The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

Vol. V. No. 2 December 1941 Five Cents

OUR NEED OF A NAVY

By Henry George

A SLOW SORT OF COUNTRY

By May Speed Sexton

CURRENT CINEMA FARE

By Martin Simon

●

Rooms All Taken - Machines and Lot of the Farmer

A Thought for Christmas

The Crisis in Iceland - The Tragedy of Harlem

The truth that I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would never have been obscured. But it will find friends—those who will toil for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it. This is the power of Truth.—Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."

A Thought for Christmas

CHRIST brought to a world of misery the doctrine of the dignity of man.

In a social milieu which rejected the weak and the unfortunate, individuality lost all grandeur; only the wealth and the power and the position attaching to the individual gained recognition in the established order, and vouchsafed identity in the inevitable future.

The predatory State was all-powerful. Its ally, the ecclesiastical officialdom, had fortified its position or influence—and, therefore affluence—by giving the sanction of religion to the status quo. The world was full of Samaritans and pagans and plebeians to whom not only the things of this life but even the solace of salvation was denied.

To the poor, then, to the downtrodden, even to the Magdalene, Christ brought a message of individual dignity and worth, "For the very hairs of your head are all numbered," He told His followers. And He preached to them the immediacy of the Kingdom of God—on Earth as it is in Heaven. "It is your Father's pleasure to give you the kingdom."

* * *

What kind of kingdom? What are the ingredients of the social order envisioned in His promise? Primarily, the reign of justice shall have its turn. The first shall be last. In the new order the lowly and the disinherited will be men among men. The world is to be turned upside down; the present state being bad, to understand the future it is sufficient to conceive as near as may be the contrary of that which exists.

"On Earth as it is in Heaven." Heaven can mean only the realization of the highest aspiration of the human spirit. And what does the heart of man yearn for more than Freedom? Can a concept of Heaven that involves slavery, economic or spiritual, have any validity? It is fantastic, blasphemous, if you will, to speak of Heaven-on-Earth as a place where one man must pay another for the privilege of living and earning his daily bread. Or where life is subject to the whim of predatory interests, or where such interests even exist. Such a Heaven was not in the Christ-promise.

* * *

Over nineteen centuries ago this promise of Justice and Freedom came to a world from which Justice and Freedom had been banished by Avarice and Privilege, a world which crucified the One who brought the message. And in the light of the history of these centuries, with their multitude of wars and their harrowing poverty, one must conclude that the message itself has been crucified. For the world in which we live is as devoid of Justice and Freedom as was the world to which He brought His promise, and the dignity of the individual, long submerged by the economic struggle, is being further depressed by the subtle soporific of collectivist doctrine.

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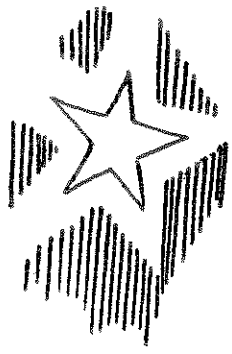

And yet, though Privilege is powerful enough to emasculate the most beautiful thought, to twist elemental truth into apparent falsehood, to obscure light with planned ignorance, there dwells in every heart a yearning for Justice and Freedom—so loud and so constant that it cannot be stilled nor forever denied. To those to whom the ways of Justice and the means of Freedom are known the meaning of Christ's promise is clear. And each Christmas they rededicate themselves to the struggle for the attainable ideal—The Kingdom of God on Earth.

Reprinted from December 1939 Freeman by request.

The Tragedy of Harlem

WITHIN THE UPPER PART of Manhattan Island is another island completely surrounded by prejudices. Here live many people, ten thousand in one city block it is said, who because of the accident of birth are isolated from the other people who inhabit the rest of Manhattan Island.

Most of these people are poor, very poor. They are not poor by choice. They are poor because an opportunity to produce the things they want is denied them. Some people contend that these people are incapable of producing. That has never been proved and occasionally one of the inner-islanders by sheer will power overcomes the handicap imposed on them and shows superior ability.

They are permitted to work only at marginal jobs, that is, jobs which produce the least. That is why they are so poor. And since they are confined to a limited living area they are a herded people. When people are crowded, they bid against one another for the privilege of living space. They bid high because they must.

Consequently a larger share of their low wages goes to the owners of this island within an island, and these owners are mostly persons who inhabit the more comfortable spots on the outer island. In effect, the inner island is like a conquered country paying tribute to foreigners.

The residents of Harlem are so crowded that frequently they occupy the same space at different hours. A night worker rents the room for the day, a day worker for the night.

Such congestion is both irritating and demoralizing. It does not make for the cleanliness necessary for decent living. Yet these people, like all pople, yearn for space in which to move about, for the privacy that gives one a sense of individual dignity. But, strive as they might, there seems no hope for anything better than the squalor and noise and inconvenience of being huddled together, frequently a family to a room. Hope, which is the spark of achievement, dies.

