International Trade", followed by ten weeks of the "Science of Political Economy." Two other advanced courses are now being prepared. One is based on George Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George" (eight weeks), the other on Harry Gunnison Brown's "Economic Basis of Tax Reform" (seven weeks). The sequence of these various courses has not yet been determined upon: they will be open only to those who have completed the fundamental course. A small registration fee will be charged for all advanced courses.

Other suggested courses which must remain in the discussion stage until means and methods are devised, are these: Public Speaking, Theory and Practice of Assessments and Taxation, Currents Events, Research Methods, Karl Marx and Henry George, The Land in Law.

Ours is a rather unique experiment in adult education. One must almost return to the early pedagogical ideas of the Jesuits to find a parallel. There is no real guide that we can fully rely upon in our planning for a greater and more thorough school. Therefore, we must plan carefully, experiment, avail ourselves of opportunities, study results and re-build upon our experience. Only time and conscientious effort will bring us to our ultimate goal—the goal of Oscar Geiger—The Henry George University.

EXTENSION WORK

There are some 10,000 card records of persons throughout the country who have completed the courses of the Henry George School of Social Science. There are card records of teachers, past and present, with the number and dates of classes taught, the number enrolled in, and the number graduated from, each class. Each city in which classes have been or are being held has a card record. The names of extension secretaries and class sponsors are not overlooked. The recorded results of our educational campaign are the "profits" which prompt us to further effort and which give promise for the future.

When a teacher or class secretary writes for class room helps, posters, books, certificates or other paraphernalia the secretary sees to it that these supplies are promptly sent. Letters urging teachers to new efforts, letters to secretaries urging them to send in lists of enrollments and of graduates—this is routine work.

A thousand orders for triple post card announcements are received during the year. Class secretaries write "copy" that always requires editing. The proofreading has to be attended to, and as these orders are nearly always received at the last possible moment, the printer has to be watched to see that cards go out on time.

With all these details and with the continual correspondence incident to the extension work, imperturbable Alice Best copes valiantly and, in spite of an irrascible director's constant criticism, quite efficiently.

MAIL STUDY

When an enrollment in the correspondence course of the Henry George School of Social Science is received the secretary files the card chronologically, and makes out a student card, which is filed algebraically. If a textbook is ordered a label is made out for the shipper.

Every day from twenty-five to fifty lesson papers are received. A first lesson requires the recording of the student's name in a numerical register, in which the record of the receipt and mailing of lessons are kept. Every active student has a folder in which are kept copies of correspondence. When his lesson is received it is attached to the folder, so that the examiner will have a continuous record of the student's progress before him.

On an average, the correspondence course is completed in six months. But it is necessary constantly to remind students to keep up the study. If three weeks elapse between the sending of a corrected lesson and the receipt of the next one a reminder is sent to the student. If four such reminders do not bring the desired result the student is dropped; but sometimes one comes to life after months of inactivity.

In addition to these routine duties in connection with the course there are innumerable letters to write to students, answering specific questions of theory or fact, or clearing up doubts in their minds. Also, a constant flow of circulars for new students, answering of inquiries from prospective students, recording of advertising results, etc. To get over four thousand enrollments in one year requires considerable clerical work.

Vivienne A. Bosco is the young woman who efficiently tends to the details of this department.

THE LAND OF "MAKE BELIEVE"

By Harry Gunnison Brown

America is, in some degree, a land of formulas, pretense and "make believe." Blue laws, though seldom or never enforced during perhaps a hundred years, have nevertheless been left on the statute books for generations. The prejudiced groups which believed in them have apparently enjoyed a certain moral satisfaction from knowing that the laws were in existence—when they have bothered to think about the matter at all—and so have been ready to oppose their repeal. No doubt mere inertia has played its part, but it is probable that fear of prejudiced groups has been influential in preventing legislators from repealing these laws anything like as soon as they otherwise would have done. Prohibition, whatever might be its benefits if effectively enforced, developed the trades of the bootlegger and the hijacker and was notoriously evaded and violated. Yet there were, to the last, many enthusiasts for prohibition who apparently had a sense of victory and moral satisfaction from the mere presence of such a law on the statute books, regardless of how little it was adhered to in practice.

I have it on what I believe good authority, that the union carpenters of one of our largest cities—and conditions must obviously be the same in other cities—refuse absolutely to entertain the idea of lowering the official union wage rate, notwithstanding the fact that every single one of the union carpenters who is actually employed, is working for less than this standard rate. There is apparently a virtue here, too, in "make believe." I am told, also, that where, in work done for the government, the standard wage rates are required by statute, presumably to satisfy the "labor vote," workers are, to a very large extent, mulcted of this excess of the standard wages over demand-and-supply market wages, by foremen or other hiring agents, to whom they pay rebates for the privilege of getting and keeping their jobs.

This suggests a question as to a possible result of the new wage-hour law, in so far as wages are fixed above the natural market level. Can such a law be enforced? Will not rebates to foremen and other employers' agents, or other and similar devices, go far to prevent the law's supposedly intended benefits from being received by those who are employed, and will not even its partial enforcement inevitably cause a very large volume of unemployment?

Have we not, in this wage-hour law, another typical case of pretense and "make believe"? Is not Congress just trying to satisfy the superficially-thinking "liberal" and labor groups by assuring them that it has now, in the case of wages, "passed a law about it," thereby "guaranteeing" a fair living to all the wage-earning class? Yet there is no likelihood that the law can be at all fully enforced and there is every reason to believe that its enforcement—even a rather incomplete enforcement—must cause wide-spread unemployment. Or will it show its effects, in part, in a great decrease of interstate business, to which the law applies, and substitute local production for a local market, with consequent small-scale and inefficient methods, and higher prices to consumers along with low wages to workers?

