



The *Enclau de Sant Jordi*. A Georgist colony in Andorra (1916-1938)

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Manuel Martín Rodríguez

Professor of Applied Economics at the University of Granada and member of the Academy of Social Sciences and Environment of Andalusia.



▲ Curriculum

Professor of Applied Economics. Senior Associate Member of St. Antony College (Oxford, UK). Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and Full Member of the Academy of Social Sciences and the Environment of Andalusia. Plácido Fernández Viagas Research Award. He has been director of the Revista de Estudios Regionales, president of the Sociedad de Estudios Económicos Eseca and president of the ESNA business school. His most recent books are *Análisis Económico y Revolución Liberal. Economistas académicos en las Cortes liberales, 1834-1874* (Madrid, 2009), *Economistas académicos del exilio republicano español de 1939* (Granada, 2010), *Historia del pensamiento económico en Andalucía* (Granada, 2012) and *El georgismo en España. Liberalismo social en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (Madrid, 2014).

Summary

The *Enclau de Sant Jordi*, in Santa Coloma (Andorra la Vella) was one of the seventeen *enclaves of single tax* created between 1895 and 1933 in different parts of the world, mainly the United States, inspired by the ideas of Henry George, creator of an economic and social "system" with which he intended to solve the great problems of humanity. Most of them had little success, including *Sant Jordi*, founded in 1916 by Fiske Warren, a wealthy American philanthropist, a great promoter of these enclaves, helped by Catalan Georgists with whom he met after his first trip to Andorra from Barcelona in 1912. Josep Alemany, a Georgist from Blanes (Girona), his last trustee, formally cancelled the enclave's trust deed in 1941.

Keywords: Henry George, Fiske Warren, enclave, Andorra, Andorra

Introduction

The *Enclau de Sant Jordi*, in Santa Coloma (Andorra la Vella), was one of the seventeen *enclaves of single tax* that were created in different parts of the world, mainly in the United States, between 1895 and 1933. These colonies were inspired by the ideas of Henry George, an American economist who created an economic and social "system" with which he claimed to have given a definitive answer to all the great problems of humanity.

This paper studies this experience. To this end, the first section summarizes Henry George's system and describes the introduction of Georgism in Spain; the second section describes the enclaves created in the United States and their organization, operation and results; in the third one, a panorama of the intellectual environment that Fiske Warren, creator of the enclave, found in his first visit to Barcelona and of his contacts with the Catalan Georgists; in the fourth one, the vicissitudes of the creation of the *Enclau de Sant Jordi* in 1916; and in the last one, its precarious life until 1938, year in which Warren died without his Catalan collaborators having any interest in continuing his project.

Henry George and the Georgist movement in Spain

Henry George (Philadelphia, 1839; New York, 1897) was editor of the *Times* and the *Post of California*, where he closely followed the expropriation of land for the railroad, which would mark him for the rest of his life. After getting a public job as a gas meter inspector, which left him a lot of free time, he read the classical economists in depth and in 1879 published what would be his most famous book, *Progress and Misery*, dedicating himself from then on to spreading his own ideas, for which he traveled around the world as leader of the Georgist movement, created by him, with which he proposed to carry out his social reforms. The book *Progress and Misery* was written to easily reach those who suffered the abuses of the landowners. In his Introduction, he clearly stated the problem he was trying to answer: What reason was there for the growing productive power of human labor to be accompanied by a growing increase in misery? To answer this question, he turned to the classical economics he had studied, but modified it substantially.

George assumed Ricardo's theory of land rent, but denied that the increase in land rent would

The law of diminishing returns, the Malthusian law of population and the theory of the wage fund, fundamental pillars of classical economics, were responsible for the decrease in income and wages. Experience showed that production increased in greater proportion than the number of arms, so that overpopulation could not be held responsible for the misery of the workers. It could therefore be asked whether it could be due to their exploitation by the capitalists, i.e., to the fact that profits grew in a greater proportion than wages. He rejected this as well. Wages and interest rates were fixed at the level determined by the returns to labor and capital on the marginal land, so that they could not vary in the opposite direction and, therefore, there was no rivalry between workers and capitalists.

If the causes of misery were, therefore, neither diminishing returns, nor the increase of population, nor the exploitation of labor by capital, the responsibility for it could only be attributed to the progressive increase of rent. The monopoly of land allowed its owners to demand as rent whatever exceeded the minimum yield on the marginal cultivated land, so that as the needs of a growing population led to the cultivation of new, less and less productive land, the part of the product which remained at the disposal of the landowners would increase, without workers and capitalists benefiting from it. Thus, contrary to what Ricardo had argued, wages and interests moved in the same direction and the landowners were solely responsible for the misery.

From this theory of distribution, George derived the rest of his economic theory: his extension of rent theory to all types of land, including urban land, his defense of freedom of domestic and foreign trade, the minimal intervention of the state in economic life, and his explanation of unemployment and the business cycle.

This last point was particularly important in George's system. Once a period of economic boom had begun, at a certain moment the three factors that could push rents upwards would begin to operate: population increase, technical changes and social factors. From then on, it would be profitable to monopolize land, acquiring it or expelling settlers from it with short-term contracts, which would lead to the use of new marginal lands where lower wages and interest rates would be paid, causing workers to leave for the cities, extending these same effects to industry and commerce and increasing the number of unemployed. The ensuing depression would only come to an end when the speculative increase in income disappeared, or when labor and capital agreed to lower remunerations, which would eventually lead to subsistence wages.

If the cause of cyclical fluctuations and misery was, therefore, land rent, the remedy could not be other than the creation of a *single tax* on this rent, which would absorb it completely. In this way, the single tax became the panacea to put an end to all the ills of society and meet all its needs: it solved an ethical question, by returning to society income which belonged to it alone, since it was not the fruit of individual effort but of society's own development; it had great advantages from the fiscal point of view, because of its simplicity, its certainty and its collection capacity, sufficient to be able to suppress all existing taxes on capital and labor, which should not be taxed since they were the result of individual efforts and served for economic progress; the suppression of these taxes would produce, in turn, a cheapening of subsistence,

The land owners, deprived of their rents and pressured by the single tax, would be forced to sell their land, or to lease it at reasonable prices, thus creating abundant work for farmers and agricultural workers; and the incentive to hoard and speculate with land would disappear, thus eliminating the main cause of economic crises.

Numerous criticisms were made of George's system, some of them very obvious. It is true that land confers on its owners a certain scarcity rent, but it seemed naive to believe that this could be the cause of all the ills of society and that these could be solved by the single tax. On the other hand, even if one tried to justify taking land rent away from its owners with moral arguments, this was tantamount to confiscation and injustice, since many of them could have acquired it with the product of their own efforts and as an alternative to other possible uses of their income. In particular, the criticisms of academic economists were directed mainly against his concept of land rent and his theory of distribution, the two main axes of his theoretical construction.¹

There were also many discussions on whether it was possible to estimate the rent of the land, or its value without improvements due to human effort, whether the single tax was sufficient to meet all the needs of the State, or whether the owners could transfer the tax, making the reform useless. On the other hand, those who proposed at this time to nationalize the land, did not understand why it was better to have a tax that absorbed the rent of the land than to expropriate it directly without compensation, since if the ownership of the land ceased to provide rent there was no reason why its owners should continue to have an interest in having it.