But it takes long frustration to condition one to hopeless living. Youth does not readily adjust itself to it. Youth looks for better things than those to which its conditioned progenitors bent their necks, and youth is inclined to test its strength against a blank wall environment. In desperation it breaks out in revolt.

That is what happened recently on the outskirts of this inner-island. Under cover of darkness, in the secretiveness of the hiding places afforded by Central Park's winding roads, trees and hills, a number of these black boys burst the bonds of their frustration by attacking and robbing, even killing, some who, in mad ignorance, were identified with the world which ground them down. They did not think it out. They did not think at all. Beasts of our civilization are hardly more capable of intellectual discernment than are their four-footed counterparts. The latter are made wild by nature, the former by society and are far more bestial because they are human.

So the police were sent after these young black marauders. Among the fiercest caught was a boy of twelve. His forefathers were "freed" in 1863, but, if he ever heard of the Emancipation, it did not impress him and he felt an urge to re-free himself by the only means a wild beast knows. Now he will acquire the euphonious title of "juvenile delinquent," will be sent to a new environment provided by society, whence he will emerge in time a well-trained, cunning, ruthless beast of prey.

But the inner-island which made him what he is will breed more like him. For it is beleaguered by prejudice and will be so long as those in the outer island also find jobs too few to go around.

Good Profits and the Other Kind

DURING THE THIRD QUARTER of 1941, according to figures compiled by the National City Bank, the combined profits of 200 big concerns were the highest since 1929, and nearly half again as much as they were in the corresponding period of 1940. The same source calculates that Federal income taxes will take 55 per cent of the profits earned by 140 concerns during the first nine months of 1941.

Thus the Federal government becomes a greater participant in the earnings of these businesses than do the shareholders whose capital is invested in them.

As local taxing agencies also take a share of the earnings, government as a whole has a much greater interest in the profits of business than have those who assume the risks of enterprise.

The government renders services, and services must be paid for. But the dictators of justice demand that there be a relationship between services rendered and payment recived. Our present fiscal policy makes impossible any method for ascertaining the value of these services; in fact, our fiscal policy is based on the power of government to collect, not on the justice of the amount or method of collection.

Only in an analysis of the source of the profits can we find any equitable measuring rod for taxation. And only in such an analysis can we find any equity in the profits themselves.

A business which makes a profit from production has rendered service to society. People want what it produces and are quite willing to give up their production (wages) in exchange for these commodities. Every commodity sold satisfies a desire.

In the production of these things the government renders no service. True, the services rendered by government facilitate production as a whole, but that is reflected elsewhere. The profits of the individual business result from its satisfying of desires. Unless it does that there can be no profits, regardless of the facilities provided by government.

But profits (the excess of income over outgo) can and do stem from something far different from production. In fact, the largest profits come from a curtailment of production. When things are made scarcer the value of what is produced rises, and the net return to those who gain by this curtailment is correspondingly greater. Such profits then become a sort of levy or tax on the people who are forced to pay the higher prices.

The privilege of collecting such levies results directly from government services, and should, therefore, be the source of payment. The word "privilege" suggests that the power and will of government has made it possible. It is an advantage which the police power has given to some person or persons exclusively. Profits deriving from privilege should then inure to the government which makes privilege possible.

If profits from privilege were collected by government, the only source of profits to which enterprise could look forward would be those derived from production. Since profits are the incentive of enterprise, the urge to increase production, to satisfy human desires, would be encouraged. More things would be available, and the quantity of things available reduces prices, makes for better living. Also, the increased production of things makes for larger wages, since production is the only source of wages.

Our fiscal policy, which fails to distinguish between profits from production and profits from privilege, punishes the one and favors the other. The effect is to discourage production, to encourage the seeking of privilege. Or, to use the economic terminology, to lower wages and increase rent.

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Published monthly by The Freeman Corporation, a non-profit corporation, at 30 East 29th Street, New York, N. Y. Officers and Directors: Lancaster M. Greene, Chairman; Anna George de Mille, President; Otto K. Dorn, Secretary-Treasurer; William H. Quasha, Counsel; Ezra Cohen, Francis Neilson, John C. Lincoln, Leonard T. Recker, Frank Chodorov. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1897. Single subscription, fifty cents a year; five or more, forty cents each. Title registered U. S. Patent Office.

Guessing About After the War

THE DETAILS of history are an agglomeration of politics and politicians, wars and warriors. But the overall pattern is a series of social movements motivated by the desire of people to find a more comfortable adjustment.

Thus we look upon the general period known as the French Revolution as the final episode in the struggle of Europe with an absolutist economy. The military events are of interest to students of the art of war, the political events to those whose enthusiasm is for legal matters. Only of story-book importance are the personages who strutted the stage; though in their day they seemed to be the writers, actors and producers of the play, from the perspective of time they appear more like marionettes attached to the strings of Fate.

The performance now is evaluated as an incident in the social readjustment from feudalism to the laissez-faire economy, accompanied by the political change from absolutism to constitutional government. The movement started long before 1789.