Why don't our legislators consider the land question? Why don't they do something about the land speculation that forces concentration of workers upon smaller space and forces the use of poorer and less well situated land, so necessarily reducing the level of real wages at which men can be employed? Why, in short, do they pass laws which merely **pretend** to raise wages; while they steadfastly **refuse** to consider a taxation system which would make higher wages really **possible**? Why ignore the fact that taxes on the various goods and services workers must buy, now take from these workers a substantial part of their wages, while the untaxing of land makes land expensive for business and for homes, breeds tenancy, and reduces the productivity of labor? Does our boasted free education leave our people as fundamentally unintelligent and as susceptible to "make believe" as if they had no education at all? And will it therefore continue to be the case that success in politics flows, not from real understanding and not from getting at the causes of our economic evils and seeking to remove these causes, but from pretense and plausible quackery and "make believe"?

(Continued from page 8)

speculative gambling, it would be well deserving of thanks. In the words of John Dewey (see Foreword to the Author's **Philosophy of Henry George**): "We are just beginning to understand how large a part unregulated speculation has played in bringing about the present crisis. And I cannot imagine any informed student of social economy denying that land speculation is basic in the general wild orgy or that this speculation would have been averted by social appropriation, through taxation, of rent."

* Published by the Macmillan Company, New York, Price $2. The School has a limited number of copies which it can offer to its teachers and graduates at $1.00 each, postpaid.

† The following are samples of these studies: "Real Estate Speculation and the Depression," by Herbert D. Simpson, **American Economic Review**, March, 1933, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, Supplement (the supplement consists of papers read at the December, 1932, meeting of the American Economic Association); "Speculation in Suburban Lands," by Ernest M. Fisher, same issue; "The Valuation of Vacant Land in Suburban Areas—Chicago Area," by Herbert D. Simpson and John E. Burton, **Studies in Public Finance**, Research Monograph No. 2, Institute for Economic Research, Northwestern University, 1931; "Cycles in Real Estate Activity"—in San Francisco and Alameda County, by Lewis A. Maverick, **The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics**, Vol. VIII, No. 2, May, 1932; "The Crisis in Real Estate," by Arthur C. Holden, **Harper's Monthly**, November, 1931; "The Great Land Racket," by Paul Blanshard, **The New Freeman**, 3rd December, 1930, and 10th December, 1930; "Land Subdividing and the Rate of Utilization," by Ernest M. Fisher and R. F. Smith, **Michigan Business Studies**, Vol. IV, No. 5. See also the three books mentioned in an earlier chapter: **The Great American Land Bubble**, by A. A. Sakolski (1932); **One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago**, by Homer Hoyt (1933); and **The Golden Earth**, by Arthur Pound (1935).

III HENRY GEORGE *UNORTHODOX AMERICAN*

By Albert Jay Nock

"I Am For Man"

V

No one would publish the book, not so much because it was revolutionary (though one firm objected to it emphatically on that ground) but because it was a bad prospect. No work on political economy, aside from textbooks, had ever sold well enough either in the United States or England to make another one attractive. Besides, the unparalleled depression of the 'seventies was making all the publishing houses sail as close to the wind as they could run. Logically, a book on the cause of hard times ought to interest people just then, but book buyers do not buy by logic, and publishers are aware of it.

By hook or crook George and his friends got together enough money to make plates for an author's edition of five hundred copies; George himself set the first few sticks of type. At three dollars a copy he sold enough of these almost to clear the cost; and presently the firm of Appleton, who had rejected the manuscript, wrote him that if he would let them have his plates, they would bring out the book in a two-dollar edition; and this was done.

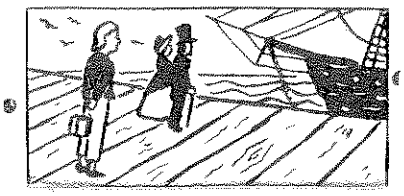
It fell as dead as Caesar, not even getting a competent press notice in America for months. George sent some complimentary copies abroad, where it did rather better. Emile de Laveleye praised it highly in the "Revue Scientifique"; it was translated into German, and its reviews, as George said, were "way up." Some sort of sale began in March, 1880, with a brilliant review in "The New York Sun," which was followed by more or less serious treatment in the Eastern press generally; but it amounted to almost nothing.

The truth about the subsequent meteoric success of "Progress and Poverty" as a publishing venture is that it was purely adventitious success. The times were not only just right for such a book, but they stayed right for nearly twenty years.

This third installment of Mr. Nock's brilliant portrayal of Henry George gives an insight into the character of the great philosopher that his followers might well take note of. Above all things Henry George was sincere. He was honest, not only with himself, but also with the truth. Personal advantage could, of course, have no weight with him. But far more than that, he realized that, any compromise of the fundamental principle of his philosophy—that is, with justice—was a denial of justice. The very popularity that his ideas attained during his life-time suggests that with the people sincerity and honesty are most attractive, and therefore the best kind of propaganda. The public hates a "pussy-footer."

The course of popular interest played directly into its hands, not only in America, but in the whole English-speaking world. It is significant that in countries where the course of interest ran otherwise, as in France, for instance, it had no vogue. In the English-speaking world, its immense vogue was almost wholly that of an instrument of discontent, or in the vernacular of the book trade, a hell-raiser. Even so (to a person who has had any experience at all of the human race), the fact that a solid treatise like "Progress and Poverty" should have had an aggregate sale running well over two million copies is almost incredibly fantastic; yet that is what it had.