Like other great social reformers of his time, George created his own international movement for the dissemination and implementation of his ideas. In 1884, the first Georgeist association was created, the *English Land Restoration League*, and from that moment on, the *Single Tax Leagues* began to spread throughout the United States, Australia, New Zealand and numerous European countries. The operation of these Leagues was similar all over the world: in their meetings they read George's texts, ignoring the most complex of his economic analysis; they published magazines and pamphlets with summaries of his doctrines; they held banquets and meetings to exalt the master and inflame their own convictions; and they prepared writings requesting Georgist reforms to the governments.

In Spain, although George was known much earlier, the Georgist movement did not begin until 1911. Its driving force was Antonio Albendín Orejón (Madrid, 1874-1933), an agronomist engineer in the service of the Cadastre in Ronda (Málaga), who in 1911 created the magazine *El Impuesto Único*, the official organ of the movement, and in 1913 the *Spanish League for the Single Tax*. Thanks to the celebration in that same year of the *First International Georgist Congress* in Ronda, Georgism acquired great notoriety, and in the following years numerous local sections of the League were formed throughout Spain.

Neither in the annual Assemblies of the Spanish League, nor in the meetings of the local Committees, nor in the annual celebration of Georgism, which was held on September 2, the date of George's birth, were programmatic resolutions adopted. It was not necessary. For his disciples, George had said it all and no one could improve it, nor add anything new. Baldomero Argente, one of the important men of Spanish Georgism, translated almost all of his works.

in those years: *Protection and Free Trade* (1912), *The Science of Political Economy* (1914), *The Condition of Labor* (1915), *The Land Question* (1915), *The Crime of Misery* (1916), *Social Problems* (1919), *Progress and Misery* (1922), *The Problem of Labor* (1924), *A Perplexed Philosopher* (1925).

Fiske Warren and the Georgist enclaves

Among the initiatives to put the Georgist system into practice were the so-called *Georgist enclaves*, an idea of the North Americans Bolton Hall, the brothers Josep and Maurice Fels and Fiske Warren, all of them wealthy men who embraced Georgism and wanted to test its advantages without having to wait for it to be implemented in any country, which was the real objective.² According to Warren himself, *the word enclave, as used by single-taxers, means an area of land where the economic rent is collected under the terms of leaseholds and used to pay certain of the taxes levied by the town, county, state or nation*.³ The experiment consisted, therefore, in creating colonies, generally of small size, in which to live according to George's ideas.

The first Georgist enclave was Fairhope (Alabama), founded in 1895 by Maurice and Joseph Fels, the latter an important soap manufacturer with factories in the United States and England, patron of international Georgism, who years later would also play an important role in the financing of the Georgist movement in Spain and in the celebration of the First International Georgist Congress of Ronda. In the following years, the sculptor Frank Stephens and the architect William Price, with the financial support of Maurice Fels, created the enclave of Arden (Delaware) (1900); Lewis Jerome Johnson, William Price and Fiske Warren, the one of Tahanto (Harvard) (1909), in a farm of the Warren family; Bolton Hall, a noted writer and economist, that of Free Acres (New Jersey) (1910); and William Price, Frank Stephens and Fiske Warren that of Halidon (Westbrook, Maine) (1911), located next to the Warren Company paper mill, where Fiske took up residence.

Some of these enclaves achieved some success, although only for a short period of time. Fairhope, in the Gulf of Mexico, functioned as a real *resort* where most of its inhabitants spent only their summer vacations. It began operating in 1896 with an area of 142 hectares and in 1930 it already had 1,549 inhabitants, being then the most populated town in Baldwin County. Tahanto, next to a lake near Harvard, also served as a summer residence for its inhabitants and grew from 0.4 hectares in 1909 to 317 in 1933. Arden had 145 families in 1933, most of whom resided only during the summer. Free Acres barely grew from its initial 23 acres. And Halidon, with 70 acres, was used as a place of residence for a portion of the Warren factory workers. Most of these enclaves, rather than serving the Georgist cause, actually served the *back-to-the-land* movement,⁴ which was very strong in the United States at the time. It was for this reason that official Georgism, despite receiving generous aid from its well-to-do promoters, never showed much enthusiasm for this experience.

The creation and operation of the various Georgist enclaves always followed the same guidelines. Their founders, among whom there was always someone who could finance the project, acquired a piece of land in a location with the right characteristics for their purposes.

they intended. They then constituted a *trust*, an Anglo-Saxon institution similar to our *trust*, whereby the founders or settlers transferred the land to other persons, the *trustees*, with precise instructions on how to manage it included in the deed of incorporation of the *trust*, which generally consisted of the following: they could lease plots of land for 99 years to those who requested it; the rent corresponding to the lease, necessarily equivalent to the *economic rent*, was fixed by themselves until the enclave was completely occupied and, thereafter, by the Community of lessees; with the income obtained, the trustees or administrators paid the administration expenses and the taxes and contributions legally required of the colony by the municipality or the State; all the improvement works carried out by the lessees remained their property and they could sell them to those who succeeded them in the lease. And, together with the deed of incorporation of the *trust*, the statutes of the Community of lessees were protocolized, in which its government, exercised democratically, and its operation were meticulously foreseen.

Frederick (Fiske) Warren (1862-1936), the youngest of the five sons of Samuel Dennis Warren, wealthy and influential owner of the S.D. Warren Company, a paper manufacturer in Massachusetts (USA), was directly involved in the founding of the Tahanto and Halidon enclaves. Warren Company, a paper manufacturer in Massachusetts (USA), was directly involved in the founding of the Tahanto and Halidon enclaves and was the great animator of this Georgist experience with his annual publication *Enclaves of Single Tax*, edited by his friend Huntington,⁵ of which fourteen volumes appeared between 1920 and 1933, in which he gave an account of the annual evolution of the enclaves and published articles, some of them by Warren himself. Like all his brothers, Fiske was a very notable man in Boston.⁶ He liked to be in the headlines for his particular lifestyle: vegetarianism, nudism, new ways of dressing, anti-imperialism, traveler, lover of new technologies, philanthropist and, above all, fervent Georgist militant, a movement to which he dedicated his whole life. Fiske openly defied the imperialist policy of the United States in the Philippines when President McKinley proclaimed American sovereignty over the islands. Although the entire Warren family was against the imperialist speeches of Theodore Roosevelt and Cabot Lodge, he alone came out publicly as one of the most active members of the *Anti-Imperialist League*. He made speeches, wrote pamphlets, befriended the family of Sixto Lopez, traveled to the Philippines in 1901 and stayed in the islands for almost two years to prove that the Filipinos did not want their dependence on the United States, and later welcomed Clemencia Lopez to his Harvard home when she traveled to intercede for her brothers and to campaign for independence.⁷

Warren converted to Georgism after reading *Progress and Poverty* in 1909. A philanthropist from much earlier, it must have seemed to him a less troubling doctrine than Marxism. Georgism did not proclaim class struggle, seemed to have a good scientific foundation, and offered elements of idealism and spiritualism. In reality, his interpretation of this movement was strictly economic in character, without fully accepting its political consequences. After all, Marx had said of George that he was the last hanger-on of capitalism.

