The Freeman

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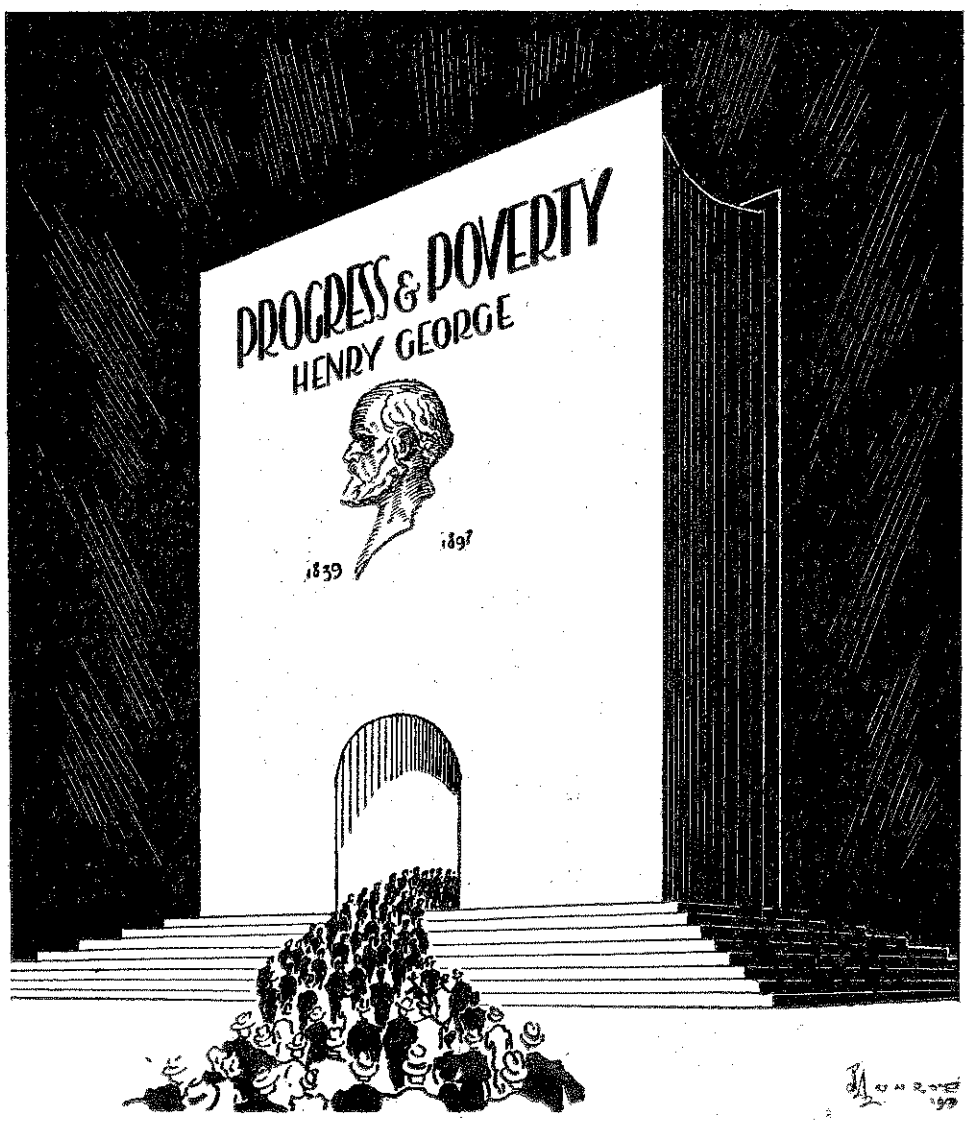

Henry George Centenary

AUGUST 30 TO SEPTEMBER 2, 1939
NEW YORK

Taxes And Rent

The State—an organization of officials (elected, appointed, or self-appointed), detached from the producing population and legislating for it—lives by taxes. It could not exist if its power to tax production were abolished. Therefore, it is necessary to the existence of the State that its power to tax be unlimited by law, that this power be enhanced by public debt and public needs.

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True, the outcome of an increasing tax burden is to destroy production—the source of all taxes. But the State is not concerned with the "long run." The break-down of our productive system can be delayed for years, perhaps centuries, because producers can be taught to adjust themselves to lower living standards at a rate so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. For instance, Americans can hardly believe that Americans will ever be coolies; yet the same economic forces that have reduced the Chinese worker to bare subsistence are at work in this country. In some parts of our country the degrading process already has reduced American workers to that level.

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Taxes not only have the effect of decreasing the purchasing power of wages, but also of creating privileges for powerful groups. Thus, not only do the workers clamor for more taxes for alms, but the privileged groups see in the State's fiscal power an instrument for their own benefit. Political support for the State thus comes from two economically opposed camps—the privileged and the robbed.

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The State does use a portion of its tax-collections to render certain necessary social services. Some of these services—like roads, post offices, fire departments—aid production, thus continuing for a longer time the source of taxation. But, the tendency is for rent to absorb at an even faster rate than taxes the productive increases due to these social services.

The taxing power of the State is not limited by the cost of efficiency of these social services. If the State is wasteful it can, and does, make up the deficiency by further levies on production. Budgets determine rates of taxation; the desire to pay taxes does not determine budgets. There is no way, under the tax system, to measure the value of the State to those who pay the taxes out of their production.

* * *

Rent is the only measure for testing the value of social services. If these services are really social, if they aid workers in production or in the enjoyment of life (which is the object of production), rent will increase. If government is wasteful, rent will decrease. Rent is extremely sensitive to social services, and to social disservices.

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It is obvious that if rent were socialized—that is, publicly collected and used for social purposes—the power of the State would decline, and eventually disappear. The governing body could not hide its inefficiency or corruption behind tax levies. Rent would be the barometer of government's value to the citizenry, and the readings would be quite visible. The producers would be buying social services just as they buy private services or goods. The price would be rent. Government would come into the market.

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By the way, rent is a measure of social services even when it is privately collected. But, since it is privately collected, it is useless (save to the landlords) as a measure of the value of government.

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The socialization of rent would destroy taxes. The State (as we know it) would disappear; and such government as we would have would be always subject to the economic instrument of rent.

Freeman Views the News

The Politics of Poverty

The recently enacted Hatch bill was hailed as an attempt to remove the temptation to use government largesse from the realm of politics. In reality what the law has done is to shift the power of using relief money for political purposes from national to local politicians.

Which brings to the fore again the fact that an army of unemployed always will be used by politicians to advance their own ends, and that so long as this army exists democratic government is threatened. There is no legal method for offsetting the impulse of gratitude. A benefactor, even a Robin Hood, is always appreciated. That is the truth that Tammany Hall politicians discovered and fattened on many years ago. And if the only way that the recipient of a ton of coal, a job or a food stamp can show his appreciation is merely to cast a vote, it will be the object of every politician to point out to the grateful voter that the gift is the result of his, not his opponent's, efforts. This always will be of great advantage to the "ins."

No law ever can be devised to prevent pressure groups from using the State to advance their ends. For the State is an organization of organizations determined to gain ends by power politics rather than by production. The American Legion, the National Association of Manufacturers, the labor unions, the tariff-protected interests, the real estate boards—all such pressure groups have for their primary purpose the getting of special privileges; which means that they propose through legislative methods to secure for themselves advantages that unorganized groups do not have. They are organized to get something for nothing, and the State is their instrument.

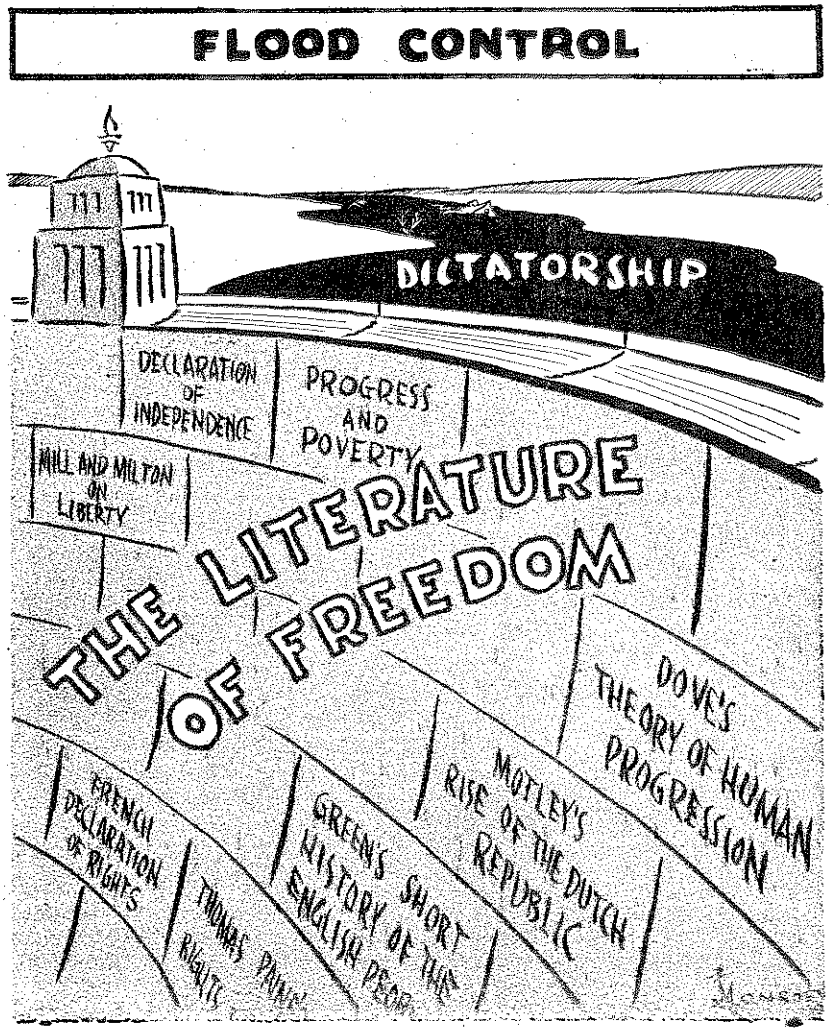
The Poverty Pressure Group is as yet unorganized, although attempts along these lines are in the making. Since this group is so large, and probably will become larger, because our national economy is based on privilege rather than on production, the self-interest of politicians will see to it that this block of votes will not remain undirected. The P. P. G. is made cohesive by the most powerful of human impulses—the desire to live. To it the right of suffrage is quite secondary, and of value only as a means for getting sustenance in a world that denies the opportunity to work for a livelihood.

Thus the vote becomes an economic rather than a political instrument. Its market value always will be properly assessed by politicians.

Will They Ever Learn?

The press, the radio and to some extent the movies have labored for years and years to hammer home in the American mind the truth that we all pay taxes, whether we see them or not.

Then, after all this labor, Dr. George Gallup polls his famous cross section of Americans on the question: "Do you pay any taxes?" ... and 25% of those who answer say "No." That's one person in every four. Most of these persons who think they don't pay any taxes are in the lower-income group—earn less than $20 a week.



Another Landlord Subsidy

An export subsidy of 1.5 cents a pound net weight on lint cotton and commensurate payments on exports of cotton goods produced in the United States became effective on July 27. Secretary Wallace has described the subsidy as part of a program to assure the United States of its fair share of the world's cotton market.

The subsidy will do exactly the reverse. Subsidies never put any business on a paying basis. Subsidies have not helped to save German economy. Subsidies are like all stimulants in that they give a temporary feeling of exhilaration to be followed by depression. Morally subsidies are indefensible, for they are paid out of taxes levied on all the people for the benefit of a few. Subsidies are a form of graft, and, like the tariff graft, once started never will be discontinued; rather, the tendency will be to extend the system of payments to cotton owners and to owners of other products when these are powerful enough politically to demand them.

Direct subsidizing is rather new in American politics and it is a dangerous precedent we established on July 27, pointing to practices that are more dangerous and corrupt than those of our tariff scheme.

But, to return to cotton. Until a few years ago—before AAA—American cotton did quite well in the world market. It was only when we began seeking prosperity by decreasing production for the purpose of raising prices that our cotton business declined. We forced our prices up by plowing our cotton into the ground. Our high prices, as they do in any industry that does not enjoy a monopoly, encouraged competition. Countries that never produced cotton, or very little of it, now found it profitable to go into the business. We lost out. The only way to get back our world cotton business is to undersell our competitors. We always were able to do so before the AAA. We have the same land, the same technical skill, plenty of labor looking for work.

What's stopping us? The politico-landlord control of the South. For seventy years these feudal barons have watched the Northern monopolists rob the country through tariff privileges. Now it is their turn. Their political domination of "the solid South" assured by the system of tenant-slavery, they could not be denied a share of the loot forever. And the theory of our "liberals" that high prices rather than increased production make for prosperity played right into the hands of these rent-hungry landlords.