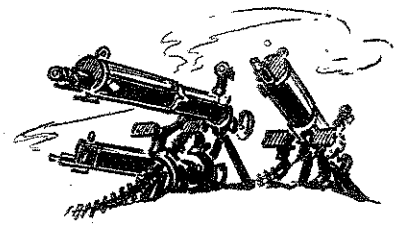
It is only in the meandering of peoples for a better life that the mosaic of history makes sense. The Israelite migration after the escape from bondage, the flight of Europe's dispossessed to the wilds of America, the cavalcade of covered wagons to the Western plains—all such movements were motivated by the desire for a better life. Or, in other words, they were efforts to escape poverty.

When populations shift freely in this escapist process there are no historical incidents, such as war. But when opposition is met, either from restraining influences at home or from other peoples whose adjustment is threatened, conflicts arise and these are internal or external wars. It is the absence of an easy or known avenue of escape from a poverty economy that results in the spontaneous combustion known as revolution.

There may be psychological explanations for the incidence of war. But, viewing the social pictures preceding all wars, a common characteristic is an economy of poverty, and it tends to support a cause and effect theory. Society seems always on the move for a better economic adjustment; war is an incident in its path.

Always the economic readjustment is associated with a political readjustment. Somehow the fiction has always prevailed that a different political scheme will make for a better life. The known schemes are limited in number, and vary only in the degree of power wielded by one group or another within the body politic.

Thus we have run the gamut from the divine kings to the divine majorities, back and forth in a quixotic search for what no political scheme has yet achieved—economic justice. That is the adjustment which society has always sought.



Reading that lesson of history and taking into account the general profound ignorance of how economic justice may be attained, we might venture a prognostication of the politico-economic readjustment which society will fall into as a result of the present world war. Such a prognostication is warranted by the failure—as evidenced by depression after depression, and a gradual intensification of poverty throughout the world—of the so-called laissez-faire economy and constitutional democracy during the last century and a half to bring society to the goal it always seeks.

The increasing encroachment of government on the affairs of the people gives an inkling of what may be expected unless society, by a miracle of widespread understanding, hits upon the fundamental condition of economic justice before the readjustment becomes fixed in law and tradition.

With the aid, then, of the historical pattern and our knowledge of the past century's trend, we may prognosticate an oligarchy of self-appointed planners in our polity and a regulated market place as our means of making a living. This will apparently be society's resting place after it has been exhausted by the present conflict.

The particular form will vary from country to country, depending on the influences of tradition and geography. A large political entity, with a tradition of democracy, may wallow around in the confining mechanism of a Chinese civil service system. Perhaps some variation of Plato's government of trained wise men will be evolved after much trial and tribulation; or privileged groups will round out a modus vivendi. In smaller countries, or countries where environmental conditions make for greater subservience, a single imperatorship, supported by a powerful vested group, will do the planning.

How long will it last? An answer would be in the realm of prophecy. The Pharaohs ruled for a long time, and the Romans endured a sort of regulated economy for about four centuries. But because it won't work, because the goal of economic justice will immediately seem to be further away than ever, society, when it catches its breath after the war, will begin to move about again and seek another change. The condition of war will be inherent in the system itself.

It may be that the conflict within the new adjustment will break out sooner than it has in former adjustments simply because of the prevalence of more widespread knowledge and the better means of communication now available. Society can and will find the adjustment it has been seeking for ages once it understands the economic principles of it. It is in education in these principles, not in war nor in political formulae, that the hope of civilization lies.

Rooms All Taken

EVERYBODY OUGHT to re-read the Christmas story from time to time, if only to remind himself that it is occasionally re-enacted, even today. In Luke 2: 4 et seq. we read (King James version):

And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:) to be taxed with

Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.

* * *

A year or so ago, a ship unloaded some refugees at Ellis Island, among them a man and wife, with a child born at sea, barely two days old. They were Jews who had made their escape from the Old World to seek another chance in the New.

The woman's delivery had been a difficult one, and when they put her ashore she was ill—very ill. She spent one day and part of another in the infirmary. The passports were not in order. Sorry. Immigration laws, you know. Back to the ship. But the ship is going to Japan. Can't help it. Maybe the Japanese will let you ashore.

The distracted husband begged for a week or so, to give his wife a chance to get well. He had money; in corrupt Europe he would have bribed the officials and got in. On Ellis Island it was no go; the officials were incorruptible. He went upon his knees pleading, and was slapped and forcibly removed.

That's the story as it came to me, from another refugee, a young woman of college age, who arrived at the same time and said she was an eye witness. I won't vouch for it. It could happen. And we don't have to assume the official who cuffed the husband and father was essentially brutal. When people have to say "No" eight hours a day to suffering men and women, they are likely to fly to brutality as a refuge. How else could they bear the heartbreak?