Warren's great Georgist work was the enclaves. To this end, in addition to all those he promoted, in 1920 he founded the *Georgian Trust*, with the aim of encouraging the adoption and practice of *single tax* principles through multiple actions: making loans and donations to the

existing enclaves or those to be founded in the future; granting awards or pensions to persons who distinguish themselves in the promotion of the principles of the single tax, preferably in the form of enclaves; and supporting any other activity for these purposes.

Over time, Fiske Warren became increasingly eccentric and, despite his efforts to attend international Georgist congresses and to approach the pure Georgist movement,⁸ his enclaves began to be confused with other initiatives that had nothing to do with him. In the obituary dedicated to them by the *Boston Globe* in 1938, they were compared to the utopian socialist communities created by Robert Owen in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Georgism that Warren found in Barcelona

All of the Georgist enclaves had their own newspaper. Fairhope's was called the *Fairhope Courier* and Arden's, *Arden Leaves*. From a brief article published by Warren simultaneously in both papers in 1912, we learn that at that date he had just returned from Andorra and that by then he had already conceived the idea that the little Pyrenean republic should adopt Henry George's system by adopting a single tax on land rent.⁹

Warren did not say in this article what brought him to Andorra. It must have been on the occasion of one of his many trips to Europe, or around the world, and he probably arrived by ship to Barcelona, from where he would travel to Andorra by road to La Seu d'Urgell and from there by horse or cart, since the road would not be built until 1915. On this first trip, he probably already came into contact with the Catalan Georgists, who would talk to him about a remote and small country where there were no taxes, which must have excited his imagination and his desire to visit it.

By then, Georgism already had a long history in Catalonia. The first to speak here about George was Joan Tutau i Vergés (Figueres, 1829-1893), journalist, republican politician and Minister of Finance in the First Republic. After his time in the ministry, as president of the Ateneu Barcelonès,¹⁰ had given in 1884 a series of conferences, later collected in a booklet of 150 pages with a foreword by Pi i Margall,¹¹ in which he had made a strong defense of economic freedom, free trade, of cooperativism and workers' associationism as formulas for social progress, with an express reference to Henry George's system, clearly establishing its differences with the systems of Alfred Russell Wallace in England, Colins in Switzerland or Shaeffle in Austria.

Years later, in a speech on taxes at the *National Economic Congress* held in Barcelona in 1888, Tutau had again spoken of George in connection with free trade, of which he was a firm supporter against the protectionism of most of the Catalan bourgeoisie: "Is the enemy of the worker the celebrated Henry George, the socialist publicist who launches his works by hundreds of editions in American society, which are translated in all the nations of the world, and who, in a last one he has given birth to on protection and free exchange, has declared himself decidedly a free trader and advises all workers to be so?".¹² Tutau did not accept George's system, but at least his free trade was not the enemy of the workers.

In 1893, Magin Puig had published the first Spanish translation of *Progreso y Miseria*.

Born in Barcelona in 1850 into a wealthy family that sent him to Liege to study engineering, he left for England when he was only one year away from finishing his degree, and then to Argentina, where he lived until he was 30 years old, first in Buenos Aires and then in Córdoba, where he was hired as a mathematics professor, a comfortable job that left him plenty of free time to devote to philosophical and literary studies, in which he was interested all his life. Returning to Barcelona in 1880, he became politically attached to Pi i Margall, read *Progreso y Miseria* and translated it into Spanish after obtaining George's personal permission. The book was published at his own expense in 1893, printing more than 3,000 copies, with the intention that it would be widely distributed, as it had been in other countries.

Puig himself saw to it that a good number of newspapers gave the news of its publication and that it was sold in bookstores in Barcelona and Madrid, sending copies to different media and personalities. Among those who received the work were Mañé i Flaquer, Emilio Junoy i Gelabert, Anselmo Lorenzo, Odón de Buen, Ignasi Bo i Singla, Joan Maragall and Pompeyo Gener, but the year 1893 was marked by the attack of Paulí Pallás against the captain general of Catalonia, Martínez Campos, and by that of Santiago Salvador in the Teatro del Liceo of Barcelona, and a good part of the public opinion was horrified and little disposed to any preaching of social reforms, so the book had very little diffusion.

Joan Maragall, one of the few who dealt with him in the press, with three articles that appeared at the end of 1893 and the first days of 1894 in the *Diario de Barcelona*, of which he headed its literary criticism section, did not believe that George's single tax was the remedy for social ills, seeing his system as one more among those who had been fighting against the injustice of private property, "with arguments that have received as many refutations no less tired and anodyne". In his opinion, "George was not properly a theorist, nor even a thinker, much less a philosopher: he is a man of exalted good will and clear understanding, who sees reality well in the sense of its exaltation, but who cannot go deep or rise to great principles or abstractions" (1981, II:1407).

Since the appearance of the first issue of *El Impuesto Único* (1911), many Catalans had already been interested in Georgism. Frances Layret, a nationalist politician who had participated in the foundation of the *Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular*, made a commented reading of *Progreso y Miseria* in 1914. The Uruguayan Georgist Manuel Herrera Reissig, one of the architects of the International Georgist Congress of Ronda, gave a lecture on George in this same center in 1914. A young José María Tallada, later director of the *Museu Social* and professor of Economics at the Escuela de Altos Estudios Mercantiles, and Manuel Reventós, scholar of the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios in Berlin and author of *Henry George's La doctrina del Impuesto Único* (1918), gave lectures on Georgism in this same Ateneu in 1911 and 1912, respectively....

Others who were also interested in Georgism, which are directly related to our history, were Josep María Sucre, Marceliano Rico, Ciprià de Montoliu and José Alemany. José María Sucre (1886-1969), poet, painter, art critic and criminal officer in the Barcelona courts (1903-1923), was president of the *Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular* (1913-1915). From his correspondence with Albendín (1911-1912) and Baldomero Argente (1914-1920), we know of his interest in Georgism from very early on.¹³ Together with Carles Rahola, journalist, historian

and politician, were the only two Catalans who signed the *Manifesto* presenting the Georgist movement of December 1911. He was one of Warren's great friends and advisors in Barcelona, although he did not become as involved as Warren would have liked. His correspondence with him proves that the two met early on and that he helped him in litigious matters in the enclave.¹⁴

Marceliano Rico Rico, a journalist linked to spiritualist movements, was one of the great promoters of the Georgist movement in Barcelona, publishing articles and recruiting followers for the cause. He had his first relationship with Warren in May 1916, when he asked him to finance a reprint of Centani's book, *Tierras*, which the Georgists considered as one of their precedents in Spain.¹⁵ In 1934, when the Liga Georgista de Cataluña, independent of that of Spain, was formed, Rico would be its first president.