The subsidies will not go to the cotton-pickers. The only beneficiaries will be the landlords and their satellites.

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"Do It Yourself"

Dear Mr. Director: In your reply to my letter you say that my suggestions are excellent, and then you proceed to tell me what sums up into: do it yourself. Now, if we had an organization I could submit these ideas at a meeting, and in correct parliamentary procedure the ideas would be referred to the proper committees. If the ideas were carried out, well and good. If not, my conscience would be clear. Without an organization the duty of carrying out my ideas falls upon my shoulders. It isn't fair to expect me to think up ideas and to carry them out, too. Think I'll stop thinking. Sincerely, A. Joiner.

A Profit From Privilege

The police privilege of fining autoists for over-staying parking time was capitalized by a thirteen year old boy in Williamsport, by the well-known expedient of taking advantage of the law.

The city fathers had put up meters to time the parkers. Our young genius got on the job. Every time a flag popped up in the meter—indicating that an auto was parked too long—he would put another nickel into the meter, entitling the car to another hour. The worried owner would not only reimburse the entrepeneur, but would also tip him.

Every regulatory law has the tendency of giving rise to a privilege. A police measure—even if we eliminate the temptation to bribery, which is indeed a profit from privilege—invariably gives advantages to some, disadvantages to others. In the case of our young Williamsport circumventor, the privilege of collecting tips will be only short-lived because other boys can share it with him. He should petition the city for a special license.

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Of Men and Horses

One of the world's most successful trainers of horses is quoted thus: "There are only two kinds of horses, those who have good manners and those who have been neglected."

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Flag-Waving Economics

Large newspaper advertisements announced that Sinclair Refining Company (Inc.) had increased by one-half cent a gallon its tank-wagon price for gasoline. The explanation, signed by H. F. Sinclair, was:

"I do not believe that 130,000,000 Americans want depressed or profitless industries. The people, I think, want more jobs, good wages, more purchasing power and general prosperity. They are willing to pay reasonable prices to make these things possible by up-building American industry in the American way."

Here is a sample of economic buncombe, supported by the flag-waving finish used by vaudeville hams to save a dull performance. Whether Mr. Sinclair (or his adman) really believes what he says is unimportant; that this kind of jingo-inspired reasoning has its adherents is sadly important.

In the first place, the increased tank-wagon price (unless it is adopted by all the oil companies) will not affect the price of gasoline to the consumer. Competition between dealers determines that. If the retailer is for any reason unable to change his brand he will have to absorb the increased price, at the expense of his own wages, or maybe he will take it out of the wages of his clerks. Americans, like all human beings, seek to satisfy their desires with the least effort, and the lowest price is the least effort. That Mr. Sinclair cannot make a profit on his business is no concern of theirs, unless they wish to be merely charitable, which is not likely. If other oil companies are more efficient the Sinclair company should copy their methods, or go out of business.

But, most insulting to our intelligence is the inference in this advertisement that jobs will increase in number, wages will go up and general prosperity will result from an increase in the tank-wagon price of Sinclair gasoline. Did Mr. Sinclair announce in his advertisement that the wages of Sinclair employees would be advanced simultaneously with the increase in price of gasoline? He did not. He hires his labor—because he too tries to satisfy his desires with the least effort—at the market price of labor. Competition between laborers for jobs will determine the wages Mr. Sinclair will pay, no matter what the price of gasoline.

If through a general increase in production there is an increase in the demand for labor, wages will go up; the increased wages will create a demand for more gasoline, and this will increase its price until additional production is attracted. Increase in production must precede any increase in wages. There is no way to increase wages unless production is increased; and there is no way to increase production without opening to capital and labor access to the source of all production—the earth.

Which brings up the question of who gets the half-cent increase in the tank-wagon price of Sinclair gasoline. Who is in position to demand it, or else? Why, the owner of the site where the oil is located. The landlord. This may be the Sinclair Refining Company. It may be the royalty-collector of a well used by this company. Maybe an Indian squaw on whose land oil was discovered and who has learned the white man's scheme of appropriating rent for private gain. It may be Mr. Sinclair himself, through the instrument of a title deed, or securities that are in effect mortgages on oil wells. Anyhow, American workers don't get it, neither do users of gasoline.

And thus the price of gasoline, which should naturally be determined by competition, is increased by monopoly rent—which retards "purchasing power and general prosperity." Wrapping the flag around the process doesn't change the cost to consumer and producer.

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The Result of M.R.A.

At the world conference of the moral re-armament movement held a few weeks ago, Howard Bradley, property administrator of Oshawa, Ontario, explained how through moral re-armament he had been changed from "public enemy No. 1" of the 200 tenants, with whom he dealt, to their best friend. At the same time, he declared, **there was an increase in the net revenue from the tenants.**

What Is a "Taxpayer"?

The frequent use in real estate columns of the term taxpayer—without the quotation marks that indicate unusual use of a word—suggests that its meaning is well-known. Yet we have found it necessary to define the word, even to those who are familiar with the idea.

A taxpayer is a structure that yields an income sufficient to pay taxes on both land and building values. It may have been forced into existence by a high land value tax, or it may be an old building situated on land that has gone up in value, but on which the taxes have not been increased enough to force the landowner to make more efficient use of the site. Thus, a taxpayer may be a new one- or two-story building, or even a billboard, on Broadway, or a dilapidated house in a slum area.

In real estate circles the taxpayer is identified by its purpose—a structure to help pay taxes. Its antonym would be (in real estate parlance) a "rent payer," a building large enough to bring a revenue above taxes, or built for income. The taxpayer, which may bring an income above taxes merely because the land tax is so much below the rent produced by the site, is not built with income in mind; it is built for speculative purposes. The landowner expects of it enough to pay the taxes until he finds a customer who will pay him, in purchase or in rent, the price he has put upon the land.

It is obvious that the higher the tax upon the land value the more income must be derived from the building. If all the rent of land were publicly collected the resulting structures (or other productive uses of land) would reflect the economic needs of the sites. There would be no taxpayers—since there would be no land values to speculate with. Thus, every valuable site would have on it a structure of value commensurate with the value of the site, and every owner would look for an income from the use of the structure, not from the eventual demand for the site.

Hatred Has Its Roots

A recent dispatch from Peiping emphasized a much more important truth than its insignificant position in the newspapers implied.

As policemen warned Chinese shops to remove British goods from their shelves, Japanese shops continued to serve Britons. The purchases, indeed, were wrapped in paper inscribed "Down with Britain." But this did not deter the Japanese from selling to the "enemy." Undoubtedly the Japanese shopkeeper thanked the British buyers, and the latter were grateful for the service rendered.

We do not hate the people we do business with—unless they do not pay their bills. Politicians may for ulterior purposes try to stir up antagonisms, and their dupes may harbor ill-feelings against people with whom they would, if left alone, live in amity. British politicians, at the behest of British monopolists, for centuries taught Englishmen to hate Frenchmen; now it serves their purpose to teach Englishmen to love Frenchmen and to hate Germans.

Race hatreds, class hatreds, national hatreds are emotions that find their rationalization in economic forces. The fellow who takes your job or your customer away from you is an enemy. In a free economy this competition would not be irritating, because you would know that the loss was the result of your comparative inefficiency only, and that more industry or skill on your part would result in your winning the race. In fair competition the vanquished athlete does not hate the victor; it is only when unfair tactics are resorted to that hatred arises. Anyhow, there wouldn't be a scarcity of jobs or customers, and you would regain your loss. But when jobs or customers are so few and far between the loss hurts deeply.

And so, it is not difficult for the politicians to stir up your hatred. You may not know why your job was lost or why your customer is not patronizing you. You are hurt. It is easy to direct your animosity, because emotion seeks an object on which to spend itself. "Wrong economic conditions" is too vague. A person or a group, preferably one different in color, race or religious belief, lends itself readily to your spleen. Merely because a person is distinguishable by these traits suggests culpability of some sort.

However, the hatred is not the result of these distinguishable traits. It is the result of an economic hurt, not caused by the people you hate, but easily attached to them. When you are permitted to do business with them on an equitable basis somehow the hatred disappears.

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The Way of Taxes

Last month Iowa started a repressive campaign that suggests some of the blessings of the late "noble experiment."

Any one found with more than two unstamped packages of cigarettes on his person is liable to a fine of $50 a package. Iowa revenue agents may enter any home or business place without a warrant to hunt for unstamped cigarettes. They may stop any car or truck, also without a warrant. The law is directed at bootleggers—a throw-back to prohibition practices.

That's the way of taxes. Upon these extractions from labor feed the agencies of repression and oppression. In the wake of the tax-gatherer comes the smuggler, the bootlegger, the hi-jacker, the bribe-taker. And acts that are innocent in themselves become criminal by law. So that the eventual result of a multiplication of taxes is to divide the nation into law-makers and law-breakers, and frequently the one becomes the other.

Under such conditions morality becomes synonymous with force and fraud. That is the social effect of taxes.

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On Professors

This issue, purely by coincidence, is devoted largely to discussions by and about professors.

First, from a former member of the faculty of Ohio State University comes a critical analysis of a book by a professor at Williams College. In his study of the work of Professor Frederick L. Schuman, Professor Louis Wallis infers that much of what passes for education in our colleges is purely propaganda.

From Professor Harry Gunnison Brown we receive a series of three articles in which he "goes to town" on his confreres in the economics departments for their deliberate avoidance of land value taxation—an avoidance that by inference throws light on the intellectual bias of those who profess academic objectivity.

Then, Professor Glenn L. Hoover sends a well-written article in which he takes exception to our "ridiculing economists and college professors in general." His defense of the profession is an admirable gesture.

The editor admits a prejudice against professional teachers of economics. Every prejudice permits of rationalization, although its very emotionalism denies rationality. We should like to indulge the urge to bolster our bias against the teaching fraternity with some rhetoric. However, the reader has some right to uninfluenced judgment—to which we humbly submit.

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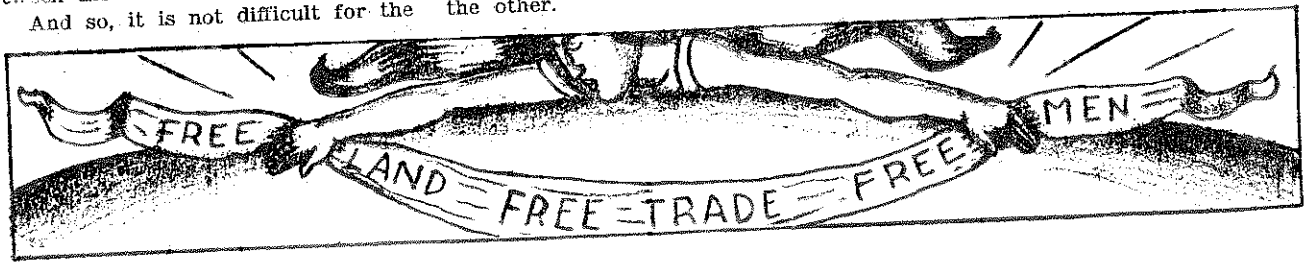
Appreciated Appreciation

I appreciate **The Freeman** greatly. It is a continual education in the vocabulary of Social Science and the understanding of its principles.—Oliver W. Pausch, California.



Henry George

1839-1939

Time slumbers, but the centuries advance,
Bearing high legends that do not abate,
Of men symbolic of what's good or great
Who, in the world's arena, broke a lance
For all mankind. Their task was to enhance
The common heritage, and dedicate
Their strength and genius, heeding not the hate
Of those who grasped the reins of circumstance.
To a young printer, earnest and self-taught,
Was granted inspiration to proclaim
A just and equal means of opening wide
The gates of opportunity, fast caught
By law and custom. In full flower he died,
Today he lives, as we invoke his name.

His great repute progresses with the years,
His message marches forward with the days
And rests not on mere rhetoric or phrase.
Its sheer, compelling logic never veers.
The world of men—wherein all men are peers
As sons of Mother Earth—moves in a maze
Of tangled statutes, and stares through a haze
Of deep resentment and disturbing fears.
By trial and error all the nations strive
To find a way to happiness and hope,
Skirting the crater's edge of baleful war.
Here is our moment, while we yet survive,
To hearten those who in confusion grope
And show to them what that young printer saw.

William Lloyd Garrison, Jr.

Political Escape From Economics

By Louis Wallis

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman is the "Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government" in Williams College. He is the author of a book, issued in 1933 and reissued in 1937, entitled "International Politics: An Introduction to the Western State System." Almost pan-historic in its approach to the subject, the treatise goes back to the pre-stone age, and then forward through ancient and medieval times, coming to a center in the Modern State and its problems as developed in Western Europe and America.