From first to last, the history of American civilization is a most depressing study; but that of the decade from which "Progress and Poverty" emerged is probably unmatched in the whole record, unless by the history of our own times. There is no need to dwell on it here; one feels utterly degraded at any reminder of it. George's book nicely caught the tide of turbulent reaction which brought in "the era of reform" under Cleveland in 1884, and ran fairly full throughout the 'nineties. George's death in 1897 marking the approximate point of its complete subsidence.



This tidal wave carried George himself as well as his book; he threw himself on its crest. He expected some good to come of the great general unrest, and he bent all his energies to the task of educating the awakened social forces and giving them what he believed to be a right direction. The temper of the times filled him with hope. A sincere republican, he was a second Jefferson in his naive idealization of the common man's intelligence, disinterestedness, and potential loyalty to a great cause. Therefore hell-raising quite suited him; Peter the Hermit had raised hell, and Savonarola had seen no other way to get the common man properly stirred up. Before George was nominated for the mayoralty of New York in 1886, Tammany sent William M. Ivins to buy him off with the promise of a seat in Congress. Ivins told him he could never be mayor—and in fact there is little room for doubt that he was fraudulently counted out—and George asked why, if that were so, there could be any objection to his running. Ivins told him frankly that it was because his running would raise hell; and George replied with similar frankness that that was precisely what he wanted to do.

With this purpose in mind, George came to New York on the heels of his book, selling out what little he possessed in California. "My pleasant little home that I was so comfortable in is gone," he wrote sadly,

"and I am afloat at forty-two, poorer than at twenty-one. I do not complain, but there is some bitterness in it." During his first year in New York, while his cherished book lay dead, he lived in obscurity, wretchedly poor; and then the time came when he could take advantage of something on which the eyes of the whole English-speaking world were fixed—the Irish rent-war.

VI

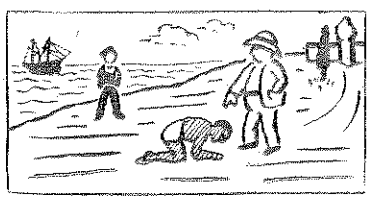
Ireland at that time was front-page news on every paper printed in the English language. Parnell and Dillon crossed the ocean, spoke in sixty-two American cities, addressed the House of Representatives, and took away a great fund of American dollars wherewith to fight the battles of the rack-rented Irish tenant. They were followed by the best man in the movement, Michael Davitt, who came over late in 1880 to tend the fire that Parnell and Dillon had kindled. George met him and got him "under conviction," as the revivalists say, and then wrote a pamphlet entitled "The Irish Land Question; what it involves, and how alone it can be settled."

From that moment Henry George was, in the good sense of the term, a made man. The pamphlet was a masterpiece of polemics, a call to action, and a prophecy, all in one. Published simultaneously in America and England, it had an immense success. George was amazed at the space it got in the Eastern papers. "The astonishing thing," he wrote, "is the goodness of the comments. . . . I am getting famous, if I am not making money." It is hard to see how a man who had ever done a day's work on a newspaper could write in that unimaginative way. With Irish influence as strong as it was on the Eastern seaboard, and with every Irishman sitting up nights to curse the hated Sassenach landlords and their puppet government, how could the newspaper comments not be good? The Eastern papers simply knew which side their bread was buttered on.

A rabble of charmed and vociferous Irish closed around the simple-hearted pamphleteer, probably not troubling themselves much about his philosophy of the Irish land question, but nevertheless all for him. He was against the government and against the landlords, and that was enough. In this they were like the vast majority of readers who were led to peck at "Progress and Poverty" because they had heard that the book voiced their discontent; probably not five per cent of them read it through, or were able to understand what they did read, but they were all for it nevertheless, and all for glorifying Henry George. The American branch of the Land League immediately put George on the lecture platform, and when the Irish troubles culminated in the imprisonment of Davitt, Dillon, Parnell, and O'Kelly, an Irish newspaper published in New York sent him to the seat of war as a correspondent.

He reached Dublin, dogged by secret-service men, and gave a public lecture with such effect that his audience went fairly wild. He wrote a friend that he had "the hardest work possible" to keep the crowd from unharnessing his cab-horse and dragging his carriage through the streets to his hotel. His reports to "The Irish World" got wide distribution. When he crossed to England, interest opened many doors to him outside political circles, and curiosity opened many more. He dined with most of the lions if the period, Besant, Herbert Spencer, Tennyson, Justin McCarthy, Wallace, Browning, Chamberlain, John Bright, and made an excellent impression. He wrote his wife that he could easily have become a lion himself if he had liked, but he thought it best to keep clear of all that sort of thing.

He spoke in England, and addressed huge audiences in Scotland. Returning to Ireland, he got still wider publicity out of being locked up twice on suspicion. His notoriety was helped, too, by the humorous character of the proceedings before the examining magistrate, which reminded all England of Mr. Nupkins's examination of the Pickwickians. George took this occasion to write the President a blistering letter about the truckling imbecility of the American Minister, Lowell, and this not only gave him another line of publicity but also had a good practical effect. The Secretary of State sent out a circular letter prodding up the service, and asked George to file a claim for damages, which George refused to do, saying he was not interested in that, but only in seeing that the rights of American citizens in foreign lands were properly defended.



All this celebrity was a great lift for "Progress and Poverty." The book suddenly became an international best seller. "The London Times" gave it a five-column review which made its fortune in all the British possessions; the review came out in the morning, and by afternoon the publishers had sold out every copy in stock. When a new edition was rushed out, one house in Melbourne ordered 1300 copies, and 300 were sent to New Zealand. George was invited everywhere, banqueted everywhere, asked to speak on all sorts of occasions, reported everywhere; and when he left the British Isles for home, he was perhaps the most widely talked-of man in either hemisphere.