Cebriá Montoliu contributed to the dissemination of George, although without fully identifying with his ideas, from the pages of the *Bulleti* of the *Museu Social de Barcelona* and the magazine *Civitas*, official organ of the *Societat Civica La Ciudad Jardín*, created in 1912 under the tutelage of the Museu. His interest in Georgism was not only from that time. Years later he met Fiske Warren, who invited him to visit the enclave of Fairhope, where he stayed for several months in 1920 and 1921, thinking about the possibility of building in its vicinity a garden city for 24,000 inhabitants, the idea with which he truly sympathized.¹⁶

Josep Alemany i Borrás (Blanes, 1868; El Masnou, 1943) played a crucial role in Warren's plans. Writer, journalist, cultural animator and man concerned about social and economic issues, he was a militant in the ranks of Catalanism and exerted a great influence from the newspapers *La Costa de Levant*, *La Il·lustració Llevantina*, *La Il·lustració Catalana* and *Catalana*. In 1912, in addition to being a founding member and regular contributor, he was the administrator of *La Il·lustració Catalana* and one of the most active members of the *Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*. From 1916 he was Warren's man of confidence in Andorra.¹⁷

The creation of the Sant Jordi enclave

Warren returned to the United States enthusiastic about Andorra. In his 1912 article quoted above, he gave a brief description of all he had seen in the little republic: there was no crime, the richest person in the country had no more than \$100,000, he had found only one beggar, taxes and public spending were very low, there were no tariffs, no press, no roads for cars, and it had enjoyed democracy since the time of Charlemagne, while its neighbors, Spain and France, had had to endure for centuries dynasties that had taken them from one war to another. But, for a Georgist like him, there were also serious problems:

The revenues are derived about half from letting public lands, chiefly to foreigners, for grazing, and half for licenses, new roads being paid for by a special tax on cattle, while no tax whatever is laid on land. Hence flow the natural ills. The mines remain unworked, the water-powers remain undeveloped, and the lands most valuable for agriculture are held perennially by old families, or made the object of speculation, while the cadets of the new generation must emigrate or be helpless in the land of their birth. Thus the population remains at six thousand from time immemorial.¹⁸

Warren, however, was convinced that he could deal with all of them by establishing a tax on the economic rent of the land, the Georgist *single tax*. He was not thinking then of creating a new enclave like those already operating in the United States, but of something much more ambitious, the possibility of implementing a Georgist system throughout the Andorran republic, as was being attempted at that time in some regions of New Zealand and Australia. Andorra had the advantage of being a republic of only 6,000 inhabitants in which there were no tariffs, which would make its implementation easier.

From then on Fiske Warren did not cease to keep in permanent contact with his new friends in Barcelona and Andorra. Among those in Andorra he counted mainly with Francisco Pla, doctor and owner of the Hotel Pla, in Escaldes, where he usually stayed during his more and more frequent visits. In July 1915 he was here again. It was then that he became well acquainted with the institutions of Les Valls d'Andorra, when he realized the difficulties he would encounter in implementing the single tax throughout the country and when he decided to create a Georgist enclave, with a much more limited purpose. The enclave would serve, like all the others he had already created, to demonstrate the advantages of the single tax and point the way that could solve all social problems.¹⁹ To initiate his project, Warren granted Pla general powers of attorney to buy, sell and lease rural and urban properties and returned to the United States.²⁰

Pla, making use of these powers, immediately arranged the purchase of some land he had seen with Warren in Santa Coloma, then a small neighborhood south of Andorra la Vella, with barely a dozen inhabitants. The land was crossed by the Ancler River, near its mouth on the Balira River, and met all the requirements the American was looking for: land to cultivate, an extraordinary natural setting at the foot of the mountain with a moderate slope, water for irrigation and to produce energy, and proximity to the most populated city of the Valls. The purchase was not difficult for him. In an almost barter economy, the modest owners of the chosen land were delighted to receive a large sum of money in bank bills from the Bank of Spain, with the promise that they could continue to farm it for a modest rent, George's *economic rent*, the concept of which they must not have found easy to understand. The total area of the land initially acquired was two hectares, belonging to eight owners, half of which was rock and the rest arable. The most important lot, made up of ten tiny meadows, was bought from the couple Ambros Calbó and Rosa Cerqueda, who received 38,750 pesetas in "diner comptant and billetes del banc d'Espanya". Warren returned to Andorra on December 8, 1915 with the necessary documents to constitute the enclave, which his Harvard lawyers had prepared for him.²¹ Shortly after his arrival, to promote the enclave, 1,400 pounds of grain arrived in Andorra on the backs of mules, coming from Montevideo via Barcelona, which were sold among the population at a very low price, by the low auction procedure. The deed of trust, the standard lease contract, the statutes of the Community of tenants and the appointment of the trustees were notarized in the notary's office of Palmitjavila on January 19, 1916.²²

In the deed of *trust* Warren assigned the ownership of the acquired land to Rev. Guillem Adellach, with the obligation to subsequently convey it to a trust of persons.

chosen by him to create a Community to be called *Enclau de Sant Jordi*, in accordance with the bases set out in the deed itself, which in summary established the following:²³ (i) until the constitution of the Community, at which time it would assume these functions, the assignees or trustees would reserve for public use or for the use of the members of the Community the portions of land they considered convenient, and would lease the rest to those who requested them, for a price "equivalent to the economic rent" and under certain conditions; (ii) the trustees would apply this economic rent to the different expenses, which were fixed in detail, in the following order of preference: payment of land taxes and assessments; expenses of administration of the trust, not including any compensation for its services; payment to Fiske Warren, or his trustees, of an amount not less than 50 pesetas per annum for 100 years, and such amount as might be agreed upon for other persons acquiring land in the future for the enclave; payment of personal taxes and others that might be demanded from the members of the Community for different concepts; (iii) once these payments had been made, the rest of the economic income would be placed at the disposal of the Community to be applied to public uses, without any member of the Community being able to benefit in relation to the others; (iv) in addition to these functions, the trustees had the power to purchase new lands, to borrow money for this or any other purpose without compromising the security of the lessees, and to administer the income and expenses; (v) all lessees and residents in the enclave would be members of the Community, which would be formally constituted when there were at least twenty lessees or, if approved by the trustees, when this number was two; (vi) at the end of the trust, the trustees would transfer the ownership of the lands in their hands to such persons as the majority of the trustees and the members of the Community might determine and, if there were no agreement, to the Parish of Andorra la Vella, on condition that the existing leases would continue in force.