* * *

And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

The Causes of Poverty

"IN A SPEECH a few weeks ago, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree said that he had analyzed the causes of poverty. . . Three quarters of it was due to three causes—a third to insufficient wages, between a quarter and two-fifths to unemployment, and a seventh to old age; and it is an indication of the part played by social services, which did not exist in 1899, in warding off at least the worst aspects of poverty that four-fifths of the income of the unemployed poor and two-thirds of the income of the aged poor came from unemployment benefit, health benefit, pensions or public assistance."

This quotation is from a *serious* article in *The Economist*, August 16, 1941, advocating the setting up of a Ministry of Social Security.

Extortion - Legal and Illegal

NOT ONLY has the conviction of two motion picture labor racketeers for exortion claimed much front-page notice, but the hi-jacking practices of labor leaders as a whole have also been featured to crusade proportions by magazines and newspapers.

Why? To few people who have any acquaintance with the history of unionism is this news. It must be remembered that a union is by design a pressure group. Its threat of "more money or we tie up your capital" is an instrument of force, not of reason.

The power of the union to enforce its decisions springs from the submerging of the interests of the individual members in the interests of the group. This power in practical unionism is lodged in the person of the leader.

The leader may be honest; he may be a crook. How he uses the power at his disposal is a matter of choice, particularly if he has built up within his organization the political means for the continuous enjoyment of that power.

The very existence of that power is an invitation to skullduggery, as the history of unionism long before the present exposé testifies. From the guilds of the Middle Ages to the modern labor organization instances of labor union black-jacking of both its members and the owners of capital are numerous and nauseating.

What significance is there in the present crusade to show up these practices? Can it have the purpose of arousing public opinion against unionism as a whole, against the futile attempts of workers to get a few more crumbs out of life, so that political pressure may safely be used to bring them in line?

But note the economic effects on all workers, on society as a whole, resulting from extortion by union leaders. Like all brigands, they merely raise the cost of living. What they take is exacted from the products of labor, directly or indirectly. In the final analysis everyone who lives without working must do so at the expense of the producer; there is no other way.

The labor union extortionist differs from the beneficiary of a tariff monopoly only in that his extortionism has neither the sanction of law nor the approbation of society. Yet it is just as detrimental to our economy, and therefore just as immoral.

If a Senator from Massachusetts agrees with a Senator from Louisiana to vote for a tariff on cane sugar in return for the other's vote for a wool tariff, is this not an immoral, though legal, act? Particularly so if both Senators profit directly through business interests, or indirectly through the political support of the beneficiaries. The whole thing is within the law. But by what ethical standard can it be justified?

And, do not tariffs raise prices? Then they reduce the purchasing power of wages, and lower the worker's living standard. Sometimes the extortion price of the labor racketeers cannot be passed on by the capitalist; competition from other capitalists, who are not similarly victimized, prevents it. But a tariff is always passed on, because none of the competitors in that field is exempt.

So, while we are correctly excoriating the extortionist as a menace to society, let us not forget that the legal extortion which monopoly privilege is able to demand of society is of greater volume and therefore more detrimental. And by the abstract standard of right and wrong it is just as reprehensible.

Controlling the Hole

THOSE OF US who have pondered upon the importance of the hole in the doughnut, or upon its correct radius, must not become discouraged; a government agency gives promise of a solution of this problem.

The promise is involved in the unravelling of a similar geometric intricacy by Federal Security Administrator McNutt, who is at present struggling with the hole that surreptitiously creeps into spaghetti and thus metamorphoses that edible into macaroni. That should not be. The Food and Drug Administration, it is reported, is looking into the matter.

This august body recently held a hearing on the spaghetti-macaroni controversy. Vermicelli and egg noodles also had their arguments put in. We may now sit back in comfort and wait for a law. All apertures will be under control.

Machines and the Lot of the Farmer

A FREE ECONOMY is a politico-social system in which: (1) Rent is the only source of revenue of government; (2) All land (sites, natural resources, riparian rights, wave lengths, etc.) is rented, never sold, to the highest bidder; (3) No government body has authority to levy taxes of any kind; (4) No government body has authority to grant special privileges, bonuses or other gratuities to individuals or groups of individuals, save, if necessary, the infirm or the incapacitated.

In a free economy, neither government nor private privilege can abstract any part of the worker's wages and where the level of wages will be as high as the best natural resources open to labor without payment of rent, the worker's share of production will be the just reward of his contribution to it.

Since large areas of the earth's most desirable surface are now being held out of use, totally or partially, for the purpose of forcing labor to pay more of its wages for the curtailed supply of things produced on the land in use, it follows that wages are far below the level which they would attain in a free economy and that even these wages are subject to tremendous inroads by government levies.

With both of these drains on the worker's pay stopped, the probability is that wages would rise. How high? As high as the inventive genius of labor and the capacity of the surface, sub-surface and super-surface of the earth will permit.

But if labor's opportunity to produce is thus unleashed, what will prevent wages rising to a point where menial and repetitive jobs would go begging? Who will do the "dirty" work? And at what price?