He had intended to stay abroad three months, but remained a year. When he landed in New York he found himself, as he modestly said, "pretty near famous." At once the newspapers blew his horn, the labor unions got up a tremendous mass meeting for him, and, strange as it seems, some of the upper crust of Wall Street gave him a complimentary dinner at Delmonico's, with Justice van Brunt, Henry Ward Beecher, and Francis B. Thurber among the speakers. No one knows why they did this. Possibly it was a more or less perfunctory gesture toward an American who had made a name in England; possibly an inexpensive and non-committal move to please the influential Irish; possibly a gesture of amity toward a man well on his way to becoming a dangerous enemy, but who might be led to see something on their side of social questions. Whatever prompted the occasion, it was a notable affair, and George rose to its measure with easy and affable dignity.

In a sense, this banquet marked the parting of the ways for George, though probably no one was aware of it at the moment, George least of all. A reformer has a choice of three courses. He can carry his doctrine direct to the people, and promote it by methods that are essentially political; he can convert people of power and influence, and promote it largely by indirection; or he can merely formulate it, hang it up in plain sight, and let it win its own way by free acceptance. The first is the course of the evangelist and missionaries; and to a firm believer in eighteenth-century political theory,

like George, it is the only one possible—it is wholly republican, wholly in the American tradition. It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened if, for a while at least, he had followed up his one chance to get at the minds of those who really controlled the country's immediate future, or if he had taken the third or Socratic course; but he did neither. He was a stanch republican, committed to republican method.

For the next two years George lived before the populace, speaking and writing incessantly, and directing the development of his doctrine into a distinctly political character. At that time the press was much more an organ of opinion than it is now, much freer and more forceful, so that his writings were in demand. Even a popular publication like "Leslie's" asked him for a series on the problems of the time, while at the other end of the scale "The North American Review" made him a proposal to start a straight-out political and economic weekly under his editorship.

Yet though his method was that of the evangelist, he did not adopt the tactics of the demagog or the practical politician. He was probably the most effective public speaker of his time—"The London Times" thought he was fully the equal of Cobden or of Bright, if not a little better—but he never took advantage of an audience, or flattered the galleries, or left the smallest doubt of where he stood and what was in his mind. When, for example, somebody introduced him in a maudlin way to a working-class audience as "one who was always for the poor man," George began his speech by saying, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am not for the poor man. I am not for the rich man. I am for man."

In fact, it soon became apparent that his hell-raising was raising as much hell with his supporters and potential friends as with his enemies. Like Strafford of old, he was for "thorough," no matter whose head came off or whose toes smarted. All the Irish leaders, even Davitt, cooled off to the freezing point when they found that he was down on the Kilmainham treaty and dead against any compromise on the issues of the rent-war, or any watering down of the program of restoring one hundred per cent of Ireland's land to one hundred per cent of Ireland's people. The Socialists were not unfriendly at first, and some of George's followers thought a sort of working alliance with them might be vamped up for political effect, but when George attacked their doctrine of collectivism and stateism, they most naturally showed all their teeth. George held with Paine and Thomas Jefferson that government is at best a necessary evil, and the less of it the better. Hence the right thing was to decentralize it as far as possible, and reduce the functions and powers of the state to an absolute minimum, which, he said, the confiscation of rent would do automatically; whereas the collectivist proposal to confiscate and manage natural resources as a state enterprise would have precisely the opposite effect—it would tend to make the state everything and the individual nothing.

George was moreover the terror of the political routineer. When the Republicans suddenly raised the tariff issue in 1880 the Democratic committee asked him to go on the stump. They arranged a long list of engagements for him, but after he made one speech they begged him by telegraph not to make any more. The nub of his speech was that he had heard of high-tariff Democrats and revenue-tariff Democrats, but he was a no-tariff Democrat who wanted real free trade, and he was out for that or nothing; and naturally no good bi-partisan national committee could put up with such talk as that, especially from a man who really meant it.

Yet, on the other hand, when the official free-traders of the Atlantic seaboard, led by Sumner, Godkin, Beecher, Curtis, Lowell, and Hewitt, opened their arms to George, he refused to fall in. His free-trade speeches during Cleveland's second campaign were really devoted to showing by implication that they were a hollow lot, and that their idea of free trade was nothing more or less than a humbug. His speeches hurt Cleveland more than they helped him, and some of George's closest associates split with him at this point. In George's view, freedom of exchange would not benefit the masses of the people a particle unless it were correlated with freedom of production; if it would, how was it that the people of free-trade England, for example, were no better off than the people of protectionist Germany? None of the official free-traders could answer that question, of course, for there was no answer. George had already developed his full doctrine of trade in a book, published in 1886, called "Protection or Free Trade"—a book which, incidentally, gives a reader the best possible introduction to "Progress and Poverty."

He laid down the law to organized labor in the same style, showing that there was no such thing as a labor-problem, but only a monopoly-problem, and that when natural-resource monopoly disappeared, every question of wages, hours, and conditions of labor would automatically disappear with it. The political liberal got the hardest treatment of all. George seems to have regarded him as the greatest obstruction to social progress—an unsavory compound, half knave, half fool, and flavored odiously with "unctuous rectitude." When John Bright, the Moses of liberalism, followed George on the rostrum at Birmingham, calling his proposals "the greatest, the wildest, the most remarkable . . . imported lately by an American inventor," all George could find to say was (in a private letter) that "the old man is utterly ignorant of what he is talking about"—which was strictly true; and of Frederic Harrison's lectures at Edinburgh and Newcastle he said only that "his is the very craziness of opposition, if I can judge by the reports."