Beginning with a chapter on "State Systems of the Past," the author cites Davie on "Evolution of War" in support of the commonly accepted view among sociologists that the State owes its origin to war. Weaker tribes are overpowered by the stronger, which fuse with the vanquished and give rise to a "land-holding élite descended from the original conquering nomads" (p. 4).

After this introductory emphasis upon "the land-holding élite," a brief sketch of world history is presented, in which the above-mentioned élite (the ground landlords, or titled aristocracy) hold the spotlight of attention for sixty-three pages. On arriving at the next page, the treatment suddenly reaches what the author calls, in the Index, "Democracy, rise of," described thus: "The bourgeoisie, masters and beneficiaries of the new technology and the new economy, became the ruling class in almost all the States of the Western World" (p. 64). The "land-holding élite" mysteriously vanish; and the "bourgeoisie" suddenly pop up on us without warning, like a Jack-in-the-box.

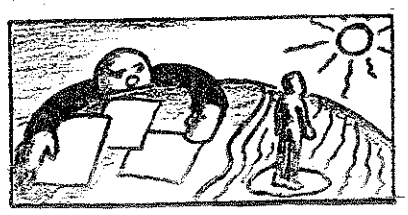
Social Evolution Telescoped

The author here telescopes into a sentence an evolution of which the innocent student obtains no inkling. Dr. Schuman elsewhere speaks of "middleclass parliamentary democracy" (p. 455); but none of his references to the subject convey any indication that it is associated in his mind with any clear-cut conception of the process by which the "Modern State" came into being.

Parliamentary government is commonly spoken of in a loose way as if England were the originator of assemblies called by that name: "England, the Mother of Parliaments," etc. But at the time when the English parliament was taking form, similar institutions existed in other European countries, notably Spain, Sicily, Germany, France. Moreover, it is of the greatest importance to observe that all such bodies (the English included) were owned by "the land-holding élite," and were in fact, the ground landlords represented in convention.

Long before the close of the middle ages, these groups were broadened out so as to include representatives from the commercial centers—the towns, or "burgs." This change took place in Spain in the twelfth century, and in Sicily, Germany, France and England in the thirteenth. The townsmen were called in, however, not as democratic representatives of "the people," but for the purpose of telling the king and the ground landlords how much property the commercial centers possessed. The burden of taxation was then laid increasingly upon the burgher class; while the landed property of the aristocrats was more and more relieved from taxes.

As time passed on, the continental European parliaments were overshadowed and blotted out by the growth of despotic, absolute monarchies; while simultaneously, on the other hand, the development of English industry and commerce gave the economic basis for still further enlargement of "bourgeois" representation in the Parliament of England.



Democracy a Compromise

The modern British Parliament has grown up at the point of a long-drawn-out compromise between ground-landlord interests represented since the seventeenth century by the Tory party, and commercial-manufacturing interests represented by the Whig-Liberal party. This compromise found no explicit recognition in substantive law. It was a tacit agreement by which the powerful "élite" owners of the island gave increasing parliamentary representation and power to the "middle" class, and finally to the laboring class, on the understanding that fiscal burdens were to be laid more and more upon industry, while at the same time, taxes were to bear more lightly in proportion upon the ground rents of leased land as well as upon the value of land held out of use on speculation and in private parks and hunting preserves. This compromise came silently to a climax under the present Prime Minister, Chamberlain, who "de-rated," or untaxed, all vacant land in Great Britain.

Taxation Aristocratic, Lop-Sided

Through the tremendous influence of ground landlords, therefore, the Fiscal Power was distorted so as to penalize industry, promote land speculation, and protect the special privilege of collecting ground rent for private account. In other words, the British "bourgeoisie," in order to obtain a voice in government, had to assume the double burden of ground rent and taxes. In still other words, British Capital had to take Land on its back as a permanent parasitic interest. Or again, in different phraseology, the entire structure of British industry was put "on the spot" between the pressure of ground rent to the Landed Aristocracy and taxes to the State before any wages could be paid to the working class.

Essence of Constitutional Democracy

This is the essential fact at the heart of "constitutional democracy." England, instead of being "the Moth-

er of Parliaments," is the country where extra-legal compromise between Productive Capital and Land Monopoly was first carried to its logical conclusion. And after the British Constitutional Model had been set up, it was copied by several nations in Continental Europe where parliamentary evolution had been checked by the growth of monarchial power.

Schuman Ignores Compromise

That the State originally grew out of war which enthroned a "landed élite" on the backs of the masses, is demonstrated clearly enough by Professor Schuman. But in approaching the problems of today, he passes completely over the underlying process which gave rise to "the Western State System." With apparent plausibility, but with factual inaccuracy, he says, in the sentence already quoted, "The bourgeoisie, masters and beneficiaries of the new technology and the new economy, became the ruling class in almost all the States of the Western World."

Author in Good Company

Dr. Schuman is not only "Woodrow Wilson Professor"; but in his youth, he looked up to Wilson as a great political scientist, and studied Wilson's ample treatise, "The State," which reveals absolutely no conception of the under-handed bargaining process whereon the Modern State System has evolved. Another professor of political science active during the time of Dr. Schuman's intellectual development was Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, whose widely circulated works on government are in the same negative class with Wilson's treatises.

The immobility of this older pedagogical generation is revealed in a very interesting way by the reaction of Wilson to the great political struggle which took place in Britain just prior to the World War. The ultimate seat of the sovereign Fiscal Power in Britain, up to 1909, had been the House of Lords, the citadel of ground monopoly in that nation. The "Lords" had enjoyed for centuries the power of absolute veto on any tax bill passed by the House of Commons. In other words, the "Lords" were the guardians of the great politico-economic compromise on which modern democracy took form.

But in 1909, the Whig-Liberal element combined with the Labor element in a fierce attack on the ground-monopoly interest; and out of that struggle came a dramatic amendment to the British Constitution, abolishing the fiscal power of the Lords, while concentrating all authority over tax bills in the hands of the House of Commons. To bar the practical operation of this amendment, and prevent the transfer of taxes from productive industry to land values, has been the chief aim of Tory politics in England for the last quarter-century; and by keeping a "rentier" majority in the Commons during most of this period, the "landed élite" has managed to maintain its favored position in Britain—of which the most recent sign is the "de-rating" of all vacant ground by Chamberlain and his Tory colleagues, who, for the time, control the Commons and manage the fiscal policy of Britain.

The amendment of the Lords' veto is described in a new, revised edition of Professor Wilson's book, "The State," issued after his election to the Presidency. Having in his earlier edition failed to explain the real forces operating in the development of modern democracy, Wilson treats the constitutional struggle as an item standing by itself, and shows no grasp of its larger significance.

Laski on Parliament

A volume has been issued recently by Professor H. Laski, of London University, entitled "Parliamentary Government in England: A Commentary" (1938). This book, however, is as bare of explanation as Wilson's. The author speaks of the Parliamentary Amendment act, but only to point out regretfully that although the House of Lords is deprived of its fiscal, or tax, veto, it still has enough power to "wreck

the program of any socialist government" (pp. 74, 101, 105, 365). The real animus of Laski's treatise comes fully into view in his reference to "Marx's massive indictment of **capitalist civilization**" (p. 125, emphasis mine); and in his declaration that political democracy cannot evolve into social and economic democracy "while it is enfolded within the framework of **capitalism**" (p. 181, emphasis mine).

Schuman-Laski Political Science

These younger professors of Political Science, like older scholars of the Wilson-Lowell type, reveal no comprehension of the actual development through which modern legislative democracy arose. Their procedure is merely to take over the abstract categories used by Marx, and say, with him, that the modern State arises out of the "victory" of the bourgeoisie over the feudal nobility, or landed élite. Professor Schuman's declaration to this effect, which is quoted above, occurs in fact on the same page (64) with a lengthy quotation from the first volume of Marx's "Capital." His references to Marx, to Communism, to Socialism, to Bolshevism and to cognate themes are so numerous that an attempt to schedule them here would be wearisome to the reader. Schuman's treatise, indeed, is to a large extent an application of Marxism to the international problems now confronting the world.

Marx Underwrote Labor Controversy

What Marx does in volume I of his "Capital" (quoted by Schuman) is to underwrite the illogical war between "Labor and Capital" growing out of conditions which make ground rent, along with taxes, a preferred ereditor of industry prior to wages.

But in the second and third volumes of "Capital," resting upon later investigations and published after his death, Marx points out that prior to the capitalistic-machine age, the laboring masses were largely flung off the soil by "enclosures" of unused land, being thus forced into the towns where they overcrowded the labor market, lowering the rate of wages; and that in overseas colonies the mere ownership of machinery conferred no power over labor

unless the land were monopolized and fenced away from the people.

Marx Ignores Parliamentary Evolution

But while skillfully bringing out these fundamental economic facts in his posthumous work, Marx, equally with Wilson, Lowell, Schuman, Laski and others, never understood, or even took note of, that lop-sided, aristocratic manipulation of the Fiscal Power which is bound up with the entire evolution of the "Western State System."

Marxism, as a "going movement," has been identified with the first volume of "Capital," which Professor Schuman quotes. But the facts emphasized in the second and third volumes have never overtaken the misconceptions of the first volume, because they were presented merely as unorganized matter, and not as features of a definite social and political evolution.

Schuman's Analysis Inadequate

With Dr. Schuman's verdict on contemporary history, which comes to the front as he moves toward the conclusion of his treatise, this reviewer agrees heartily: "The concern of the dominant Powers of the Western State System with 'peace' has been motivated at bottom only by a desire to retain and perpetuate the relatively advantageous position they have attained for themselves in the apportionment of armaments, population, colonies, markets, and raw materials. After 1919, peace and security meant simply the buttressing of the **status quo** created at Versailles" (p. 637).

A great deal of information useful to the student is industriously and accurately brought together by Dr. Schuman, in a form not found elsewhere. But the shortcomings of original Marxism, attaching to the "Communist Manifesto" (1848) and the first volume of "Capital" (1867), reappear in the general drift of this treatise.

The book tends to implement the Marxist view that a simple, definite, clear-cut issue exists between "Labor," on the one hand, and something which Marx calls "Capital," on the other. Its tendency is to inflame college students uncritically against the entire prevailing economic set-up without adequate preliminary analysis of the **status quo** itself. In other words, in spite of its merits, the book is kid-glove, academic rabble-rousing which leads implicitly to the assumption that the only way out of our present political and economic **impasse** is the "taking over" of productive machinery by, or in the name of, the general public.

McNAIR BELIEVES IN GIVING THEM A CHANCE

"There are a lot of people in Pittsburgh," writes William M. McNair, in response to our inquiry as to whether he intends to run for office this Fall, "who will welcome the chance to vote against me. One man, for instance, who tried to sell to the county a square in the university district for a million dollars. He had not paid taxes for twelve years—totaling about $200,000. I put the sheriff on him. As soon as I was out of office the sale was stayed, and he still owns the lot. How he would delight to vote against me!

"I put to the legislature the usual bills to cut the city rates on buildings, and to apply the graded tax plan to counties. That aroused the ire of downtown taxpayers; they would like to vote against me.

"Many of our financial institutions allow borrowers to get back in their taxes, so as to insure payment of interest on their loans. I sold, as mayor, a lot of such holdings, and these financiers would like to vote against me.

"Of course the Graded Tax is merely a step. We can point to no immediate results largely because our city fathers do not reclaim land through tax lien foreclosures. However, the idea of collecting the full rent is working, and the pressure of the land value tax is increasing constantly. Ask any speculator holder what he thinks of the idea—and of me—and he will explode. He would like to vote against me.

"Any single taxer who gets into an executive position as I did—accidentally—and does not keep his mouth shut will be framed and incarcerated, unless he quits. I would advise him to quit and try again, as I am doing. I can do what I am doing in Pittsburgh only because I have 1500 graduates of the School who know what I am talking about and can argue with their neighbors."

Bill McNair is the rare "politician," who will not keep his mouth shut, and who therefore must quit and try again. But men with his complete personal disinterestedness and singleness of purpose are not the kind who usually go in for politics. The average run cannot resist the "flesh pots"—and therefore they keep their mouths shut.

From Albert Einstein

Sehr geehrter Herr: Zu meinem grossen Bedauern muss ich wegen geschwächter Gesundheit auf die Mitwirkung bei Ihrer Conferenz verzichten. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass das Lebenswerk Henry George's auch heute noch nicht den Einfluss gewonnen hat, den man ihm im Interesse der sozialen und politischen Entwicklung Amerikas wünschen möchte.

Mit ausgezeichneter Hochachtung,

A. EINSTEIN.

"Buy American" Baloney

A well-known Boston fancy grocer and importer presented a window display that had a humorous side the grocer did not intend. Above a tempting display of Roquefort, Brie, Bel Paese and Limburger cheeses, paté de foie gras, salami, Spanish olive oils, English biscuits and Russian caviar, was a large "Buy American" banner. After some scrutiny, the only American product this onlooker could discover were a few cans of salmon.