There are good arguments for a street cleaner to receive higher compensation than a city councilman, or even a mayor, but we need not worry ourselves with this terrible "problem," often seriously advanced as a flaw in the free economy.

The answer is that when an opportunity to earn a living, or a better living, in more congenial or more productive work presents itself, labor invents a mechanical way of doing the "dirty" work. This is as it should be. Why should human effort be wasted on work that can be done by a robot?

An instance of this is afforded by a recent development. The shortage of farm labor, due to the more remunerative jobs in war industries, as well as to the siphoning of labor into the army, has brought into being a mechanical corn picker. This machine has already replaced manual labor on the larger farms. It is considered more efficient than its predecessor.

The mind conditioned to our monopoly economy queries again: If machines replace men where will men get jobs? Leaving aside the obvious answer—on the land—one must point out that what the machine produces must be consumed and paid for by labor and that if machine production makes it easier for the worker to get things, his wages are increased to that extent.

The laborer's income is measured in the things he can obtain for the things he produces. This is quite a different thing from the "national income" statistics furnished by the government to prove that the unemployed are getting high wages. There is no such thing as "national income."

The Crisis in Iceland

VERY LITTLE was heard about Iceland before the British and then the Americans established military and naval bases there. Somehow the Icelanders rubbed along pretty well, hardly ever making headlines. Since the friendly invasion, these 118,000 hard-working farm and fisher folk seem to be having difficulties.

Twice in sixteen days last month the Cabinet resigned because of economic problems raised by the presence of the foreigners.

One problem was the abundance of money brought in by the visiting soldiery. They didn't bring beans, they brought money and bought up whatever beans the country had. And the Icelanders learned a lesson in economics: you can't eat money.

In fact, they learned that when there's a lot of money around and not a lot of beans, somehow the beans become scarcer, harder to get. They learned, too, that soldiers, no matter why they are where they are, do not produce beans. The money they have to spend does not represent any store of beans they may have produced in the past; the money is merely a claim on the existing stock of beans.

Perhaps sometime the Icelanders who got hold of these dollars (or pounds) will swap them for beans produced by the then working workers in America (or England). That won't do the present farm and fisher folk any good. They are hungry now. And the Premier cannot feed them. So, there is a "crisis" in bean-poor, money-rich Iceland.

"A Slow Sort of Country"

By MAY SPEED SEXTON

I wonder if Lewis Carroll ever thought much about inflation. Surely when I turned the well-loved pages of "Through the Looking Glass" just now I found a deft picture of my husband and me and thousands of other young American couples just like us, who spend all they make for the best living attainable and who look forward long and eagerly to that next "raise" so they can grab for the next rung in the standard of living.

* * *

You remember, don't you, when Alice and the Red Queen had started across the giant chessboard and

were running terribly hard and fast? Alice panted, "Are we nearly there?"

"Nearly there!" the Queen repeated. "Why, we passed it ten minutes ago! Faster!"

After running quite a while longer the Queen allowed Alice to stop and rest, and Alice looked around her in great surprise. "Why, I do believe we've been under this tree the whole time! Everything's just as it was!"

"Of course it is," said the Queen, "what would you have it?"

"Well, in our country," said Alice, still panting a little, "you'd generally get to somewhere else—if you ran very fast for a long time, as we've been doing."

* * *

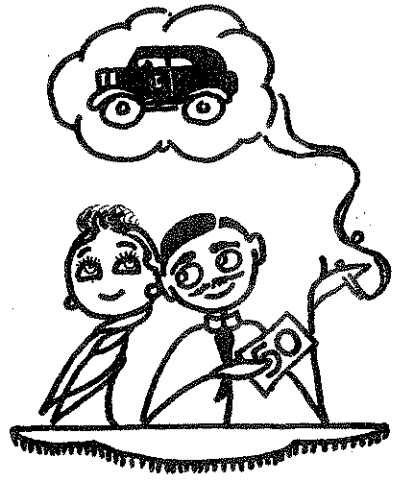
Most of us have been brought up on the good old American theory that here we have unlimited opportunity to work hard and get ahead, perhaps if not in any spectacular or sudden way then at least by the sure and steady raise-by-raise method. That's the way we were brought up—but now—

After two years of budgeting, balancing, juggling, shuffling, shifting, postponing, diagramming, and planning, after two years of stretching a sufficient income to seem comfortable, a substantial raise hove in sight.

For two years (since the last raise) the black side of us had been running a race with the red side of us, until all of us were out of breath. But now at last the "black" was lengths ahead, the race was almost over, and on our last lap the thought of that raise was fresh air in our lungs and cold water on our lips. Our banner read not "Excelsior" but "50 Beautiful Dollars 50."

Fifty more dollars a month! Now we could do some of the things we'd planned for so long, and have a little margin besides. Six hundred more a year! Yippee!