The main clauses of the *standard lease contract* between the trustees, or Community as the case may be, and the lessees, who from the signing of the contract became members of the Community, were the following: i) the lessees had to pay annually, as rent or annual rent, an amount equal to the economic rent of the land without the improvements on it, this being fixed by common agreement between the trustees or Community and the lessee, or by arbitration if there was no agreement; ii) they could not cut trees more than ten centimeters in diameter; iii) they had to allow the lessors to make the necessary arrangements for the reduction of the taxes levied on the land; iv) the lessors, for their part, were obliged to pay all taxes legally charged on the land; v) and both parties agreed that the improvements made by the lessees would remain their property and could be sold to new lessees, becoming their property as if they had made them themselves.

The draft charter of the *Community*, under the name of *Comunidad de Sant Jordi*, based on the provisions of the trust deed, consisted of seven articles which basically established the following: i) the Community, constituted to manage the common affairs of the associates, would be managed by the lessees and associates gathered in a public assembly; ii) all persons residing in the enclave would be members of the Community and would have a voice in the general assembly, but only the lessees would have a vote;

iii) the general assembly, which would meet monthly, or at the request of five or more of its members, would elect a council made up of three representatives, who would in turn elect their president, whose function would be to administer the affairs of the Community, always under the authority of the general assembly and in accordance with the provisions of the deed of trust. Guillem Adellach appointed as *trustees* Fiske Warren himself, Francisco Pla and William L. Price, who had already accompanied Warren in the founding of the enclaves of Tahanto, Halidon and Arden.

After the signing of these documents, Warren returned to the United States and undertook a major campaign to publicize his new venture in Europe. He gave interviews, wrote articles and participated in informational assemblies in his other enclaves to talk about his new Georgist enclave. In an extensive report published in *The New York Times* on April 16, 1916 under the title "American Single Taxer Invades Tiny Andorra", he explained why he had chosen the name of *Sant Jordi* and what were the aims of his project:

"I have named the single tax area in Andorra Sant Jordi for several reasons. St. George is the patron saint of the Catalonians, he was the saint who fought the dragons, and the landlords are the dragons of today; and then we bring in the name of Henry George ... We are not trying to convince them [the Andorrans] by argument, but to convert the land and let them see the results. With all its blessings and simplicity, Andorra is a landlord-ridden country. The single tax would remedy that".

All this propaganda became known in Andorra, and Warren began to be viewed with caution among the powerful of Les Valls. His project was not really revolutionary, but the enclave was going to be there to show that things could be done differently.

El Impuesto Único, the official magazine of Spanish Georgism, probably following the instructions of its powerful American benefactors, did not deal with Warren's project, which was not well regarded by pure Georgism. Albendín himself must have also known that Henry George had never given his approval to the enclaves because he considered them a superficial project that did not go to the root of the *problem*. Only years later, in 1934, when the movement seemed to be abdicating its great objectives, *La Reforma Social*, the new magazine of Georgism, would give some news of it saying that the *enclaves* constituted an "advance of Georgism".²⁴

The brief and delirious life of *Sant Jordi*

One of Warren's first initiatives in *Sant Jordi* was the commissioning of his own house in the enclave to the architect César Martinell,²⁵ then fresh out of the Barcelona School of Architecture, which would not be fully completed until 1919. And to take care of all his business in Andorra, he brought to Santa Coloma the Popoff couple, Russian refugees, who soon became a true legend in the small town.²⁶

In mid-June 1916, after spending a few days in Barcelona, Warren was back in Andorra. Although things had gone reasonably well since his departure, he could no longer count on Francisco Pla, who was ill, nor, of course, on the third trustee of the enclave, the architect William Price, who was living in Philadelphia. It was then that he proposed Josep Alemany to join him as a trustee. He believed him to be a good georgist, loved Andorra, where he often went on excursions with the *Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, had management experience as administrator of *La Il·lustració Catalana* and was a reputable poet.

and journalist who could effectively help the dissemination and success of the enclave.²⁷ Alemany accepted and got to work right away.

To take care of all his business in Andorra, Warren brought to Santa Coloma the Popoff couple, Russian refugees who would become a true legend in the small village.²⁸ One of his first activities was to take care of the commission that Warren himself had given to the architect César Martinell to build his house in the enclave, which would not be finished until 1919.²⁹

Probably financed by Warren, Alemany founded the newspaper *Les Valls d'Andorra*, the first newspaper in Andorra, whose number 1 appeared on January 17, 1917.³⁰ Georgists all over the world knew that the press was the main means of disseminating their ideas. The newspaper had Josep Alemany as director, Alemany himself and Jaume Font (Alemany's pseudonym) as editors, and Antón Boix Cerqueda, Salvador Albert, F. Fontanilles Font (Alemany's pseudonym), Pere Rossell Calbó, J. de la Riva, Antón Casal Font and Ch. Romeu as collaborators. The five packages of this first issue that arrived in Andorra from Barcelona, where it was printed, were addressed to Joan Pla (Canillo), Josep Ferré (La Massana), Lorenzo Camps (Sant Julià), Alfonso Areny (Escaldes) and Amadeu Font (Andorra la Vella), but were hijacked before reaching their destination. The privileged classes of Andorra, despite knowing that Warren was a rich paper manufacturer from the United States, already considered him as a great threat.

Alemany, who knew it, had tried to disguise its character as a Georgist newspaper without much success. In that first issue he had included his poem to the Balira river, but without the dedication to Warren, he had given the news that in the last days he had been in Sant Julia "the kind American gentleman who is building a house at the end of Santa Coloma", but without mentioning his name and without relating it to the Georgist enclave, and he had included an article by Benito Mas,³¹ "L'ideal de *Les Valls d'Andorra*", by way of presentation of the new newspaper, in which he expressly pointed out that he did not intend to "remourer ni conturbar l'esperit andorrà que desde molts sigles sembla somnolar i com letargat peer la pau i tranquilitat que'ns deurien envejar moltes nacions que's dihuen civilisades", but without being isolated from civilization: "Axis es, que alguns bons andorrans massa gelosos dels seus privilegis no deuen espauricarse al veurer aparexer en Andorra un periodich, per que ten sa rahó de ser. They can well understand that the active and diligent Andorrans should not remain indifferent to the advances of civilization. Such a proceeding would make them isolated, ronechs, and Andorra would be seen as a strange thing, refractory to civilization and progress, to which their hardened rocks seem to oppose the entrance".

Despite the seizure of the newspaper, Alemany continued to work enthusiastically on Warren's project. On September 27, 1918, a legal amendment was made to the enclave's charter, and he and Fiske Warren were legally appointed as new trustees.³² In the following days, land leases were signed with the same people who had sold the land, without fixing the economic rent, leaving it to the trustees, or the Community, to do so at a later date. The lands that remained to be leased, due to lack of demand, were provisionally taken over by Warren and Alemany. In this way, the enclave could begin to operate on March 24, 1919.