M. B. L.

"An acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia."

—Macaulay

Georgism On The Threshold

By Sidney J. Abelson

The one hundredth anniversary of Henry George's birth finds the world at large in a more critical situation than it has ever before been in all history.

There have been Great Wars before—perhaps these might even be called World Wars, taking into consideration the world as it was known at the time—but never before, not even during the Napoleonic period, has there been the actuality or the prospect of an internecine conflict involving directly and indirectly the entire planet on which man lives. What if the Peloponnesian War checked the magnificent achievements of the Periclean age? There were a dozen other societies unknown to the Greeks, flourishing in their own ways, or bearing the nascent foetuses of new civilizations. Today there is only one civilization—the Twentieth Century Civilization—and let but one section of it go down and all the rest will go down with it.

Napoleon ravaged Europe for a decade and a half—but his depredations could not affect the Americas. Or, if we assume that the Little Corporal could have extended his empire to the new world there would still be China, India, Japan, Australia, Africa with which to cope. Territorially the world then was as it is now, too large for any single dictator to conquer and hold. But today, unlike any previous time in history, the world is so small economically that the slightest disturbance in one country propagates itself in short order in all countries. For better or for worse the world has reached its final phase of interdependence—there is no new land to be discovered, no place of refuge for the hounded torch of civilization. Material progress has made the whole world one. United it stands; divided it falls.

But the world at the moment is far from united. Every day brings alarming news of fresh controversies, and even before this issue of **The Freeman** reaches its readers (if any credence can be given to news reports) another Great War may be raging in Europe.

Must we stand by idly and watch civilization die a horrible death? I have heard many express an affirmative answer to this question. I have heard it said and I have seen it written that a final struggle to the death between Communism and Fascism is the inevitable fate of mankind.

These opinions of despair are not entirely without foundation in fact. The great powers of the world are lining up in two great camps—the Fascist Powers versus the so-called Democratic Powers. The latter are falling increasingly under the sway of Communist philosophy though in some cases the political sympathies of the ruling clique (as in England) seem to be directed more toward Germany than to the Russian motherland of Communism.

Now from the point of view of freedom it does not matter whether this analysis of a Communist-Fascist struggle is accurate or not, for it is obvious that freedom is doomed whenever and wherever either of these philosophies triumphs. The struggle, therefore, is basically one of freedom against anti-freedom. And our problem is to make the nature of this struggle plain to the whole world.

Marx predicted that Socialism would arise first in that land which first outlived its "capitalist" destiny. (To the embarrassment of all concerned it arose first in a country notorious for its lack of modern industrial development.) The Marxist creed, even if sound, could apply only bit by bit to those nations which had reached a minimum industrial stage, so that to achieve the world-wide Socialist paradise might take hundreds of years. The Fascist and Nazi doctrines are so strictly jingoistic, so narrowly nationalistic in scope that **ipso facto** they are disqualified from serious scientific consideration.

The Roosevelt New Deal, though free from the obnoxious racial doctrines of the Fascists-Nazis and also from Marxist scriptural circumscription, is still a plan that can apply only to America or to another nation with the same abundant resources and national characteristics. There is, therefore, no hope that either Russian Communism, German Nazism, Italian Fascism or American New Dealism can save the world. And as for Britain and France it is patent, that the most these nations can do is make heroic efforts to save their own skins. There is nothing in the policies of Chamberlain or Daladier which the world in general can use.

Of all the doctrines for social betterment now extant only that of Henry George has world-wide and immediate applicability. Only George offers complete economic and civil freedom for all races, all nationalities, all religions. I submit to the judgment of logic and experience that the test of a theory in the field of applied science is its capacity to be utilized universally and immediately—and I say that only George's social and economic doctrines so much as offer the challenge to be utilized in this fashion.

The establishment of Communism in Russia required, in the words of Lenin, that "the present generation plough itself under as fertilizer for the generations to come." The New Deal must plough under crops and destroy livestock to achieve its ends. Hitler finds it necessary to exterminate the Jews and destroy the Catholic and Protestant churches to achieve his ends. Mussolini can seek his goal only by waging war or maintaining a state of war—destruction's most effective instrument. Only George says: **Build!** Only George says that destroying can lead only to destruction; that the way to achieve a better society is through construction—here and **now!**

I have little sympathy with those Georgists who feel that many years must pass before "the world is ready for Georgism." In plain fact, the

world is ready now—no other doctrine can be applied to the solution of social ills so readily and so universally, without destroying a single generally accepted good thing in society, without disturbing the normal conduct of life.

The other day a Communist acquaintance of mine expressed friendly contempt for my activities in the Georgist movement. His point was simply this: that it does not matter whether Georgism is right or wrong—to him this point was not even worth debating—for when the time comes for change, when our present regime collapses, only the Communist Party will be ready to take it over. And when the Communists take over management of social and economic affairs there will be no room in America for any opposing doctrines, or for that matter any variants whatever of the Party Line.

Unfortunately, the cynicism of my acquaintance is wholly justified by the facts as they stand now. In the event of a general debacle Georgism, with its present limited strength, would not stand a chance for survival. In short order, our literature, our educational apparatus, our journalistic organs—all our means of articulation and in many cases our very selves to boot, would be destroyed. Perhaps it is true that truth crushed to earth will rise again—but the Communist homicidal efficiency being what it is (and the Nazi-Fascist, also) this rise may very well take something of the form of a Phoenix-ian resurrection. As in the case of that mythological bird, perhaps truth will be doomed to a 500-year-long figmentary life, and finally, a trial by fire, to rise miraculously from its own ashes once more to enjoy the uneasy blessings of life.

When it comes to sleeping out the Dance of Life, Rip Van Winkle was a piker compared with some of the experiences of truth—for example, the anatomical mistakes of Galen, a second century physician, remained rule-of-thumb for medical practitioners for about a thousand years. Nature provides us with no guarantee that truth will prevail or that error will be corrected. When the Communists or the Fascists take power Georgism will be no more.

Now Georgism represents the highest truth man has discovered in his search for an explanation of the social and economic laws that govern human life. But what doth it profit a cause if it gain the whole truth and lose the opportunity to spread that truth? What is the good, what is the practical value of the knowledge we have? What can we do with it?

How can we keep the torch of truth burning? How can we convert that torch into a beacon light for all mankind? These are the questions which trouble me—and which will continue to trouble me until I have found their answers.

As I have already said above in a slightly different way, the Georgist doctrine embodies both means and end. It is the only doctrine which offers a direct and not a devious road to universal prosperity and peace. George says, behold! here are the means, and within these very means are the ends you seek. Freedom becomes literally its own reward. Provide freedom and it will nourish itself on its own substance. We Georgists need employ no trickery to explain our goal, nor any ambiguity to set forth our means. We do not offer pie in the sky after an indeterminate period of intensified human suffering—we say without reservation, let there be free land, free enterprise and free men; and in the fullest sense you will have free men—free politically, free economically, free intellectually and spiritually. We say freedom and we mean freedom.

What then, can be done to keep Georgism alive during the dangerous days ahead; how can Georgism be made ready for use when, in the inevitable hour, a faltering civilization will have, seemingly, but a Hobson's choice between one form of inhuman dictatorship and another?

Many years of experience in expounding the doctrines of Henry George have given the answer—an answer which current world experience confirms: Avoid direct political action—fire cannot extinguish fire; educate mankind in the logic, the justice and the humanitarianism of Georgism; make many millions of people conscious of the fact that humanity is not doomed to be decimated by the cross-fire of extremists pledged to fight each other to the death, that nature herself has ordained laws for social conduct which are inherently orderly, laws which, if observed, would make all mankind prosperous and which would conduce to that state wherein "man to man the whole world o'er will brothers be for a' that."

"Poets and philosophers are the true legislators of mankind." Ultimately we conduct our affairs under the guidance of philosophers—though politicians do make capital of and take the credit for the philosophical ideas of their betters. Today the collectivist ideas of Karl Marx are being adopted in one way or another, in vain efforts to solve the problem of poverty in almost every country on earth. Tomorrow, the principles of freedom of Henry George will be applied.

Does this seem like an impossible hope? Let us see what are the facts?

In this century, more than ever before, no nation can gain more than a Pyrrhic victory in war. Victor and vanquished both are losers—because modern war is more destructive than war has been before. In the next few years—five or ten, perhaps fifteen at the most—the Communist and Fascist extremists will exhaust themselves in military and economic wars of attrition. A large-scale political triumph of one or the other will mean the doom of civilization.

The task of saving civilization, then, becomes a race—between the advancing forces of dictatorship and the progress of educating mankind in the natural laws of society. Men will not accept dictatorship so long as they have the hope of freedom. That hope will remain alive if Georgism is kept alive. In the hour of fate that is sure to come mankind will turn to Georgism—IF. The race against chaos can be won—IF.

(Concluded on page 20)

Henry George and Malthusianism

By Glenn E. Hoover

For a number of years I have been one of the few professional economists who have publicly advocated the social appropriation of the economic rent of land. I mention this only that the reader may know that what I say in criticism of **The Freeman** or of Henry George is said by one who is a friend of both. I seek only to correct what seem to me to be some of the tactical errors in our movement. It is so difficult to gain adherents to our program that we ought not to alienate possible friends by taking a position on collateral issues which are questionable or positively erroneous. Nor should we ever give the impression that we believed Henry George was infallible.

For instance, the editorial in the July issue of **The Freeman,** entitled "Sailing the Malthusian Sea," attacks the alleged error in the Malthusian analysis. That analysis can best be summarized in the words of Mr. Malthus himself as found at the end of Chapter 2, of the 6th edition of his "Essay On Population." He there said:

"1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.
"2. Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.
"3. These checks, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice and misery."

I believe the only comment needed to make that statement clear to the modern reader is that Malthus believed that practices now known as "birth control" were forms of "vice."

The Freeman editorial, following Henry George, proceeded to combat the Malthusian "error." Said the editor: "That error is that there are more people in the world than the earth can support." I shall be charitable enough to assume that was a slip of the typewriter. Neither Malthus, nor any man of common sense, ever said that there were more people in the world than it could support for that would be a contradiction in terms. Such an excess could exist only for the length of time it would take for them to starve and the balance would then be restored. Malthus, in the first principle given above, specifically denied that the population would ever exceed subsistence, by saying that population was "necessarily limited" by it.

It must have been another slip that prompted the writer to say: "Or, as that befuddled English cleric, Mr. Malthus, put it, population increases faster than the means of subsistence." Mr. Malthus did not say this, but rather said that man, like every known form of animal and vegetable life, had a **capacity for,** and a **tendency to,** increase beyond the limits of its subsistence.

It should be noted at the outset that this purports to be the statement of a biological fact, and economists, as such, Henry George included, have no special qualifications to determine its truth or falsity. With respect to the biological capacity to increase, I think it is now abundantly proved that groups of men have increased at a rate that permitted them to double their numbers every twenty-five years, and that too under circumstances not the most favorable. We had best admit the existence of a capacity for increase that has been historically demonstrated.

With respect to the "tendency" to increase, that too is a biological fact which cannot be disproved, as George attempted, by showing that population in the past had been held in

check by the various means which Malthus recognized. By "tendency" to increase is meant the "drive," the "biological urge," or, as Malthus put it, "the passion between the sexes," which, unchecked, leads to reproduction. George, I think conceded that this tendency, unchecked, might under some circumstances result in a population growth so rapid, that it would be limited only by the means of subsistence. After analyzing the evidence introduced by Malthus, George said:

> "The facts cited to show this simply show that where, owing to the sparseness of population, as in new countries, or where, owing to the unequal distribution of wealth, as among the poorer classes in old countries, human life is occupied with the physical necessities of existence, the tendency to reproduce is at a rate which would, were it to go unchecked, some time exceed subsistence." (Progress and Poverty, Book II, Chap. 2)

But George apparently believed with Herbert Spencer, that with an improvement in the standard of living and the exercise of our intellect, the "passion between the sexes" would subside and in part give way to what George called "the passion of passions, the hope of hopes—the desire that he, even he, may somehow aid in making life better and brighter, in destroying want and sin, sorrow and shame." (Progress and Poverty, Book II, Chap. 3)

George's views with respect to the persistence of the sexual drive in **homo sapiens,** are, I think, an excursion into the field of biology which adds little to his reputation. It is a kind of writing that will amuse biologists and medical doctors, but it is not the stuff on which solid economic theories are built, and his theories are not at all necessary to the program he advocated.