First there was the car—that blue



car—that wonderful car that was to take us on magic weekends out of the city. That car was to make us feel so easy and successful at last, that car towards which we had budgeted many a weary mile. The salesman said twenty-three dollars a month would take care of it, and it was almost brand new.

Then there would be fifteen dollars a month that we were to put away against the possible rainy day, or as we hoped for a real vacation. The next time summer rolled around we could grab our precious two weeks and not have to put it off for some vague "manana" when we could stretch the monthly salary for railroad fares and a few holiday clothes.

And twenty-three plus fifteen left a twelve-dollar margin to turn the hydra-headed dragon of first-of-the-month into a playful puppy. A few dollars for a play here and there, or for some little thing we longed for. Yes, we were happy people, another step forward, another rung up, but then—

"Honey," my husband reminded me, "we've got to put twenty-five dollars a month into tax savings stamps to meet that darned income tax next March or go to jail."

I gasped, I had forgotten. We'd always dreaded March 15th, but the sum was never too large. Now with the new raise and the new tax rates it seemed colossal.

"Oh Lord" I added, "I've just finished comparing my food bills with last year's, and now I know why I'm always borrowing from something else to keep house. In spite of all this whitewashed talk about an eight per cent rise in the cost of living, mine is up from thirty-five to fifty-five a month at the same stores and living the same way. Well, there goes the savings account that was to have bought us a magic carpet for vacations and a back-log! But cheerio, my dearie, we've still got our margin, at least seven dollars of the twelve left—and that will help."

"Oh no we haven't! That new ten per cent tax on practically everything makes our dollars worth just ninety cents, and that poor little seven dollars won't anywhere near make up the difference each month. We'll just have to face it, dear—six hundred dollars more, but no raise. We're really back-sliding, and I don't know whether it's more discouraging or a comfort to realize there are thousands and thousands of young people all over this great land of opportunity today in the same position as we are, who've worked like mad for a raise, got it, and are now watching it disappear down the rat hole of inflation."

"Seems to me the bug-a-boo of inflation has been creeping up on us a long time. I'm a pretty good planner for this little family of ours, but how can you plan when next month this famous American dollar of ours may not be worth even what it is today? Heavens, come to think of it, it's not worth an awful lot, is it? I always thought a dollar was a dollar, no matter what, but along comes Roosevelt and it's only fifty-nine cents. Then comes now and it's only about fifty-three cents. Looks to me as if George Washington is about to slide all the way off the face of the dollar."

* * *

"A slow sort of country," said the Queen, "now, here you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."

The New Cinema Fare

By MARTIN SIMON

"How Green Was My Valley," (a 20th Century-Fox Picture, screened at the Rivoli Theatre, New York), is a beautiful and significant film. Let that, at least, be said to its credit before a more-or-less scientific eye seeks out its faults. Closely following the splendidly written, similarly-named novel of Richard Llewellyn, it is a photoplay of symphonic power, detailing boldly and simply the disintegration of the Morgans, a stalwart family of Welsh coal miners. Portrayed as seen through the eyes of Huw, the youngest of the Morgans, who grew as his people declined, it shows all too clearly (to those who will but see it) the crushing pressure of economic inequality upon a proud community.

The words "How Green Was My Valley" are Huw's description of his native Cum Rhondda in the days of his boyhood. The Morgans, willing workers all, are good providers, well satisfied and knowing no want. But their one opportunity for employment is in the valley's colliery; there is nowhere else to turn. When unprofitable iron mines close down in nearby towns, strange laborers come to Cum Rhondda, begging for work at any wages. Thanks to this competition among labor, the colliery's owner cuts wages unmercifully. As Davy Morgan says: "Why should he pay more, when there are three men for every job?" A union is formed and the men strike; the gates of the colliery swing shut. Like the answer to a question in Fundamental Economics, inevitably "labor starves; capital wastes; land patiently waits."

The struggle continues until hunger brings capitulation. But fewer men are wanted now, only those who will work the hardest and accept the least return. And the others, what of them? Let them go where they will, each with a tramp's pack on his back, searching for a chance to produce the most meagre satisfaction that life demands. What if the camera has shown us acres of virgin fields? What if we know that untold tons of coal await a pick down in the mine shafts? There are fences and gates that keep labor out; all they can do is to look longingly, suffering the pangs of Tantalus himself. And so one by one they depart, the Morgans and the other men of Cum Rhondda, as

a once proud community sinks into abject misery.

As a social document, "How Green Was My Valley" falls far short of being the searching indictment of the cause of poverty that it might have been. Its emphasis lies upon personal emotional reactions to economic woes: upon ultimate effects suffered by a few individuals. Never is there pointedly demonstrated what political economy has found to be the basic cause of decadence on an inherently abundant earth. This must be intellectually elicited by the audience, so vaguely is it presented.