Warren was in a hurry to make the enclave better known and, to this end, continued to promote new activities. We know some of them from Alemany's newspaper, which came out again on January 19, 1919, with the same title and again with the number 1, now without disguising that it was a Georgist newspaper, nor that it was the spokesman of the enclave. In this new issue there was already news of two public sales of codfish from North America verified "procooperativa del Enclau de Sant Jordi with a manifest benefit for the Andorran people" and it was reported that Fiske Warren, in love with Andorra, had spent some time in his house in the enclave.

In the following issues, new sales of cod were reported, in lots of 160 kilos, by the system of low bids, starting at a price of 5 pesetas/kilo. Also sales of beverages and other products. As the auctions paid only 2.55 pesetas/kilo, probably because the cod had not arrived in very good condition and was not in sufficient demand, in the issue of June 14, 1919, it was stated that "it is axis how the sales of a system called, in essence, of freedom" were demonstrated. In this same issue was published the first part of an article by Salvador Albert,³³ "Fams de terra", clearly Georgist, in which, in a clear challenge to the privileged classes of the country, it was said: "To give someone the ownership of the land is to give them virtually the ownership of the people who have to live on it. The private ownership of the land, like the private ownership of the slaves, is the violation of true property rights. One and the other *are different forms of the same theft*. In fact, he who is master of the earth is also master of the man who cannot live without it".

A new response from the Andorran authorities was not long in coming. The following issue, dated July 20, 1919, included a Decree of the Vegueria d'Andorra, dated May 6, 1919, which obliged that all Andorran newspapers had to be published in Andorra and that their editor had to be Andorran and accepted by the Vegueria. There was no doubt that the decree was directed against Alemany's newspaper. Although he protested to his subscribers saying that *Les Valls d'Andorra* did not have "la significació d'andorrà", the newspaper did not come out again. In this propaganda work, in May 1919, Alemany wrote an article in the Catalan magazine *Agricultura*, with the title "La propietat de la terra a Andorra" (Land ownership in Andorra). In it he described the structure of land ownership in Andorra, communal for the most part and very divided for the rest, which did not prevent there from being many landless people who were forced to emigrate. He lamented the lack of a land registry and land registry, which had "disastrous effects". He gave the news that "a North American subject in love with the independence of the people as much as with the natural beauty of the land and the sky" had founded *El Enclau de Sant Jordi* there. He explained the fundamentals of the Georgist doctrine in an elementary way and not very adjusted to Henry George's system. He pointed out the advantages for anyone who had a farm to sell it to the enclave and then enjoy it for 99 years for its economic rent. And to dispel any doubt, he contrasted what was done in *Sant Jordi* with what the Russian revolution had done, announcing that the Concell General de les Vals d'Andorra was going to visit "l'illustre i bondadós americà Fiske Warren" at his home to congratulate him for his altruistic initiative and to stimulate him to persevere in it.

In November 1919, Warren and Alemany traveled together to Fairhope to attend the 25th anniversary of the founding of this enclave. They embarked in Barcelona on the steamship Cataluña.

and arrived in New York on November 5.³⁴ Warren saw to it that the newspapers in his country echoed this visit and that they spoke of Andorra and *Sant Jordi* in terms such as the following: "Direct from a Paradise -where since the year 841 there have been no politics, strikes, profiteering, drunkenness or disorder, and but one violent dead- come two men to New York today. They journeyed from Andorra, the *oldest and smallest republic in the world*". For his part, Alemany took the opportunity to take notes on Fairhope and on some American customs and institutions that would serve him years later to publish some articles in the *Catalana* magazine (1922 and 1923).³⁵ In the latter, he dealt extensively with Fairhope, its operation, its newspaper *The Fairhope Curier*, directed by Gaston, and its *Organic School*, created by M.C. Johnson.³⁶

The Huntington yearbook (1928) included *Sant Jordi's* annual report and accounts for the year ending March 24, 1927. The enclave had increased its surface area to 2.87 hectares. Of the income up to this date, a total of 1,008.82 pesetas, 353 had gone to the *Georgian Trust*, 255 to Fiske Warren, and the rest to various enclave services, including the payment of the state land tax. There were eight lessees, among them Warren himself, who had leased more than half of the area and paid 89.53 pesetas, and Alemany, who had 11 areas. The economic rent ranged from 0.28 to 0.60 pesetas per area, depending on the tenants, and the total rent was 210.13 pesetas.

At the end of 1932-33, the last year of which we have news of the enclave from Huntington's yearbook, its surface area was 2.29 hectares, due to the purchase of a new piece of land with a donation from Waldauer, president of the *Henry George Foundation*, and the number of tenants had risen to eleven: Warren, Alemany, Bonfill, Bou,³⁷ Calbó, Cerqueda, Tor, Vidal, Grau and Muxi, the latter with two plots. The total economic income had decreased, on the other hand, to 152.48 pesetas. The trustees had 392 pesetas in cash.

During these years, Warren continued to visit the enclave and to reside there for long periods of time. Once the roads to France and Spain were built, he sometimes arrived from Barcelona and other times from any of the French ports he reached on his frequent trips to Europe. He was always accompanied by relatives, friends or illustrious Georgists.³⁸ Sometimes he would leave his house to friends who were attracted by everything he told about the enclave and Andorra.³⁹ His last stay in *Sant Jordi* was in June 1933, accompanied on this occasion by members of his family, among them his granddaughter Joan Lothrop, who was in charge of unveiling a commemorative tombstone on the plot of land acquired with Waldauer's donation. At the same event, Alemany gave a speech to an audience of sixteen people, highlighting the uniqueness of *Sant Jordi*, "the only enclave in the world where there was freedom of trade".⁴⁰ At this date, he remained faithful to Warren's project⁴¹ and was able to include a Georgist poem, "Per la terra", in Huntington's yearbook (1934).

The enclave of *Sant Jordi* had hardly grown since its foundation and had not been able to obtain the 20 tenants necessary for the constitution of the Community. Despite this, Warren was happy because, in addition to enjoying his frequent trips to such a distant and exotic place, he could speak proudly of it in his speeches at congresses and Georgist centers and include it in his Huntington yearbook. He probably did not want much more.

On September 27, 1935, Warren delivered a lecture at the *Henry George Foundation of America* entitled "Two European Enclaves". By this time new enclaves had been established on the Labuan Islands (ten miles off the coast of Borneo), Shakerton (in the town of Ayer, also founded by Warren), Ardentown (adjacent to Arden's), Canberra (Australia), Gilding's Point (Carolina County, Maryland), Trapelo (Weston, Massachusetts), Wall Hill (Mississippi), Homestead Unit Number One (Dayton, Ohio) and Eden (Berlin), the latter a colony initially founded as a vegetarian in 1893 but which had later taken on Georgist principles. It was to this and the *Sant Jordi* enclave that Warren referred in the title of his lecture.