This acquisition of an adequate housing for the immediate future growth of the Henry George School of Social Science is an earnest of great things to come and, as well, a tribute to the vision which Mr. Geiger sought and then made an actuality for others. Every Georgist should fling his hat in the air and cheer three times three.

—EMILY E. F. SKEEL.

Fido Was 'Able'

A lady bequeathed $500 in trust for the care of her dog. An Ohio court held the bequest subject to a $25 tax because it fell in a class including persons not related to the deceased. So, the government took the bone right out of the poor dog's mouth. Tax experts, please note.

Among all the activities of recent years in this field, the work of the Henry George School of Social Science has been far and away the most effective. It has brought new hope to those of us who were active during the life of Henry George, and has for the first time dissipated our feelings of discouragement.

—RICHARD EYRE.

NEWS OF THE CRUSADE FOR ECONOMIC ENLIGHTENMENT

Edited by Margery Warriner

Plans for Opening of Fall Classes Progressing Rapidly Everywhere

Preliminary reports from a number of centers indicate that even during the "dog" days of an unusually hot summer class leaders have not neglected their plans for continuing the fight on economic ignorance. This is the force of truth—it works always, in the immutable laws of nature, through the indomitable will of man.

John Lawrence Monroe, field director, than whom there is no one whose desires are less satisfiable, is not satisfied by these reports. He wants more. He says there should be a class in every town and hamlet in the country—wherever there is a Georgist. We agree with him.

LAKEVILLE, Conn.—Miss Ernestine Bohlmann, correspondence course graduate of the HGSSS, is making arrangements for the opening of a class in Salisbury in the fall. Miss Bohlmann is on the staff of the Scoville Memorial Library where an announcement of the correspondence course is always on display.

WOODBURY, Conn.—Lloyd E. Barbour, correspondence course graduate of the HGSSS, is starting a class in nearby Southbury this fall. After completing the correspondence course last February, Mr. Barbour attended the extension class of Mrs. Rita Faust in Waterbury.

BOSTON, Mass.—Six, and probably more, classes will be under the direction of John S. Codman, S. Warren Sturgis, Dr. Charles R. Morgan, Louis H. Marshall, Adam Rhodes, George Almond, George MacClain, Francis G. Goodale. The classes will be held at 138 Newbury St., Boston; Medford City Hall; Bachrach Studios, Newton; Brookline Public Library and at Phillips Brooks House, Cambridge; and will begin October 3. There will also be two advanced classes.

NEWARK, N. J.—Five classes in Newark and five in nearby districts are planned to be held under the leadership of Dr. E. E. Bowen, Mitchell S. Lurio, Henry Groskin, Joseph Susskind, S. Hoenig, George C. Winne, and William L. Hall. The classes, including one group studying "Protection or Free Trade," will start the week of September 19 and will meet in Newark at 951 Broad Street and other locations in the suburbs. There are nine prospective teachers in training under the direction of A. M. Goldfinger and if ready in time there will be as many as fifteen classes formed.

Overjoyed at news of new building. No time like the present for effective teaching of our philosophy.—FRANKLIN WENTWORTH.

OMAHA, Neb.—Friday, September 16, is opening day for two classes and probably three to be held at the Hotel Paxton. Paul Koons, Secretary of the Extension School and H. F. Sarman, former Secretary, are obtaining members for the class through personal contact, display of announcements and use of cards. There will also be one class in "Protection or Free Trade" and possibly one in "Science of Political Economy."

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Herman Chase is organizing classes for Bellows Falls, Vermont, and Keene, New Hampshire, to start early this winter.

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y.—The fall class now in process of organization will be the seventh held here since Walter Fairchild opened the School in the fall of 1935. Beginning the last week of September and meeting each Monday at the Middletown High School. The class will be under the direction of John H. Cloonan and Zopher K. Greene. A course in "Protection or Free Trade" will begin after the Christmas holidays.

PALMER, Mass.—It is planned to hold two classes in Fundamental Economics, and one advanced class, under Gerald F. Dingman at the Palmer High School, starting the last week in September, or first week in October.

OAKLAND, Calif.—Four classes in Fundamental Economics will be directed by Messrs. Chas. H. Seccombe, E. C. Redepenning, Robert A. Hunter, and Miss Olive Maguire, and held at Fremont High School, Oakland High School, Technical High School, and Alden Public Library respectively, beginning August 30, 31 and September 1. Also one advanced class under E. C. Redepenning beginning Sept. 12 will be held at the Technical High School.

BERKELEY, Calif.—One class will be held at the McKinley School on Tuesday evenings from August 30 to November 1 and will be under the direction of C. K. Sutcliffe.

TOPEKA, Kan.—Dr. W. J. Robb and Mr. Robert Gross will begin two classes in Fundamental Economics about Sept. 20, and it is hoped to hold them in the High School Building. It is planned to hold a class for the study of "Protection or Free Trade," the members to be recruited from graduates of the autumn classes.

HUDSON, N. Y.—Willis A. Snyder plans to start a class at the Guild House of the Presbyterian Church early in September.

WATERBURY, Conn.—Leaders of the Waterbury Extension of the HGSSS met at the home of Dr. Royal E. S. Hayes Monday, July 18 to prepare for the fall term. Classes in fundamental economics were tentatively scheduled to meet at the Central YMCA and in the Bunker Hill Congregational Church. An advanced class in "Protection or Free Trade" to be taught by Prof. Bernard M. Allen of Cheshire will meet in Dr. Hayes' home.