It should have been clear to George that the Law of Diminishing Returns (which George showed was applicable to all land and was not

limited to agriculture), was but an explanation of the way in which increasing numbers would, after reaching a certain point, press on the means of subsistence by continually lowering the value product of the marginal worker. While in general George accepted The Law of Diminishing Returns and the Ricardian Law of Rent which is inextricably bound up with it, at other times he thought that the only increase of population which might be prejudicial to our interests was an increase "beyond the possibility of finding elbow room." (Progress and Poverty, Book II, Chap. 3) But for that limitation he thought "that the earth could maintain a thousand billions of people as easily as a thousand millions" and that this was true because "matter is eternal and force must forever continue to act." For those who can follow that logic I have, for the moment, only a feeling of pity. For anyone who convinces me of its logical soundness, I shall have an unlimited admiration.

In conclusion I should like to question the practice of ridiculing economists and college professors in general. The editorial in question refers to the economic error which has persisted, "aided and abetted by the pundits who purvey knowledge," and this is but an instance of frequent lapses of this kind. There is always a temptation to tickle the populace with cracks of this sort, but they should be resisted by the advocates of any reform which appeals to reason. We should leave such tactics to the Huey Longs, the Ham & Eggers, and all those groups which represent a Retreat From Reason, and are really anti-intellectual in character. **The Freeman,** in any event should refrain, when many of its best articles are written by a clear headed, public-spirited professor of economics, Dr. Harry Gunnison Brown.

Marshall Field In the News

By Henry L. T. Tideman

Who has not heard of "the loop" in Chicago? It is an area less than three-quarters of a mile square, bounded by the Chicago River on two sides and by Lake Michigan and railroad yards on the other two. The twenty-one railroads entering the city serve this district. For years it has been the city's center of exchanges, and though other business districts have developed in recent years, none of them begins to compare with it in importance. Here are blocks of great buildings and rows of great department stores. Here are the famous lawyers, doctors, the great banks, the stock exchanges and the boards of trade.

Its growth has not been purely adventitious. When the city was young and growing rapidly, and the need for local transportation developed, it was natural that the first street car lines should be built to carry people to this center of exchanges. And as these transportation systems were financed largely by the landholders in the loop, they directed the building of these car lines, and elevated roads, so that their property would be encircled.

Who has not heard of Marshall Field—and the monumental department store he built? And how, being one of the most alert of the city's early citizens, he bought land holdings, building up one of the "great estates" of America? Then, as all men must, he died. But being of a tenacious disposition, he purposed to continue from the grave the vast empire he had acquired in life. So, he tied up his estate in a trust, charging the trustees to invest the income "in Chicago real estate." That is why the readers of the Chicago newspapers are occasionally entertained with accounts of acquisitions to the Marshall Field empire in the city. It has almost ceased to be news.

There was news in 1924. The Estate had sold the store. They had sold the buildings and the business; lock, stock and barrel, but they retained the land. The land was leased to Marshall Field & Company at rentals which were to be stepped up periodically as its business improved.

This year, on May 4, the Field name again became news; more than a column on the financial page of the newspapers. The Marshall Field Estate had sold some land! In thousands of homes, coffee cooled while the column was read. They had sold the land: two parcels, under the Field stores, for $15,000,000, representing an average of $98.06 per square foot. There were a lot of details, most of them uninteresting. One item stands out in bold relief: the land rent for the current year is $950,000.

The reader may know that Marshall Field & Company have not been conspicuous for the liberality of their dividend policy, nor, though all who work for them speak of the Company with pride, for overpaying their help. Capital and labor got what was left after rent was paid to the Marshall Field Estate.

The complete lack of comprehension in the public mind of the significance of such land deals, was revealed by a friend with whom I was discussing the matter. When I suggested that the land question was involved in this Marshall Field deal he thought I was changing the subject. He was not interested. The farm problem, he said, was insoluble. Farm folk were too dumb; you could not help them anyway. What's that got to do with the Field stores buying the Field land?

Here are 3.51 acres of land worth, w i t h o u t improvement, $4,270,656 per acre. The rental, $950,000 for the current year, would provide a net income of $1,000 each for 950 farmers. Go find, if you can, 950 one-man farms, each with an income of $1,000 net over the wages properly attributable to the work done by the farmer.

But would it be difficult to find 9500 working people, who pay out, in hidden ways, $100 per year in taxes, in order that this unearned income may go to the Field Estate?

Truth Sets Men Free

Dear Mr. Chodorov: Your critique of Mr. Nock's book* interests me deeply. First, let me congratulate you on the admirable way in which you deal with his work. It is rarely one comes across, nowadays, a bit of criticism which stimulates the reader because of the crisp, sure method of dealing with the book. You have succeeded, it seems to me, in arousing the reader's interest to the extent of making him wish to purchase a copy and read for himself what the author has to say. In my case, you have urged me to send to the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation for a copy of the volume.

The quotation and summary at the end of your article remind me strongly of the struggle that I had when I was persuaded to go into politics in England. I firmly believed at that time that nothing of an effective nature could be done by making the gospel of George a political issue. I was over-persuaded and devoted many years to promulgating the theory of the taxation of land values from the political platform and was not sure at any time that I was doing the best for the cause. Still it must be admitted that the political channel may be used to advantage for educative purposes as is done in England.

First, let me deal with the matter of Mr. Nock's "educable élite." The meaning is clear to me, although I think the word "élite" is not well-chosen. I also think that it was bound to raise a false notion in the mind of the reader. Surely Mr. Nock means, when he uses the word "élite," the few profound thinkers who may come from any class of society. It is not to be confounded with social distinction of any kind, but only in the case of quality of mind. The philosophy of George must make headway in spite of all political seductions. The cause must spread and prosper because it goes to the very heart of man's purpose. It must be accepted for its own treasures.

I am convinced that the masses can never be educated. In the first place, there is no known way of educating the instructors, save in our own case, which is my ideal of a system of education. As for school, college and university education, the longer I am acquainted with the systems, and the more I see of the method and practice of faculties, the more certain I am that we shall never, under present conditions, reach a stage when the instructors will have the knowledge to impart that a student-graduate of the Henry George School gains from your system. FRANCIS NEILSON.

* * *

The editor, in acknowledging the generous comment of Francis Neilson, informed him of the following experience of the Henry George School of Social Science:

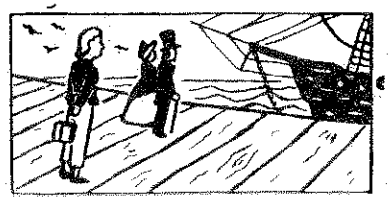
"About fifty per cent of those who enroll in the course based upon 'Progress and Poverty' complete the course. Of this fifty per cent about half want to know more, and enroll in the advanced courses. These advanced courses consist of 'Protection or Free Trade' and 'The Science of Political Economy.' There are other courses and this Fall we are adding one, based upon Max Hirsch's book.

"And so, we are finding that about twenty-five per cent of those who originally enrolled in the course have something in them that prompts them to keep on studying the philosophy of freedom."

This led Mr. Neilson to make the following analysis of the function of the Henry George School:

* * *

When I was intimately connected with night schools of the various systems in England, such as crafts and design, university extension lectures and those to be found at such places as Toynbee Hall, the Samuel Memorial (after the pattern of the old Cooper Union in New York), I found that the number of persons (men and women) who had a desire to be instructed after they had left the day schools and had started to work for themselves, amounted to so small a fraction of the mass of youths who left school and entered the labor market, that it was scarcely worth the cost and the trouble of turning out so few.



Moreover, in the various branches of trade and art, to say nothing of politics, in which I have served apprenticeships, I have found only a few in each branch of activity who have shown the desire to progress steadily to a goal. In music and in the theatre this was most noticeable. The masses of mediocre folk who, year in and year out, preferred a precarious existence, was noticeable to everybody concerned. Politics is the great field in which it can be shown that only the few can be educated. So far as trade itself is concerned, any manager of a large department, whether manufacturing or clerical, could tell the inquirer that the vast majority are incapable of progressing beyond a definite stage; and are satisfied to perform only routine work under supervision. Initiative and perseverance seem to be qualities which only the few possess.

Yet, when we look over the field that George has brought to our ken, small as the patch was when he began his work, we see something which puzzles us. And here it is that we find that Mr. Nock's term "élite" will not in any way fit in with our ideas; in my experience I have found, both here and in England, most extraordinary examples of poorly-educated men working hard for small pay, making an effort to understand George's philosophy and becoming master-instructors and crusaders. The reason for this is that George's gospel appeals to all that is finest in the nature of man.

If there be a dormant idealism in the neophyte's mind, and if he have the inclination and gumption (to use a good old folk-term), George's gospel will waken it up and give an entirely different color to life. Imbued, after a bit, with a sense of the pos-

sibility of another economic order, the student becomes a fervent disciple whose desire to take the good tidings to his fellows actuates his every thought and thrills his being.

Now school education has lost its savor. It is found on every hand, it requires little or no exertion and it is used, so far as the generality is concerned, for one purpose only, which is a material one, namely, acquiring the mere elements of reading, writing and arithmetic, so that they may qualify for a job. Two generations ago, when education was hard to get, the lads and lassies of England, Scotland and Wales had, in the vast majority of cases, to bear privation and sacrifice the hours now devoted to games and sport, so that they might fit themselves for what were then called "careers." Those who succeeded in winning scholarships carried on, and many reached the universities. Vast numbers, not successful in gaining the prizes, plodded on, attended night schools and rose from the ruck.

That phase of our system of education has been ignored very largely by the people who record the wonders of the past fifty years. But Henry George himself is the most extraordinary example that can be placed before the poor boy who desires to know something of the philosophy of life. Think of what he did; the sacrifices he cheerfully made; of how he went from one shelf of stored knowledge to another in his unremitting search for wisdom!

There is, therefore, in this gospel that subtle something, call it what you will, that hath the power to bring the best out of a student in whose mind fine notions of the potentialities of man lie sleeping.

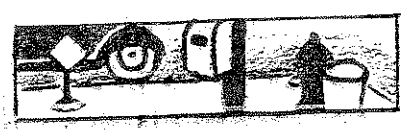
There is, however, this important consideration to be marked in dealing with those students who fail to comprehend George's philosophy in full. I have found numbers, particularly in that great organization, the League of Young Liberals in England, which I had the honor of forming, who could not go beyond the point of grasping a clear understanding of the three factors in production and holding precise ideas of the definition of the terms: "rent," "wealth," and "property." In the discussions and debates at League meetings, I was deeply impressed, over and over again, with the way young men, who had no notion of what the order of society would be if reform could be carried out in full, argued their points and maintained their convictions. This was most noticeable when there would be a clash of ideas between a land values man and a Fabian or a Municipal Socialist. I do not remember an instance when a land values man did not beat his opponent hollow in the argument.

So we must recognize, I think, that the 50% you refer to, who do not go on, may prove to be very useful disseminators of certain fundamentals. They, too, can be sowers of the seed of truth. At any rate, I think we have divined the unique, innermost quality in the gospel of George, and that is the direct appeal it makes to the finest instincts in man. It brings out of him the best that is in him.

Whether it can be carried into practice and what order of society will be established are questions that may repose in the lap of the gods; but there is this wonderful gift which has been given to us, which is that we can endure the present system because we know that there is another world for man, a world in which he will have a chance to rise to the highest plane of culture and refinement.

In toto, George has given us the means whereby we shall move forward to what Isaiah, in the sixty-fifth chapter, verses seventeen to twenty-three, calls "the new Jerusalem."

One of the greatest satisfactions of my life is that I can, in these days of turmoil and grief all over the world, take repose in the belief that it is only necessary for the truth to be known to set men free. It is not governments or political parties which hold men in chains; it is their own benighted minds which enslave them.



I once heard a man say that you can teach the elements of political economy to a child of six or seven years. This statement surprised me much and interested me deeply. At the time I heard it, my children were in the teens and could then speak glibly about the taxation of land values. I made inquiries, as I went about the country, and I learned that many parents began to teach their children the meaning of the factors in production at the age of five.

Now this notion leads me to ponder what would happen if an elementary course could be introduced in the common schools. The Jesuit says, "Get them early!" True! It is a well-established fact that children who have French and German nurses are often able to speak three languages before they reach their teens. I have always held that the simpler the mind, the easier it is to grasp the fundamentals of political economy.

The greatest difficulties I have encountered have always been in the cases of men who have become immersed in the present system and whose minds are constantly perturbed about the conditions in which they struggle. They have no clear notion of what they have to encounter day by day, as consequences of their fogged notions of economics and politics.

In your school, I take it, for the most part, your young men's minds are not cluttered up with all the buncombe that you would find in the minds of fellows in a counting house or in a factory.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

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*"Henry George," by Albert Jay Nock—$1.00—Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 32 E. 29 St., New York.