And we know, finally, that Warren attended the Oxford Georgist Conference of 1936, but it is not likely that in that year, when the Spanish Civil War began, he went to *Sant Jordi*. He died two years later, on February 2, 1938, at the age of 75.

The end of the enclave

During the Spanish Civil War, many Georgists were imprisoned, executed or had to go into exile. Alemany, who was able to escape all this, was 71 years old when it ended and lacked the strength to continue Fiske's project in Andorra. In August 1941, on a trip to Harvard, he got his widow and children to bequeath to him before a notary all the properties that Warren had owned in Santa Coloma.⁴²

Alemany took this title deed to the French Batlle de los Valls, Mr. Joan Solsona Tomás, on December 13, 1941, giving it a broader interpretation than it literally had, by verbally stating that the cession included not only the Torre-Xalet built by Fiske in the Enclave of Sant Jordi, but all the lands of the enclave and others outside it in Santa Coloma, which had been the exclusive property of the deceased. Without land registry and without property registry, the Batlle agreed to extend a possessory deed of all this in favor of Alemany. And then he notarized it before the notary and secretary of the Batllia, Mr. Teodoro Moles y Moles.

It must have seemed to Alemany, however, that this document might have some legal loophole because a year and a half later, on July 13, 1943, he appeared before the notary of Les Valls, Mr. Rosend Jordana Besolí, to notarize a deed in which, as the only surviving trustee, he made statements on the content of certain clauses of the deed of trust of December 27, 1918, he made declarations on the content of certain clauses of the deed of trust of December 27, 1918, cancelled this deed and the *Enclau de Sant Jordi* and declared himself the sole owner of the assets and rights that composed it in accordance with the deed of 1941 and the laws and customs in force in Les Valls d'Andorra. From the clauses of the 1918 deed, he especially emphasized that, in case the Community was not constituted, as had actually happened, the trustees could exercise the rights of the Community, which served to legally support his previous actions. As justification for his cancellation of the deed of trust and of the *Enclau*, he alleged that "with the death of Mr. Fiske Warren, which occurred during the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, the foundation of this work disappeared, leaving as the only trustee the partner, who found it impossible to continue it, because the main basis that constituted it, the enthusiasm of its inspirer and protector, was missing".

Alemany died in El Masnou, Maresme (Barcelona) that same year 1943. A few days before his death, he granted a will in favor of his children Francisca, José, Joaquina and Julia Alemany Bori,

leaving them the lands of Santa Coloma. The *Torre dels Russos* went to Francisca, the firstborn.⁴³ For half a century the heirs and their descendants owned it peacefully, until it was sold at the beginning of 1995. The *Torre dels Russos*, abandoned and plundered, was bought by Don Francesc Cerqueda Pascuet, with whom I visited it in the summer of 2013, already completely restored.



But the story of the *Enclau de Sant Jordi* does not end here.

On May 10, 1995, after the sale of the house and lands by the heirs of Alemany, the Comú d'Andorra la Vella filed a lawsuit before the Batllia of Andorra requesting that a sentence be issued declaring its ownership of the sold properties, and that the heirs of José Alemany i Borràs be condemned to comply with the eighth clause of the deed of trust, by which it was established that at the end of the trust the trustees would transfer all the properties to whom they determined by majority vote and, if they did not agree or if there was no Community, to the Parish of Andorra la Vella, and that the Comú should substitute itself in the place of the buyers by paying the amount of 94 million pesetas. The Comú de Andorra lost the lawsuit in the first instance, appealed the judgment before the Civil Chamber of the High Court of Justice of Andorra, which confirmed it in all its terms in a judgment of September 18, 2001.⁴⁴

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Notes

- 1- A more extensive synthesis of Henry George's economic theory and the criticisms of academic economists, in Martín Rodríguez (2014). A much more extensive formulation of his ideas and his reworking of classical economic theory, in Collier (1979), Cord (1984), Ramos Gorostiza (2001) and, more recently, Moss (ed.) (2008), which includes several works by academic Georgists.
- 2 - On these enclaves, see Huntington (1922) and Brown (2001).
- 3 - Fiske Warren (1917).
- 4 - Dona Brown (2001).
- 5 - Huntington (1921 and subsequent years). In fact, much of the work on the yearbook was done by Warren, who was the editor and paid the editing expenses.
- 6 - An interesting history of the Warren family, in Green (1990).
- 7 - Prieto (2013).
- 8 - In August 1923, accompanied by Bolton Hall and Frank Stephens, he attended the *International Conference on the Taxation of Land Values* in Oxford (UK), where he spoke about enclaves, saying: "Considered by themselves they are unimportant. But considered with relation to what they attend for, they are otherwise". In 1936, he attended the London Georgist Conference, where he tried to approach the director of the *Henry George School of Social Science* in New York, George Geiger, son of its founder, Oscar Geiger, by signing an agreement whereby tenants of Georgist enclaves would attend courses at the school.
- 9 - The article was reprinted years later in Huntington's first yearbook (1921:1-3).
- 10 - See Ferrer i Gironés (2006).
- 11 - Tutau (1886).
- 12 - Quoted by Ferrer and Gironés (2006:68).
- 13 - This correspondence, in Fondo Borràs, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Capsa A2 and Capsa A6. Warre's Spanish is almost perfect, probably due to his two-year stay in the Philippines.
- 14 - In a handwritten letter from the steamer Orduña, in which he was returning to the United States after having registered in Andorra the act of constitution of *Sant Jordi* in February 1916, Warren told Sucre: "The reason that pushes me is to get in real contact with you, as a good Georgist and enclaver: We are still few and we cannot do without the help of a man such as you, and it is not enough to write and sometimes see you in Barcelona. In order to keep you informed, we must be in the enclave itself, surrounded by those who contribute to the desired end, and in this way form a part of us" (*Biblioteca de Catalunya*, Fondo Borràs, Capsa W1). Other letters confirm the relationship between the two, which would last at least until 1930, when their correspondence was interrupted.
- 15 - *The Single Tax*, 1 May 2016:15.
- 16 - Montoliu (1922). On Montoliu's trip to Fairhope, see Collins (2007).

17 - On Alemany i Borrás, see Reyes Valent (2000) and Roura Roger (2000). Alemany's library and personal archive are currently deposited in the municipal archive of Blanes (Girona), his birthplace. In the library there are works by George and some Spanish Georgists, but in the archive there is no trace of his Georgist militancy, nor of his collaboration with Warren, probably because this documentation has been separated by his donors.

18 - The article, reproduced in Huntington (1921:2).

19 - A very brief history of the Enclau de Sant Jordi, in Vidal i Guitart (1984:359-364).