Present at the meeting were E. M. Stanley, Clyde G. Linhard, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Whitney, Calvin L. Martin, Lloyd Barbour of Woodbury, W. R. Fancher, Rev. Gomer R. Lewis, Charles H. Payne, John Ensor, John Lawrence Monroe of New York, Dr. Hayes and Prof. Allen. Mrs. Rita Faust who was unable to attend plans to lead the class at the Church as she did last year.

At the rate the student body is increasing it may not be long before you will need still larger quarters, and for one, I am gratified that the increasing interest in the Georgian philosophy is manifested along educational lines so ably conducted by the School with its enthusiastic group of teachers.—EDWARD B. SWINNEY.

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Harry H. Ferrell, George A. Briggs and Warren Leonard will conduct three classes, beginning on September 19. The classes will be held at 232 N. Berendo Street, and other places which the convenience of students may require. If enrollments continue coming in at the rate maintained during the past month, additional classes will be started.

PACIFIC GROVE, Calif.—Fred W. Workman is planning to hold a class obtained through local publicity in November at his home, 990 Sinex St., Pacific Grove.

GLENDALE, Calif.—A class will start the week of Sept. 12 under the direction of Hollis C. Joy at 439 Kenneth Road.

HAMILTON, Ont.—Ernest J. Farmer of Toronto, will conduct a teachers' training class and it is hoped by spring new teachers will enable the opening of classes in other sections of the City. Classes will probably be held in October at the home of Robert Wynne (Extension Secretary), 80 Victoria Ave. S., or at the Conservatory of Music, James St. Students are being secured through advertisements in daily papers and from names suggested by old students. Already a number of McMaster University students are reading "Progress and Poverty" during vacation and it is hoped many will join the classes in October.

MIDDLETOWN, Conn.—Allan R. Meyers, graduate of the Hartford Extension of the HGSSS, will lead an extension class at the Middletown YMCA late in September. Arrangements for the class are being made by D. Albert Hoffman, director of education of the YMCA.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.—A meeting of the friends and supporters of the HGSSS in this vicinity was held at the YMCA on August 16 to plan the classwork for the fall term, John E. Bond, according to extension secretary. Classes are expected to start in Greenfield and Palmer as well as Springfield.

PLAINVILLE, Conn.—Eric Ericson, graduate of the Norfolk Extension of the HGSSS who is now in the engineering department of Trumbull Electric Co. in Plainville, is organizing a class to start in September. He is cooperating with the Hartford Extension.

PITTSFIELD, Mass.—Lee D. Feeley, a correspondence course student of the HGSSS, is arranging for an extension class to start early in October, to meet in the Pittsfield Public Library. Mr. Feeley, now in the insurance business, is a graduate of Williams College.

THOMASTON, Conn.—William Parkhurst and Walter Kloss, recent correspondence course graduates of the HGSSS, met with Nathan Hillman, Hartford extension director, and John Lawrence Monroe, field director, July 19, at the home of Mr. Kloss. Plans were made for starting a class either in Thomaston or Bristol in the fall. Mr. Parkhurt, formerly an assistant instructor at Brown University, is now in the accounting department of the E. Ingraham Clock Company. Mr. Kloss is a student at Trinity College, Hartford, and is employed by the Seth Thomas Clock Company.

MOODUS, Conn.—Last year a number of Moodus-ites made the trip of 50 miles each week to attend classes of the Hartford Extension under the leadership of Nathan Hillman. This fall some of these students intend to form a class in the home town, enrolling others interested. Sam Schiefer will be the instructor. In organizing the class he will be assisted by his sister, Mrs. Rose Sternlieb, a correspondence course student, and Jack Banner.

HARTFORD, Conn.—The staff of the Hartford Extension of the HGSSS met in the office of Nathan Hillman, local extension director, Wednesday evening, July 20. Plans were laid for the opening of at least six classes in Hartford this fall, in addition to a number of classes in nearby cities which will be taught by Hartford graduate-instructors. John Lawrence Monroe, field director, was present to offer cooperation in arranging for places of meeting. Others present were Vincent J. Byron, Mrs. Augusta L. Byron, Mrs. Winifred Chamberlain, Alan R. Meyers, Llewellyn E. Woodmansie, John R. Doyle, and Miss Rebecca Rakovitch.

Committee Studies Wages

NEW YORK—A research committee of former students in the Henry George School is at work on a comparative investigation of land values and real wages in 110 American cities throughout the country. The cities under study are between 10,000 and 125,000 population, located at least 50 miles from any other large center, and all having had either sharp increases or decreases in size during the past 25 years. The data is being compiled from U. S. census figures and official local records. Nominal wages in industry are in every case being corrected to real wages, by the cost-of-living index of the Department of Labor, and comparison is also being made with agricultural wages in the several areas. The studies include an historical survey of the community, to discover and evaluate special conditions.

The committee, which will have quarters in the new School building, began its work in April and expects to have a preliminary report available next January. The committee members are Mortimer A. Leister, Chairman, Miss Pearl Grodman, Secretary, Leslie Morgan Abbe, Archibald C. Matteson, Herbert Von Henningson, Daniel Wollman and Miss Stella Stakvel.

The good news that the Henry George School is to have a building large enough to teach 4000 students a week augurs well for the future of our country. The leaven of Henry George's philosophy will spread and our system of taxation will be changed so that enterprise will not be penalized. I rejoice with you in this real progres.—WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN.

Motor Cavalcade to Toronto

NEW YORK—Plans are being made at the New York Headquarters of the HGSSS for a motor cavalcade to descend upon the Henry George Congress at Toronto on September 7, 8, and 9. Applications for transportation are at present greater than can be cared for by motor cars available. However, a large delegation from New York is expected. Reports from Toronto indicate that this will be one of the largest gatherings of Georgists that has been held in years.