Yet, a critic must be captious indeed to dismiss so fine a motion picture as unworthy, just because it handles a burning social question in much too gingerly a fashion. If the picture hesitates where it should go forward, it nevertheless points toward truth; if it too vaguely suggests a question that it doesn't attempt to answer, it nevertheless is provocative of right thought. Rather than the banal presentations to which cinema-goers are unfortunately accustomed, let there be more such thought-inspiring films. Perhaps one should be gratified that Hollywood has taken what is tritely called "a step in the right direction."

* * *

"This England" (a World Picture, screened at the World Theatre, New York), is a frank and straightforward espousal of Britain's war cause. Among such propaganda films, however, it is unique and merits attention, because of its theme and its originality. Like similar presentations, its appeal is emotional; but there is a deeper thread running through it. This thread cannot fail to intrigue the student of political economy.

The picture tells the story of an English village named Claverly. It unfolds in a series of historical sequences laid in earlier times: 1066 1215, 1588, 1803, 1914—each an era of conflict. The same characters (ancestors of the 1941 inhabitants of the village) reappear in every epoch, the chief protagonists being John Rookeby, an estate-holder, and Appleyard, his husbandman. Always,

the villagers have good reason to fight; successively they are serfs against lords, oppressed against tyrants, defenders against invaders, protectors against aggressors. Always they fight bravely and well, led by Mr. Rookeby, whose constant motto is: "It is worth fighting for!"

But what are they constantly fighting for? What are they protecting against the usurper and the attacker? The answer is bluntly given: their land! From the Nazi aggressor as from the Norman conqueror, they seek to defend or regain their land. For the land is the source of their life, their wealth; of all that is tangibly good. One episode, in fact, shows the poverty and degradation that ensue when the lands of the village are shut off from use. Only when labor is allowed back on the land do happiness and prosperity again exist.

Of course, the picture does not bring out that what the villagers call "their" land is not theirs at all. But at least in this war film a reason is given, and we see what the prize is that is "worth fighting for."

●

Socialism for Beginners

By Thomas Lewis

Some are large,
Some are small,
Some are short,
Some are tall,
Some are thin,
Some are fat;
We must change
All of that.

●

Yes, We Have No Figs

Ernest Howard Crosby, formerly judge of an international court in Egypt, once encountered a native cutting down a fruit-bearing fig tree. When the native was asked why he chopped down this prolific tree in the midst of poverty and starvation, he answered:

"I am a poor man and the tax on this tree is more than I can pay, so I cut it down."

When I heard Judge Crosby tell this I thanked God that we Americans were not as simple as these Egyptians who enforced laws with such destructive consequences. We Americans do not tax fig trees, we tax houses.

While motoring about in my own home county of Westchester, the county of beautiful homes, I have seen many houses razed to avoid taxes, ranging from moderate sized homes to those on great estates with beautifully landscaped grounds.

The poor Egyptians!

O. K. DORN

Where Your Vote Is Important

THE CUSTOMARY PLACE for letters-to-the-editor is in some obscure part of the publication, on the theory that readers are interested in the opinions and information provided by the editors and contributors, while what readers think should be of interest mainly to the editors.

But this month we give our page of "Letters to the Editor" a commanding position — the center "double truck,"—because we want every reader to ponder them. We hope that every other reader will likwise send us an expression of opinion on the way *The Freeman* is handling the subject of war.

In our efforts to analyze the current scene our object has always been to look at it through the eyeglass of economic freedom. No political event is important in itself; only as an indication of the social and economic trend does it interest this journal. Such events, and the personages involved, concern us only as consequences of the economic environment.

For we hold that the condition of the world we live in is primarily a reflection of our economy. We furthermore hold that no improvement in that economy can come from our political setup, since that, too, is a result, not a cause. For a better social order, it seems to us, we must depend on a wider knowledge of the principles of political economy, the application or misapplication of which determines the kind of world we must live in.

In short, we believe in the theory of economic conditioning—that people act the way they do because, primarily, they must react to the environment in which they have to make a living. Even the spiritual and psychological impulses that stir men to action are in large measure subject to economic influence. So far as the spiritual and psychological sides of man have defied scientific investigation, their regulation must be left to the Almighty. All man can do with confidence, in the present state of his science, is try to improve his economic lot. In this attempt his only tool is knowledge.

Following this line of thought, we believe that war is a social evil resulting from a bad economy. We are not concerned with *who* caused *this* war, but with *what* causes *all* wars, and how they can be avoided.

But many have accused us of taking sides. We have been told that our position tends toward "isolationism" or toward "interventionism"—terms which give the uncritical an easy bludgeon against people they don't like, but aren't very useful in conveying any real meaning.

We have been advised to "play safe," to fill our pages with theoretical articles which have no relation to current events, and would therefore offend nobody. Such a course would mean a complete change in the policy of *The Freeman*.

We have been urged to suspend publication "for the duration." It has been suggested that if some of our friends misunderstand our position, then surely the powers-that-be might consider our journal subversive. Is this a courageous course? Need we anticipate the time when America is ready to suppress freedom of thought? If that catastrophe must come, why not wait for it, instead of meeting it on the road?