A Fable

—"And God saw that it was all very good"; but the Adversary said, "It is pretty good; but it would have been better if Thou hadst made man of cement instead of clay."

And God said, "I have enough of plaster saints now, I want men that can mould themselves."

BOLTON HALL.

The Void in College Curricula

By Harry Gunnison Brown

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Do you really want to understand the economics of location or site value? Do you want to face frankly and hear discussed without embarrassed withholding of vital considerations the question of the right to use natural resources? Do you want to examine, in all of its significant aspects, the economic consequences of the fact that, in our existing system of property and taxation, a majority must pay to a comparatively few, billions of dollars a year for **community-produced** location advantages,—i.e., for **permission** to work and to live **on the earth** in those locations where such advantages are available? And do you want to gain a full understanding of the consequences to be expected should government, by taxation, appropriate this annual community-produced location value as a first source of revenue for public expenditures?

If you really desire a full comprehension of this problem, you should probably take one or more courses in **The Henry George School of Social Science.**

I do not mean to say that you can learn about the problem nowhere else. There are teachers of economics in a few of our universities and colleges who do really give their classes assignments on the problem and even, perhaps, take some pains to make them analyze the principles involved in its solution. But this is **not** generally the case. In most colleges and universities the student will either never have his attention called to the subject at all, or he will be offered the briefest summary, not in the least calculated to make him understand what can be said in favor of the taxation of land values, followed by a "refutation," but with no mention at all of considerations which have again and again been presented in rebuttal.

Not long ago the very "liberal" St. Louis Post Dispatch editorialized, with apparent satisfaction to the editorialist, on the inability of a certain conservative organization to stamp out sentiments of criticism and protest among college students. After commenting on the persistence of socialistic and communistic groups the editorial continued: "Here and there, **even,** an **occasional** single taxer is found boring from within some department of economics." The implication (though emphasis is my own) seems clear enough that the land-value tax philosophy gets definitely less adherence than the philosophy of socialism or of communism which, in turn, has the adherence of a comparatively small minority.

At least one economist tells us that, in matters on which there is controvery among his fellows, he has sought to be "meticulously objective." He appears to believe that he can thus avoid any suspicion of being a propagandist. But, in truth, fair suspicion of being a propagandist or, at least, a near-propagandist, is not to be so easily avoided. "Propaganda" may express itself in the very selection of topics for presentation; in determining how much space to allot, relatively, to the affirmative and to the negative side of an argument; in deciding which view is to have **the last word;** in the somewhat disingenuous neglect to make perfectly clear to readers or listeners the grounds upon which the intelligent opposition would rest its case,—and, after all, who of us does not strive **harder** to make clear the arguments for beliefs we ourselves hold than the arguments for beliefs which, rightly or wrongly, we disapprove? "Propaganda" may express itself in the easy acceptance and uncritical presentation of arguments which even a little analysis would show to be invalid or irrelevant. Indeed, **silence** may sometimes be "propaganda," if not by formal definition at least in practical effect.

Under the circumstances, with a majority of professors of economics seemingly unfriendly to the most essential elements in Henry George's economic philosophy, it is hardly to be wondered at that this philosophy does not receive a complete presentation—when it receives any presentation whatever—in most institutions of the so-called "higher learning."

An interesting example of the type of argument presented by wellknown academic economists against the view that the rental value of sites and natural resources should go to the public, is to be found in **Public Finance** (2nd edition) by Harley Leist Lutz of Princeton University. Professor Lutz, discussing the local use of the "single tax" in cities of Northwestern Canada, says that "the taxes on land value were a fairly

satisfactory source of support as long as the community making use of it was growing and its land values were rising," but contends that this method of taxation "ceased to be satisfactory as soon as the peak of land value inflation was reached" and refers, with apparent approval, to the "reaction against a narrow tax base."

Commenting on this discussion in my book on **The Economic Basis of Tax Reform,** in 1932, I pointed out that whether land values are increasing is not the matter of chief importance in deciding whether the tax "base" is too "narrow" to yield adequate revenue to the public, but that the real question is whether the total annual economic rent is sufficiently great; and that, so long as a land-value tax leaves to private owners any considerable amount of economic rent, there is no sense in calling the tax base too narrow. And I further pointed out that even if such a source did prove to be inadequate from the point of view of securing sufficient revenue, this would be no argument against relying on it for as much revenue as it could be made to yield.

I then remarked on the fact that, in a book on public finance extending to 750 pages and treating at length various kinds of taxes and taxing systems, Professor Lutz was able to spare scarcely more than three pages for a consideration of land-value taxation, and that the major part of these three pages was given over to a brief discussion of a temporary exemption of new dwellings in New York State, leaving only one page—the page on which the land-value taxes in Northwestern Canada were discussed!—that is **really** devoted to the land-value-tax program.

The sequel is interesting. Perhaps—who can tell!—it is even significant. Recently Professor Lutz brought out a new edition (the 3rd) of his book, considerably enlarged. The new edition contains not just an insignificant 750 pages, but 940 pages, covering numerous and varied ideas and practices in government finance and taxation. But of the problem of land-value taxation or of the arguments in support of such taxation or of reference to Henry George who so effectively pleaded for this reform, there is now not a single sentence. The criticism of the use of the "single tax" in Northwestern Canada, on which I commented in my book is neither revamped nor further developed. It has simply disappeared. And with it, unless in my search I have inadvertently overlooked it, has disappeared all reference to the single tax or to any special taxation of land values.

And so the student at Princeton University—or at any of the colleges where Lutz's now massive book is the chosen text—who takes a year's course in public finance based on this text, can easily, however faithfully he works at his assigned lessons, come out at the end utterly unaware that anyone, anywhere, has ever suggested either the exclusive or, even, the especially high taxation of land values.

If not all text books in public finance and taxation ignore the issue thus thoroughly, it is certainly the case that various others give it only a tiny bit of attention. It is altogether probable, therefore, that the typical college student who pursues one or more courses in public finance or taxation for a semester or for a year in the typical American university or college, finishes his course with not a glimmer of understanding of the "single tax" or land-value-tax theory, although, indeed, he may imbibe a prejudice which will prevent his ever thereafter giving it serious consideration; and frequently enough—as when the course is based on Lutz's text or some other text of similar nature—he finishes with no awareness that there is any such theory.

Is it not reasonably clear that teachers who use such texts, **unless** with extended supplementing, are altogether willing—even if not positively desirous—that the land question **shall be entirely omitted from consideration?**

In view of the large number of teachers and educational institutions whose courses in public finance fit one of the descriptions above, has not **The Henry George School of Social Science** a task fully as important **in educating college graduates** as in educating those who have never attended college?

This is the first of a series of three articles by Professor Brown under the general title "The Void in Our College Curricula." The three articles will be reprinted as a pamphlet in which a page will be devoted to an announcement of the correspondence course in fundamental economics, and another page will advertise the classes. Copies will be mailed to college and high school instructors, as well as to students. Readers who would like to help this project are requested to send names of people to whom they would like to have copies of the pamphlet sent. One dollar will cover the cost of printing and mailing twenty-five pamphlets.

The BOOK TRAIL

SIDNEY J. ABELSON

"Political economy," says Alfred Bingham, "is essentially national housekeeping."

In that one sentence is summed up the peculiarly inept trend of popular thought on the subject of how men provide themselves with the material goods of life. The State has come into its own once more. The dignity of man, according to this doctrine, must derive from the dignity of the State. Socialism, after making Hegel stand on his head, is now standing on its own head: the heretofore despised State, with all its brutality, has become the benign monarch of a new day, a **deus ex machina** providentially sent from on high to extricate man from what seems to be a particularly unique imbroglio.

Bingham is not a Marxist. As a matter of fact in "Man's Estate: Adventures in Economic Discovery" (W. W. Norton, $3.00) he unleashes one of the most sensible attacks on Marxism I have ever read. I have heard Bingham called a Socialist, but I believe he would even resent that minor designation. Yet he, like so many other courageous and intelligent thinkers, has fallen under the spell of Marxist-Socialist exaltation of the State. Under this latter-day mercantilism, society is no longer an organism but a machine. Men are not living creatures endowed by nature with the power of freely acting in concert with their fellows for the fulfillment of naturally established social functions; they are helpless wards of the universe, capable only of being directed like automatons.

Now political economy is no more "national housekeeping" than is chemistry or physics or biology. To establish political economy as "national housekeeping" makes as little sense as would the establishment of physiology as "national hygiene." (Paolo Mantegazza, the Italian physiologist wrote that "Physiology ... is, or should be, the origin of all human legislation.") A voluntary social organization can assist in disseminating the laws of physiology concerned with good health, but the observance of those laws and the enjoyment of good health are individual matters and necessarily must remain so forever. Political economy seems to have aspects of social interdependence which distinguish it from other sciences, but this is true only in a superficial sense: ultimately man makes his living—fulfills his economic function—with his own brains and his own hands; he follows or does not follow the "physiological laws" of economics, and consequently enjoys or does not enjoy the rewards therefor.

If we think in terms of humanity we must think in terms of individuals. There is no such thing as collective enjoyment or gratification; there is only the possibility of an aggregation of individual enjoyments. Political economy is a science which, like other sciences, reveals those laws of nature that permit man—i.e., mankind as a group of individual men—to enjoy better the economic possibilities of life. Political economy is simply a more inclusive science which shows man how the benefits of other sciences may be correlated.

Political economy is a science, and as such it has nothing whatever to do with national borders artificially established by man. As such, it has no relationship to the state, except that to a limited extent the State can be instrumental in aiding—but not in directing—the smoother flow of natural economic law.

In shor, the State (politics) must subserve economic life. Politics is not the larger function; it is the smaller. In the natural order politics is the instrument of, and not the master of, economics.

In spite of Bingham's abiding faith in the State as the hope of economic salvation his book is as charming and as challenging a work on my favorite subject as I have read in a long time. These refreshing qualities are, apparently, reflections of the author's personality. His ardor is persistent, his sincerity above suspicion, his intelligence keen. His range of investigation is as broad as the world. He has traveled everywhere he could hope to find a shred of enlightenment; he has spoken to many great leaders of countries in Europe and Asia. ("I had the chilling experience of being spat at as I drove through the noisome slums of Shanghai.")

He seems to have overlooked only one source of economic illumination, the one closest to him and most accessible—Henry George. Chapter after chapter is devoted to Hitler, Mussolini, Marx, Stalin—but George gets exactly 88 words.

Why? Perhaps because Bingham has not completed his investigations. Perhaps because amidst the shouting and the tumult the still small thin voice of common sense is drowned out. Perhaps because George is the most revolutionary of all social thinkers and his doctrine is a little too heady.

I have often thought that if Christ came to earth in this year of 1939 and repeated His counsel "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" and then added "I mean it," He would engender in the breasts of His listeners only horrified resentment. So it is with George. George writes of freedom and means it. He writes of free cooperation and means it. The economic and social doctrines of Henry George are not utopian phrases; they are the instruments of practical conduct. I submit that because George provides for immediate freedom as both means and end he is history's most revolutionary philosopher. Every other thinker has been burdened with the idea of a purgatory to be suffered before entering El Dorado.

Bingham's "national housekeeping political economy" leads him into a logical impasse. His feelings toward Russia are of an ambivalent nature. Russia is the best of lands. The Soviets have discovered how to step up production at a rate far outdistancing the "capitalistic" countries; that is the "love" part of the ambivalent attitude. But the Communist citizen is subject to arbitrary "blood purges," and Mr. Bingham finds "the political absolutism of the Stalin regime ... loathsome"; that is the "hate" part of his mixed feelings. The author of "Man's Estate"

sees no causal relationship between the Stalin economic system and what he calls "the demoralization that tends to grow on any absolute dictatorship." Looking to the future, through dark glasses, darkly, he ventures to predict that "Stalin, once his increasingly despotic regime has come to an end, will be remembered, like Peter the Great, for his building rather than his despotism. However one may abhor present-day Soviet politics, there is ground for having the highest hopes for a free and happy Russia."

In "The Conquest of Bread" Kropotkin states, "Every economic phase has a political phase corresponding to it." A free economy, in short, brings forth a free political system; a dictated economy brings forth a dictated political system. And not all the "angels in heaven above, nor the demons down under the sea" can "ever dissever" these causal relationships. As long as Russia has Stalin's increasingly regimented economy it will have to suffer Stalin's "increasingly despotic regime."

Only considerations of space induce me to relinquish further comment on "Man's Estate." I enjoyed the book. I recommended that every reader of The Freeman read it. It is a lively compendium of honest misguidance, a collection of sound facts and unsound interpretations, all so entertainingly and earnestly presented that, in spite of its shortcomings, it is still challenging to the informed reader. I think that the fascinating feature of "Man's Estate" is this: Mr. Bingham's attitude toward his subject is one of frank open-mindedness; he is still searching. And one whose mind is not yet closed is far from lost.