20 - Public deed dated July 17, 1915 before the notary of Escaldes, Domingo Palmiñavila. I have been able to see this deed and other public documents cited below thanks to the kindness of Mr. Francesc Cerqueda Pascuet, descendant of the Cerqueda-Calbó couple and current owner of the Fiske Warren house in Enclau de Sant Jordi. 21 - *Biblioteca de Catalunya*, Fondo Borrás, Correspondence of Alemany Borrás with José María Sucre. In a letter to Sucre from Alemany Borrás, dated December 8, 1915, the latter announced Warren's arrival at the port of Barcelona that same day and invited him, on his behalf, to dine together at the Hotel de España, in carrer de San Pau, in the company of the georgist Marceliano Rico Rico, whom Warren wanted to meet.

22 - I have consulted these documents in the copy authorized by the notary of the Principality of Andorra, Marc Vila i Riba, on July 12, 1994, made available to me by Mr. Cerqueda Pascuet.

23 - Guillem Adellach (Ordino, Andorra, 1882; La Seu d'Urgell, 1956) was a beneficiary of Les Escaldes and enjoyed great prestige throughout Andorra. It was this, surely, and the polemic that George had had with Leo XIII regarding the *Rerum Novarum*, which had long clouded Georgism's relations with the Church, that led Warren to give him this important role in his project.

24 - "The Georgist Colonies," *The Social Reform* (September 1934:19). Upon receiving the Yearbook of the Georgist enclaves edited by Warren, the magazine again gave news about the project, insisting heavily on the idea that the economic rent from the land was sufficient to cover all the necessary public expenses.

25 - César Martinell (1888-1973), graduated from the Barcelona School of Architecture in 1916, was one of the great Catalan architects of this period. He specialized in agricultural buildings, mainly wineries. The Fiske Warren house was his first professional commission. During its construction, he was a regular guest at the Hotel Pla, along with Warren, Popoff and other visitors to the enclave. On Martinell and Warren's commission, see Lacuesta (2005). 26 - Nicolas Popoff and his wife must have arrived in Andorra in mid-1916. Martinell's plans, kept by the current owner of Warren's house, Francesc Cerqueda, are already signed by him. Their permanent presence in the enclave made the inhabitants of Santa Coloma see them as the owners of the house, which they called *Casa dels Russos*, the name by which it is still known. Years later, when the project of the enclave was already fully defined, they blamed them, or rather, they blamed Mrs. Popoff, apparently not very physically graceful, for its failure, for having left her husband for Warren. The Andorran historian Pere Canturri (2003) has reported having heard this from Martinell himself, and in Warren's correspondence with his collaborators there are also indications of this.

27 - In those days Alemany published in *La Il·lustració Catalana* three works about Andorra: a chronicle "D'una excursió a Andorra" (1916:659), with ten beautiful photographs; his poem "La cançó del Balira" (1916:698), dedicated to Fiske Warren; and the "Himne a Andorra" (1916:721).

28 - Nicolas Popoff and his wife must have arrived in Andorra in mid-1916. Martinell's plans, which are kept by the current owner of the house built by Warren, Francesc Cerqueda, are signed by him. Their permanent presence in the enclave made the inhabitants of Santa Coloma see them as the true owners of the house, which they called *Casa dels Russos*, the name by which it is still known. Years later, when the project of the enclave was already in operation, they blamed them, or rather, they blamed Mrs. Popoff, apparently not very physically graceful, for its failure, for having left her husband for Warren. The Andorran historian Pere Canturri (2003) has told of having heard this from Martinell himself and also in Warren's correspondence with his collaborators there are clear indications of this. 29 - César Martinell (1888-1973), then a recent graduate of the Barcelona School of Architecture, was one of the great Catalan architects of this period. He specialized in agricultural buildings, mainly wineries. The Fiske Warren house was his first professional commission. During its construction, he was also a regular guest at the Hotel Pla, along with Warren, Popoff and other visitors to the enclave. On Martinell and Warren's commission, see Lacuesta (2005).

30 - On the Andorran press, see Pont Sorribes (2009).

31 - I have not been able to identify anyone close to Alemany with this name. It cannot be ruled out that it was one of the many pseudonyms he used throughout his life.

32 - The new trust deed and other documents, which were not altered in any substantial way, in Huntington (1921).

- 33 - Salvador Albert (Palamós, 1868; Sardanyola del Vallés, 1944) was a writer and politician who was a militant of republicanism and became famous throughout Spain for having defeated Cambó in the electoral district of La Bisbal in 1910. In the 1931 elections he was elected deputy for Esquerra Republicana. Throughout this time he was a Georgist.
- 34 - *Poverty Bay Herald* (5 November 1919).
- 35 - These articles were: "La honradesa y la bondat dels Estats Units" (1922:427-430); "Els Negres" (1922:569-572); "Foch als Shakers" (1923:327-330); "Recorts de viatge" (1923:526-527) and "Una Escola original" (1923:562-563).
- 36 - Marietta Pierce Johnson went to live with her parents in Fairhope in 1902. There she founded *The School of Organic Education*, with very radical ideas on the reform of education. A favorable review by the famous philosopher and pedagogue John Dewey in 1915 brought her fame and her method spread throughout the country. He never wanted to leave Fairhope and contributed greatly to the success of this enclave.
- 37 - Anton Bou, who had sold a piece of land to the enclave, had been a member of the Consell, or Parliament of Andorra.
- 38 - On September 14, 1918, Alemany wrote to Sucre giving him the news that Mr. Warren would be in Barcelona the following week. On September 13, 1919, he told him that Warren was in France and would soon be in Barcelona, where he would want to know about the legal matters entrusted to him. Warren himself wrote to Sucre on August 10, 1930, from Ireland, informing him that his daughter and her husband were going to visit him in Sant Jordi and that the three of them could be in Barcelona before September 3 (Fondo Borrás, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Capsa 1).
- 39 - In 1931, for example, *The Milwaukee Journal* (4 October 1931) reported that the painter Winifred Phillips was spending a few weeks at Warren's house in *Sant Jordi*, painting.
- 40 - Huntington (1934:8-10).
- 41 - Alemany was then writing in *El Poble Andorrà*. In issue number 10, corresponding to December 1934, a poem of his appeared, entitled "Idilica", whose penultimate stanza read as follows: "I, els andorranos, anhelosos/ de segui el ritme del mon/ demanen drets que no tenen, /volen ser lo que no son" (And, the Andorrans, yearning/ to follow the rhythm of the world/ demand rights they do not have, /want to be what they are not).
- 42 - I have been able to see a copy of the bequest and the other documents I quote below in the archive of don Francesc Cerqueda, in Andorra la Vella.
- 43 - Testamentary deed granted by Mr. José Alemany Borrás on September 6, 1943, Protocol of Mr. Francisco Leonarte Ribera, notary of the Barcelona Bar Association with residence in Masnou.
- 44 - The full sentence, in *Jurisprudencia de la Sala Civil del Tribunal de Justicia*, Any 2001, Principat d'Andorra. Superior Council of Justice.