Arden Celebrates

ARDEN, Delaware—Henry George's ninety-ninth birthday will be celebrated here on September 4, reports Katherine F. Ross, veteran Georgist. Grace Isabel Colbrun will be one of the speakers.

"Congratulations," and hats off to The Henry George School of Social Science. Onward and upward she plows her way, and we of the older class, now more or less on the side-lines, bow to Youth, saying, "Keep up the work, Truth is mighty and will prevail."—JOHN H. ALLEN.

Walter Fairchild Writes

NEW YORK—An excellent article by Walter Fairchild on "A Single Tax" appeared in DYNAMIC AMERICA August issue.

Herman G. Loew

UTICA, N. Y.—We regret to announce the death at the age of 81 years, on Saturday, August 6, in the New York Masonic Home here, of our good friend Herman G. Loew. Born in New York, Mr. Loew graduated from Columbia University in the year 1887 and practiced as a specialist in real estate law until a few years ago. He was a friend of Henry George and active in the support of the Single Tax movement, being former National Chairman of the Single Tax Party and President of the Single Tax Publishing Company, publisher of the "Land and Freedom."

Swiss Prefer Freedom

NEW YORK—R. Joseph Manfrini was one of the guest speakers at the Swiss Independence Day Celebration at Rochelle Park in Hackensack, on July 30. Representing the Italian speaking section of Switzerland and speaking in that language, Mr. Manfrini used thoughts on freedom taken from an Italian copy of "Progress and Poverty." He stressed the characteristic desire of the Swiss people for the free exchange of ideas and of goods as a requisite for the prosperity of a people. There were speeches in German, French and Swiss Dialect as well as in English and Mr. Manfrini reports that all speakers made very clear their preference for association and cooperation as against regulation and regimentation.

Profitable Vacation

ROBERTSVILLE, Conn.—Mr. and Mrs. George W. Palmer, recent graduates of the Winsted, Conn., Extension, organized an advanced course in "Protection or Free Trade" which started at their home, "Edendale," on August 1. The instructor is Joseph R. Carroll of Norfolk. Mrs. Palmer is the author, under the pen-name of Ruth Cross, of The Big Road, Eden on a Country Hill, Enchantment, The Golden Cocoon, The Unknown Goddess, Soldier Fortune.

Carroll at Cornwall

CORNWALL, Conn.—Joseph R. Carroll, extension instructor of the HGSSS at Norfolk, addressed the economics class of the Reverend R. Wilbur Simmons at the Congregational Church on August 2.

Memorial Dinner in Chicago

CHICAGO—The annual Henry George Memorial Dinner will be held at the YMCA, 19 S. LaSalle St., on the ninety-ninth anniversary of the birth of Henry George, September 3. The speakers will be Hon. Francis Neilson, John Z. White and J. Benton Schaub, George C. Olcott will serve as toastmaster.

Working from Within

HUDSON, N. Y.—Willis A. Snyder, Extension Secretary of HGSSS, has accepted appointment to serve as a representative of the Masonic Club on a Chamber of Commerce Committee for Civil Betterment, which committee will have one representative from each local club or fraternity.

International Congress

NEW YORK—The trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science announce that plans will be started next month for the promotion of an international congress of Georgists in New York, to be held in September 1939. Correspondence with the Committee for Land Value Taxation, in London, England, and with Bue Bjorner, of Denmark, is now in progress. The matter will be brought up at the Henry George Congress in Toronto, Canada.

Ashley Mitchell Reports

NEW YORK—Ashley Mitchel, a moving force among Georgists in England, recently visited the HGSSS here. He reported that the English Conference at Matlock was the most inspiring in many years, due to the new faces of recent graduates of the Henry George School. The school's methods and activities were the main topics of discussion at that conference.

Mr. Mitchell reports that enthusiasm is growing abroad for the Hundredth Anniversary Henry George Congress in New York next year. He tells us that Bue Bjorner of Denmark and his family plan to be present; also Sam Mayer of Paris; Professor Austine Peake of Oxford; W. R. Lester; R. R. Stokes, M.P.; Dr. S. Vere Pearson, Mr. Mitchell and many others. South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and Greece are yet to be heard from.

May the School grow from strength to strength; and become an effective instrumentality in spreading a knowledge of the economic truth proclaimed by Henry George—not only in New York and the Nation, but throughout the world.—ABE D. WALDAUER.

From Australia

LAKEMBA, N.S.W., Australia—"I feel that the school should be on an Australian-wide basis as soon as possible," writes W. A. Dowe, requesting classroom material from the School. The present staff of the Australian school consists of Mr. Dowe, J. Brandon, Dr. H. G. Pearce, Cluny MacPherson, W. Davies, R. J. Semple and Mrs. Akeroyd.ä

51 Danish Classes

DENMARK—The Eco-Technic High School, Denmark's Henry George School, looks forward to a successful third season just beginning. The School closed its last season with over one thousand pupils in 51 classes. Thirty-five classes studied "Progress and Poverty" and sixteen "Protection or Free Trade."

A new edition of Jacob Lange's translation of "Progress and Poverty" will be brought out early this Fall. Four former editions have been completely sold out; with the new edition 10,500 copies of this great book will have been printed in Denmark.