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Unfermented Grapes

Some day some novelist will tell the whole truth about the land question, and some publisher will have the courage to present it in undiluted form. "The Grapes of Wrath,"* John Steinbeck's phenomenally successful novel, is definitely not the one fundamental thinkers have been looking for, although its popularity as well as its straight-forwardness in depicting the evils of land monopoly suggest the possibility that another author, if not Steinbeck himself, may unequivocally point to the private ownership of land as the cause of our economic ills.

The book is not so directly concerned with its major characters as was Steinbeck's former novel, "Of Mice and Men." Here every other chapter follows the events of the leading characters, the Joad family, in their trek in a $75 car from Oklahoma to California, and the difficulties they face when they arrive. As the early pioneers lost part of their kin through Indian raids, fire and flood, so do the Joads lose many of their huge family through malnutrition, exposure and aged decrepitude.

Between each chapter of the Joad fortunes is a chapter wherein Steinbeck attempts to show the general character of multitudes of other dustbowl migrants who have been lured to California's sunshine by handbills that have found their way through the nation in a bid for people so hungry they will pick the fruit and cotton at wages far below even "substandard wages."

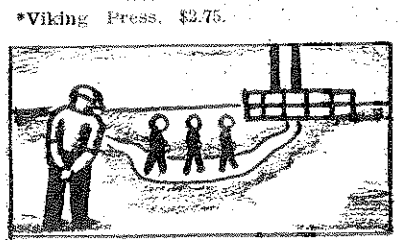
Depicting the social plights of peoples is the theme that authors with an ear to the cash register have found alluring. But an avoidance of causes seems to be an essential part of the formula for this popular fiction. Whether the reading public demand their "social problems" novels diluted, whether the authors or publishers think they do, or are afraid that "solutions" might affect sales, the fact is that one who reads these photographically accurate stories with a skeptical mind is disappointed. For that reason I can't become so lyrical as were the professional reviewers of this book.

I did expect Steinbeck to have the answer all wrapped up neatly in a socialistic package. Because by innuendo he attacks the land empire of William Randolph Hearst I looked for a definite point of view. But no! The book ends not much further than it began. We are given a couple of months of the Joads' terrible plight, and the sufferings of thousands of others made landless by the banks. They will go on, as far as Steinbeck's ending is concerned, year after year, searching for work, patching their wrecked cars, burying their folks alongside of the road.

"Grapes of Wrath" doesn't give California's government a very clean bill for kindness. Twentieth Century Pictures has bought the book for adaptation—with a clause that no fundamental change can be made in the story. Now the company and the Hays office are smarting under this restriction, for no doubt California's Chamber of Commerce and government officials are perturbed about the unsavory picture Steinbeck has drawn. The issue will be interesting to follow.

WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB.

*Viking Press. $2.75.



Ardent in Deed

Gentlemen: My thoughts on completing a general study of "Progress and Poverty" are briefly: That there is a monstrous injustice sapping the vitality of the people of most of the civilized world. That I wish I were clever enough and equipped to help my fellows put right this injustice.

Of Henry George I can say that I have the highest regard and veneration for one so courageous, and that his book, for its clarity and logical straightforwardness, can be justly compared with the Socratic dialogues and the "Republic."

I thank you sincerely both for the furnishing of so splendid a course cost free and for the manner of carrying it through. Furthermore, I can assure you that I am an ardent "Georgist." Enclosed is a small contribution toward the continuing of your good work.—Frank L. Vernon, Brooklyn.

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HGSSS Clipping Bureau

During the next few weeks the School expects publicity in papers all over the country. Watch your papers and send us any news items, editorials or special articles on Henry George you can find. This will be of immeasurable value to the School in planning future publicity campaigns. Address: Henry George School of Social Science, Clipping Bureau, 30 East 29th St., New York.

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(Continued from page 12)

The "if" means that to succeed Georgists must intensify their efforts a thousand—or ten-thousand fold. The educational process—the instillation in the minds of mankind of this hope and the expounding of this doctrine—must be increased and multiplied to a rate surpassing that of Nazi-Fascist-Communist activity.

Just how this can be done is a subject to be taken up later. In the meanwhile, on this hundredth anniversary of Henry George's birth, it is appropriate to bring out these facts: that the logic of Georgism has never been shaken; that today, more than ever before, the Georgist movement is alive and growing; that today the world is in critical need of Georgism; and that tomorrow, if Georgists do their job well, the world will accept Georgism.

NEWS OF THE CRUSADE FOR ECONOMIC ENLIGHTENMENT

Edited by Margery Warriner

Seventy-Five High School Seniors Graduate Experiment Proves Momentous Success

NEW YORK—The first six-week summer term in fundamental economics for high school seniors ended with a gathering of seventy-five graduates in the Student's Room, at noon, August 17th. Said an old-timer who was present: "This is the most momentous gathering in the Georgist movement in fifty years."

Sixteen of the students, who ranged in age from 16 to 19 years, spoke briefly of their impressions of the course, the textbook, the school. Their understanding of the economics and the philosophy, none of whom had any previous knowledge of George, indicated careful reading of "Progress and Poverty." The instructors—Messrs. Stockman, Arpin, De Angelis, Berger, Ellis and Mrs. Helen Bernstein—report that the youngsters responded to the discussions with intelligence and enthusiasm.

Chicago Centennial Celebration

CHICAGO—The hundredth anniversary of Henry George's birth will be celebrated at the Central Y.M.C.A., September 1 at 6:30 p.m. Dinner will be one dollar. John Z. White will be chairman. The scheduled speakers are: Henry H. Hardinge, "What Henry George Discovered"; J. Edward Jones, "Forerunners of Henry George"; Willis E. Shipley, "Henry George"; John A. Harney, "Progress and Poverty"; Mrs. Edith C. Siebenmann, "Footprints in the Sands of Time"; and Edwin Hamilton, "The Consistent American."

George T. Tideman and R. H. Vrooman are in charge of arrangements.

Danish Radio Broadcast

COPENHAGEN, Denmark—On September 2, from 7.00 to 8.30 P.M. (European Central Time) the Danish broadcasting station in this city, as well as the one in Kalundborg, will broadcast a Henry George program, reports Bue Björner. A boys' choir will open and close the broadcast. F. Folke, chairman of the Henry George Association, will act as announcer. This will be followed by a radio play by V. Bredsdorff, in three scenes; every word in this play is taken from the writings of Henry George. There will also be a speech, "Henry George and Denmark," by Dr. Viggo Starke.

Dinner in London

LONDON, England—Under the auspices of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, the Henry George Centenary will be celebrated at a dinner on September 2nd in St. Ermin's Restaurant, Westminster. The Right Hon. Lord Snell, leader of the Labour Party in the House of Lords, will address the gathering. The Right Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., will preside. Before the Dinner begins the party will listen (7:45 to 8 o'clock) to the broadcast on Henry George, by Professor C. R. Fay of Cambridge, speaking from the National transmitter.

Instructor Runs for Mayor

GREEN HILLS, O.—In response to the demands of citizens of Green Hills, Federal Housing Development, Albert S. Colby, instructor of the HGSSS, has consented to be a candidate for mayor at the election November 7. Mr. Colby is a member of the Community Council and is treasurer of the Garden Guild. His candidacy is endorsed by the Democratic Club.

Mr. Colby has an enrollment of 23 for the fall term and expects 100 to be in two or more classes when they actually begin in September.

Officers of the Henry George Alumni Association of Green Hills are: Edwin L. Klare, president; Le Roy Morrow, vice-president; Walter L. Broghamer, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. August Kilb, Ralph Troisi, Louis Iasillo, and William J. Chamberlain, trustees.

Cincinnati Meets for Action

CINCINNATI, O.—Instructors and friends of the HGSSS met at the Alms Hotel, Saturday evening, August 19, to plan a Henry George Centenary celebration and the fall term of classes. Henry L. T. Tideman, director of the Chicago Extension, and John Lawrence Monroe consulted with the group.

The centenary dinner will be held following Labor Day. Mr. Tideman will speak on "Henry George." Details may be learned from George W. Hughes, Extension Secretary, 1004 Yale Ave.

Henry George, Librarian

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Helen D. Denbigh and Olive Maguire report that plans are under way for the East Bay and San Francisco Georgists to hold a dinner on September 2 in San Francisco. It is planned to have an official from the San Francisco Public Library present, to draw attention to the fact that it was largely through Henry George's efforts that the Library was established in 1879. Henry George was one of the eleven trustees appointed, and by them elected Secretary of the Board of Trustees.

Los Angeles Reports

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—On Thursday, August 31, a Henry George Centenary will be held at Elk's Temple, reports Harry H. Ferrell, Extension Secretary. William C. de Mille and Judge Jackson H. Ralston will speak. The work is in charge of the newly formed Henry George Fellowship. Mr. Ferrell, who promises an increase in the number of Los Angeles classes for the fall, is located at 232 No. Berendo Street. Mrs. Bessie Truehart, who has been an active worker in other parts of the country, is now associated in the local extension.

N. S. W. School

NEW SOUTH WALES, Australia—When the activities of the HGSSS, New York, became known here in 1936, the two Henry George Leagues at Sydney and Lakemba started classes under the direction of Messrs. W. A. Dowe and J. Brandon. Classes commenced at both centers, later extending to Strathfield, now showing promise of extension to other localities. Students who have completed the various courses are being trained as class leaders and instructors. A. G. Huie, Secretary of the League, who also conducted classes, was very helpful in the work. Arrangements are being made to link the Schools in all States into an "Australian School of Social Science."

The Manual of the New York School is followed and the method of conducting classes by discussion instead of lecture has resulted in increased keenness on the part of students, evidenced by the results of voluntary examinations. It is contemplated to hold short "after business" and "lunch hour" classes to cater to those who are unable to attend in the evenings. Correspondence courses are also available.

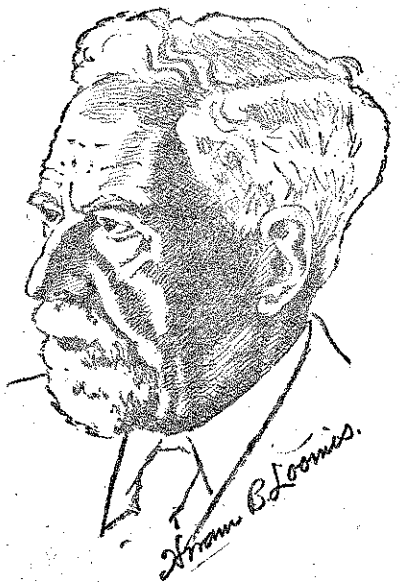
McNair for Council

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Former Mayor William N. McNair, will be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for city councilman at the primaries September 12.

Montreal Centennial

MONTREAL, Que.—The Centennial Dinner will be held at the Windsor Station Dining Room on Thursday evening, Sept. 7. Speakers will be R. R. Stokes, M. P. for Ipswich, England; F. C. R. Douglas, M. A., Mayor of Battersea and Member of the London County Council. A report of the Centennial will be given by Gerald Walsh and Alec Emison, a member of the Montreal City Council, will welcome the guests from England. Miss Margaret Bateman and Mr. L. P. Boudler will introduce the speakers. J. W. Johnston will outline the programme of the HGSSS for the next season. John Anderson will be Chairman for the evening.

Who's Who In Georgism



Hiram B. Loomis, president of the board of trustees of the Chicago Extension of the HGSSS, was born June 29, 1863 at Hartford, Conn. His father, Hiram G., was a surveyor. His formal education took him through the public schools of Hartford, Trinity College, and Johns-Hopkins University. At Johns-Hopkins he studied physics and mathematics, receiving his Ph.D. in 1890.

Mr. Loomis' teaching career began with one year in the Hartford Public High School before he had received his doctor's degree. Upon leaving Johns-Hopkins he taught physics three years in the University of Wisconsin. This was followed by three years at Northwestern University as assistant professor of physics, and one year as an instructor of mathematics.

Mr. Loomis entered the Chicago school system in 1897. After six years of general teaching at Medill High School he became principal of Moose Elementary School (1903) and then of Garfield Elementary School (1904). In 1905 he was appointed principal of Hyde Park High School and remained in that position until his retirement in 1933. He is now president of the Retired Teachers' Association.

Mr. Loomis credits John Z. White with being "the fellow who really boxed me into Henry George's ideas. Before I met him I was inclined to be socialistic!"

When the Chicago Extension of the HGSSS was incorporated under the laws of Illinois, Mr. Loomis was chosen to serve as president of its board of trustees. He is on the regular teaching staff of the School.

Next January 2, Mr. and Mrs. Loomis will celebrate their golden wedding anniversary. Their five children and ten grandchildren will be among the celebrants.

Centenary Publicity

NEW YORK—As we go to press, definite arrangements have been made for various radio broadcasts. On September 2nd, at the luncheon in the Casino of Nations, station WOR is short wave broadcasting the speeches around the world. Rabbi Aaronsohn will speak from the Commodore Hotel over Station WLW, Wednesday, August 30. Mrs. Anna George de Mille will be presented by station WJZ the following Monday.

Sunday evening, September 3rd, at 7 P.M., over station WABC Frank Chodorov, director of the Henry George School of Social Science, will match Georgist principles against three different schools of economic thought. Mr. Jones, of the Akron Building Co., will present the reactionary point of view. Mr. Baker will speak about Cooperatives and Mr. Bingham, editor of "Common Sense," will explain Production-For-Use. The title of the program is "The People's Platform."

Calculated to obtain publicity for the Centenary will be a gathering at the Rainbow Grill, Tuesday afternoon, August 29, at which a local committee will greet Georgists from foreign lands. Baroness Alma Dahlerup and the Danish Vice-Consul, Mr. A. Tscherning, will welcome the Danish visitors and Mr. L. R. McGregor, Australian Government Trade Commission, will be host to the British and Australian guests.

Among the less glamorous and yet important items of publicity are special feature stories, one of which will appear in the Magazine section of the New York Times, Sunday, August 27, the usual news releases and radio announcements.

This publicity work has been carried on by teachers and graduates of the School, working with Burt Levey, Sandy Wise and Bernard Hoffman of the Centenary Committee.

Argentine Centenary

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina—On September 2 Argentine Georgists will meet in the salon of the Faculty of Economic Sciences to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry George, reports Juan B. Bellagamba, president of the conference. Dr. Arturo Capdevila, noted author, Nicholas Besio Mereno, engineer, Dr. Felix Vitale, veteran proponent of Georgism in South America, will speak. The papers presented will be published.

Chicago Opening October 2

CHICAGO—Arrangements have been made for twenty-five classes in "Progress and Poverty" to start during the week of October 2 in all parts of the city and suburbs. Phone or write the downtown headquarters of the HGSSS for information or to give suggestions: Room 1208, 139 N. Clark St., Chicago. DEArborn 0684 (or LAKeview 3997). Advanced and supplementary courses will begin the same week.

Advising the Governor

BOSTON, Mass.—The Legislature of Massachusetts, headed by the Governor, searching for "new sources of revenue" to meet State obligations on a "pay as you go" policy, have asked for suggestions. The local press reports that a group of business and professional men, headed by John S. Codman, Boston engineer, placed before the Governor the proposal that municipal taxes on homes, buildings, factories, personal property and polls be abolished or greatly reduced and replaced by a tax on the ground rent of land. Associated with Mr. Codman in bringing the proposal before the Governor were the following: Louis F. Bachrach and Wm. L. Garrison Jr. of Newton; Elwood T. Easton, S. Warren Sturgis, and George K. Watson of Boston; Francis G. Goodale and C. Fayette Taylor of Weston; Hector M. Holmes of Brookline; Charles R. Morgan of Medford; John R. Nichols and Franklin H. Wentworth of Wellesley; Chas. H. Porter of Cambridge; Joseph L. Richards of Harvard; Wm. L. Stoddard of Belmont.

Speakers Bureau Reports

August 15—Mr. C. O. Steele, instructor, addressed an open dinner-meeting of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians, on "Unemployment and Poverty," followed by open forum discussion.

Sept. 27—Mr. Louis Wallis will address the Jamaica, L. I. Kiwanis Club on "Lopsided Taxation" at a luncheon meeting at the Y.M.C.A.

Sept. 15—Reginald Zalles, of the headquarters faculty, will speak on "Unemployment — Its Cause and Cure" to a group of 250 young men, at Gospel Tabernacle, Albany, N. Y., at a forum meeting.

More "Tax Relief"

SEATTLE, Washington—A number of Georgists in this city have organized "The Tax Relief Association," and are circulating a proposed constitutional amendment, the burden of which is separate assessments and tax rates for land and improvements. A. A. Booth of this city seems to be he guiding spirit of this movement.

Boston's Order First

BOSTON, Mass.—Dr. Charles R. Morgan reports the following opening classes for the fall session—with the first order for announcement cards received by the School from the extensions.

Arlington, Mass.—Robbins Public Library—Wed. Oct. 4.

Medford, Mass.—Children's Public Library, 115 High St.—Thurs. Sept. 28.

Malden, Mass.—Dowling Bldg., Rm. 516—Oct. 2.

Somerville, Mass.—Somerville High School, Oct. 10.

Winchester, Mass.—American Legion Bldg., 84 Washington St.—Oct. 3.

Frisco Started

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Seven classes in Fundamental Economics will start in September; one to be conducted by Robert A. Hunter; two each by Miss Helen D. Denbigh, Miss Helen C. Wilson and Mr. Jerome Crawford. Adolph de Fremery will conduct an advanced course in International Trade.

Safari to School

NEW YORK—William Sloane House Y.M.C.A., organized a visit of their Safari Club to the HGSSS on July 31. Interest was shown in the classroom work, and one member from New Zealand requested and received addresses for use on his return to that country.

Graduate Propagandist

HUDSON, N. Y.—Using the announcement that staff members of Hudson Public Schools are requested to accept a 5 per cent pay cut, C. G. Baumann (graduate of HGSSS class held here) drew attention in the local press to the enviable financial surplus enjoyed by Milk River, which community in Ontario raises its revenue from ground rent alone.

First Freeman Forum Forms

OAK PARK, Ill.—The first meeting of the Freeman Forum, sponsored by John C. Condon, instructor, met at his home Tuesday evening, August 15. The purpose of the Forum is to afford an opportunity for graduates of the HGSSS and their friends to discuss the affairs of the day in the light of the philosophy of Henry George. Articles in **The Freeman** are used as the basis for discussion. Mr. Condon believes that instructors and graduates of the School in other neighborhoods will find this a helpful way of stimulating interest in the further study of basic principles.

Chicago Scriveners Busy

CHICAGO—The Chicago Daily Times has a Henry George letter-to-the-editor every few days. Some mighty debates have been carried on in its columns. Among the correspondents from the Georgist point of view have been Edith C. Siebenmann, Samuel M. Levin, Dorothy D. Enders, J. P. Bueneman, Tom Birchler, Robert M. Baker, Louis Harris and one "G. K." HGSSS graduates on the North Side interested in letter writing are invited to Mrs. Siebenmann's home, 1434 Highland Ave., Monday evening, October 2.

Canadian "Science" Class

HAMILTON, Ont.—Frank Greensides reports the formation of a class to study "Science of Political Economy" last month. The class consists of seven teachers and students, but no instructor. It meets at their various homes.

Telling Dress Manufacturers

NEW YORK, N. Y.—On August 16, Ezra Cohen, of the HGSSS faculty, presiding at a meeting of the National Association of House Dress Manufacturers, of which he was recently elected president, urged business men to pay more attention to the fundamentals of economics so that they can play a more active part in national developments. He reports, personaliy, that several will enroll in his fall class at the School.

Beach Cabin Celebration

COQUILLE, Oregon—Everett J. Seeley, who with Dr. James Richmond of this city will attend the Henry George Centenary, reports that a local celebration will be held on September 17th, at the Beach Cabin of Dr. Richmond at Bandon, Oregon. One hundred invitations are being mailed. Lester Child of Coquille and Melvin Kathon of Cornelius will speak.

Reviewing "Henry George"

NEW YORK—John T. Frederick, the "Of Men and Books" program, C.B.S. 4-4:15 P.M. EST, including WABC New York, will review HENRY GEORGE, by Albert Jay Nock, on September 30th. This program is under the sponsorship of Northwestern University, Chicago.

Instructs Grangers

COEYMAN'S HOLLOW, N. Y.—On August 8, Willis A. Snyder addressed the Ravena Grange here. Subject "Tax Reform: the Natural versus Artificial Solutions of the Farm Problem." Questions were asked and Mr. Snyder reports a little heckling by a "politician" present. Messrs. Baumann and Belknap, graduates of the Hudson classes, distributed the booklet "Farmers Would Like Single Tax," copies of The Freeman and other literature.

Schedule of Courses—Fall & Winter—1939-1940

FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Part I — 15 Weeks

1. **Fundamental Economics**—Pre-requisite for all courses. Every evening from Monday to Friday, at 5:30 to 7:30 P.M., also at 8 to 10 P.M. On Saturdays from 2 to 4 P.M. Ten weeks—one session each week. Text book: "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George ($1.00). No tuition fee.

2. **Social Problems**—Following course 1 and beginning week of December 11th. Five weeks—one session each week. Hours, same as for course 1. Text book: "Social Problems" by Henry George ($1.00). Annual subscription to "The Freeman" included with text book. No tuition fee.

Part II — 15 Weeks

3. **Principles of International Trade**—Six weeks—one session each week. Every evening from Monday to Friday at 8 to 10 P.M. Also on Tuesday and Thursday evenings at 5:30 to 7:30 P.M. and Saturdays from 2 to 4 P.M. Text book: "Protection or Free Trade" by Henry George ($1.00). Tuition fee, $2.00.

4. **Science of Political Economy**—Following course 3—and beginning week of November 13th. Nine weeks—one session each week. Hours—same as for course 3. Text book: "Science of Political Economy" by Henry George ($1.00). Tuition fee, $2.00.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

Speakers on current events, social and political economy—primarily for the purpose of interesting groups in the study of Fundamental Economics—are available on request, and without charge. Write to Miss Dorothy Sara, Secretary, Speakers Bureau, Henry George School of Social Science. MU 4-6270.

ELECTIVE ADVANCED COURSES

These courses are open only to students who have completed the required courses—1 to 4 inclusive—although those who have not taken the Social Problems course (No. 2) are also eligible. The Elective Advanced Courses may be taken in any order, and more than one course a week is permissible. They will be repeated in the Spring 1940 term.

5. **Philosophy of Henry George**—Based upon text book of the same title by Dr. George Raymond Geiger. Eight sessions—one each week on Thursday at 8 P.M. beginning October 5th. Text book: $2.00. Tuition fee, $2.00.

6. **Economic Basis of Tax Reform**—Based upon text book of the same title by Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown. This course will follow course 5 which, however, is not a pre-requisite. Eight sessions—beginning Thursday, December 14th. Text book $2.00. Tuition fee, $2.00.

7. **Democracy versus Socialism**—Based on text book of the same name by Max Hirsch. This course is particularly recommended to instructors and those desiring to become instructors, because of its critical analysis of Marxist economic ideas and the testing of these ideas with fundamental principles. Fifteen sessions, once a week. Wednesday or Friday at 8 P.M. beginning October 4th and 6th. Text book $2.00. Tuition fee $2.00.

8. **Public Speaking**—Fifteen sessions, once a week. Practical instruction in the art of expression, platform presence, etc. Given for the benefit of those desiring to do lecture work in connection with the School. Beginning Wednesday, October 4th at 8 P.M. Tuition fee, $3.00.

9. **Basic Principles of Writing**—Fifteen sessions, once a week. This course has four definite objectives in view: (1) to arrive at the principles upon which good writing is based; (2) to give practical instruction in composition; (3) to eliminate common faults in writing; (4) to liberate and develop the student's power of expression. Text books: Twelve Ways to Build a Vocabulary, by Archibald Hart, and Commonsense Grammar, by Janet Rankin Aiken ($3.00 for both). Tuition $2.00. Commencing Thursday, October 5th at 8 P.M.

Sunday Lecture Forum

Commencing with October 8th, and for each Sunday thereafter until January 21st, a lecture-forum will be conducted in the Students Room of the Henry George School at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. There will be no charge and you are invited to bring your friends. The schedule is as follows:

October	8	Radical Economics and Religion—I Speaker: **Louis Wallis**
"	15	Economics and Human Beings Speaker: **Reginald Zalles**
"	22	The Scientific Method Speaker: **DeWitt Bell**
"	29	Money Speaker: **Jules Guedalia**
November	5	Radical Economics and Religion—II Speaker: **Louis Wallis**
"	12	The Taxes You Pay Speaker: **Isidore Platkin**
"	19	Silver as a Currency Speaker: **Paul Peach**
"	26	The Collection of Economic Rent in New York City and Its Effects Speaker: **William H. Quasha**
December	10	Radical Economics and Religion—III Speaker: **Louis Wallis**
"	17	Theory of the State Speaker: **Michael J. Bernstein**
January	7	Credit Speaker: **Jules Guedalia**
"	14	Investments in a Georgist Economy Speaker: **Leon T. Arpin**
"	21	To be announced later

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL of SOCIAL SCIENCE

THIRTY EAST TWENTY-NINTH STREET NEW YORK CITY