Hartford Library Exhibit

NEW YORK—An exhibit of rare first editions, autographed foreign translations of Henry George's books, campaign memorabilia, original documents, pictures and large posters advertising the Henry George School and the Schalkenbach Foundation modern editions of the George books, has been arranged by Mrs. Wambough, secretary of the Foundation, to be displayed in four Hartford libraries, two weeks at each library, starting the last week of September. Benjamin Burger loaned the collection items, and the School headquarters provided a bust of Henry George.

Nathan Hillman of Hartford made the arrangements with the chief librarian, Mr. Thurston Taylor, for the use of the library windows. From Hartford the exhibit will go to New York bookstores.

With room at the School to teach 4000 students a week there is, I think, more basis for confidence in the accomplishment of our reform than ever before.—HARRY GUNNISON BROWN.

Bookstores Feature George

NEW YORK—5000 bookstores are receiving a new Henry George booklist with special offer to stock "Progress and Poverty." The Schalkenbach Foundation has extended the representation of Henry George books in the stores from the zero point in 1936, when it first began its work, to a bookstore supply service of thousands of books.

Going After Libraries

NEW YORK—The Schalkenbach Foundation has made arrangements with a large library supply house to use a leaflet advertising the "Science of Political Economy" and "Progress and Poverty." in mailings to libraries.

"Financial World" Reviews

NEW YORK—Having procured the reviews of "THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY" and "PROGRESS AND POVERTY" in earlier issues of the Financial World, the secretary of the Schalkenbach Foundation states that two additional reviews will appear in late August and early September. Because of reader interest in these reviews the publication promises to treat "Social Problems" and "Protection or Free Trade" in the near future.

"Times" Book Review

NEW YORK—J. Donald Adams, in response to a request of the Schalkenbach Foundation, placed a notice of the new edition of "The Science" in the August 14th issue of the Times Book Review section. This is to be followed by a notice of the new pamphlets issued by the Foundation, entitled "Crime of Poverty," "Thy Kingdom Come," and "The Study of Political Economy."

Congratulations upon the acquisition of a building for the School, affording, as it will, enlarged facilities for the teaching of the Henry George philosophy.—C. A. LINGHAM.

September 2, 1938

This date is significant. It commemorates the ninety-ninth anniversary of the birth of Henry George.

It is also the day on which the School will take title to its new headquarters.

House Warming

Mrs. Anna George de Mille announces, as we go to press, the organization of a committee to promote a series of house warming parties at the new school headquarters.

Details of Building

Size of plot—50.0 x 98.9.

Net floor areas:

Basement	366	sq. ft.
1st Floor	2,750	"
2nd Floor	3,060	"
3rd Floor	2,815	"
4th Floor	3,150	"
5th Floor	3,105	"
Total	15,246	sq. ft.

One passenger elevator—capacity 2,500 pounds, 16 persons.

Floor load on all floors—125 lbs. per square foot.

Recent Gifts to the Library of the Henry George School

Stephen T. Byington, donor. "Social Life in the Animal World," by Fr. Alverdes. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

Stephen T. Byington, donor. "Trials and Triumph of Labor," by G. B. De Bernardi. Labor Exchange Association. 1894.

Stephen T. Byington, donor. "On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures," by Charles Babbage. Carey & Lea, 1832.

Stephen T. Byington, donor. "Treatise on Political Economy," by Jean Baptiste Say. Wells & Libby, 1824.

Stephen T. Byington, donor. "Political Economy." by John Bascom, Warren F. Draper, 1861.

Stephen T. Byington, donor. "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange." by Stanley W. Jevons. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883.

Stephen T. Byington, donor. "Political Economy." by Thorold Rogers, Clarendon Press, 1876.

Lancaster M. Greene, donor. "Fiat Money Inflation in France." by Andrew Dickson White, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933.

Grace Isabel Colbron, donor. "Back to the Soil." by Bradley Gilman, L. C. Page & Co., 1901.

Grace Isabel Colbron, donor. "National Documents—State Papers So Arranged As to Illustrate the Growth of Our Country From 1606 to the Present Day." Howard Wilford Bell, 1903.

Grace Isabel Colbron, donor. "Letters and Addresses of Abraham Lincoln," Howard Wilford Bell, 1904.

Grace Isabel Colbron, donor. "The Story of Money," by Norman Angell.

Grace Isabel Colbron, donor. "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman, Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1910.

The Editor Explains

The readers of The Freeman are divided into three groups: graduates of the School, old-time followers of Henry George, and those who are being introduced to the philosophy of freedom.

In editing this publication there is no deliberate attempt to please any group. Fortunately, the editor is not controlled by a "business department," nor does he feel impelled to coddle any reading public. His aim is to assay current economic events and social trends with the touchstones of justice and liberty. That's all.

The teachings of Henry George fall into three main subjects: the science of political economy, social philosophy and taxation. In selecting subjects for each issue the editor attempts to include articles that touch on all three, so that the reader may in time gain a complete comprehension of the Georgist philosophy.

It must be remembered that the editor and the contributors give freely of their services to make this undertaking a success. A volunteer writer receives his compensation in the satisfaction derived from freedom of expression. While this free-lancing is an assurance of sincere literary effort, it makes the editor's task of presenting a properly balanced issue each month somewhat difficult.

This September issue is completely out of balance because one-third of it is devoted to what those connected with the School consider an epochal event—the acquisition of a new school home. Those readers who are not in close touch with this educational venture will indulge this emphasis of an event which to them is of passing importance, out of consideration for the readers to whom it means much.

And now, if you like this publication, please remember that you are paying only for its physical properties —that what you really like, the literary product, is a free gift from those to whom this work is a living endowment. You can best express your appreciation, and encourage us to even better efforts, by inducing others to avail themselves of The Freeman—at fifty cents a year. (Or five subscriptions for two dollars.)