We have been told that any attack upon the status quo, no matter how faulty that status may be, is unpatriotic and hampers the government in its foreign policy. Thus does the 200% Americanism of 1917-18 gibber from its tomb. Such chauvinism has always been the instrument used by privilege to entrench itself, and no sincere adherent of the Philosophy of Freedom should have any truck with it.

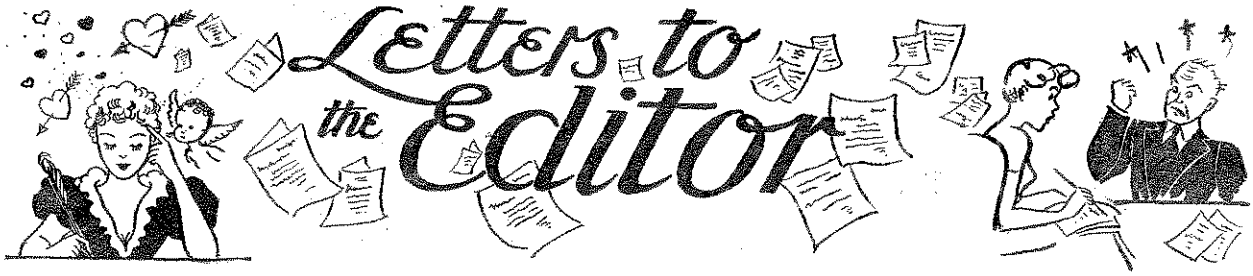
We turn to our readers for guidance. Shall we "play safe" by avoiding the issues of the day, dishing out to you a mass of theory whose principal merit is that it has no bearing upon the world as it is? Shall we fill our pages with house organ intimacies about people you may never meet? Shall we close up shop for fear of possible persecution when the madness of war has finally blacked out all thought?

Or, shall we continue to analyze and criticize the status quo from the viewpoint of the Philosophy of Freedom, in the interests of education in that philosophy?

We want—we urgently want—expressions from our readers of their views in this matter. Only a few have expressed themselves so far; here are some of their letters. Pressure is being brought to bear upon us from both sides, each insisting that its opinion is that of the majority. What is the real opinion of our readership?

Please write to us. Not next month, when there may not even be any *Freeman*, but now. We warn those of our readers who agree with our policy that those who don't are very insistent and aggressive—which is to be expected. Do not assume that your subscription to *The Freeman* is sufficient evidence of your support.

Write—at once; a post card will do, and letters should not be over about 200 words.



We have been getting **The Freeman** regularly for several years—I should say almost since it started. We have enjoyed every issue of it. Our assistant editor, a farm-reared young woman who knew nothing about the Single Tax until she came into this office, fairly eats **The Freeman** up. The copy gets pretty well worn by the time it is passed around, but so far it has held up clear through.

Farmers Educational and Co-operative
State Union of Nebraska
L. S. Herron, Editor

* * *

I enjoy **The Freeman** but am occasionally disturbed by the faint traces of sanctity with which it occasionally endows this war. In neither of the two books of Henry George which I have read can I recall war referred to except as an unmixed evil.

The last paragraph of "Problems in Forced Saving" on page 279 (October) is therefore definitely nauseating. In a previous issue I also read a like reference. Someone down there is not thinking things through, and is also straying from the teachings of Henry George.

Mrs. A. G. Tillotson
Jamestown, N. Y.

* * *

I have your recent bill indicating that my subscription to **The Freeman** has expired and requesting that I renew. In response I must request that my subscription be discontinued.

The admitted inability of **The Freeman** to see any essential difference (page 268) between the objectives of the anti-war five-sixths of the American people, and those of the war mongers, reveals in my opinion a lack of insight that removes it from the need of any further consideration as a "Critical Journal."

Joseph R. Carroll
Norfolk, Conn.

* * *

I feel impelled to answer your article, "Humanity's Cause and the War." Your whole first paragraph is erroneous.

There are many of us who are called "isolationists" (which is an utter misnomer) who are not motivated by any kind of national fear. We are absolutely dedicated to non-intervention in Europe's war. Beyond that, we can have as many divergences as we like. What is incomprehensible to me, as a Georgist, is the fact that any real believer in George's philosophy can at the same time advocate our entry into this war.

I have talked to hundreds of people who are wholeheartedly for staying out of the war, who also think intelligence should be applied to this terrible question. Even though most of them are not Georgists now, they are future material. So you see, we Georgists should not be such Pharisees as to think we stand alone in our righteousness.

Let's keep our beloved country out of war, so we can call for consideration of the cause and cure of war by all nations of the earth.

Una E. Miller
Summit, N. J.

* * *

The leading editorial in the October issue is really the payoff in a series that rank **The Freeman** with the **Daily Worker**, the **Call**, or **Social Justice**. It would seem that these papers and their editors assume no other allegiance to America than an irresponsible freedom to spread their Messages.

It is in times of strain and difficulty that friendships are tried and proven. We should be recognized now as being among the truest lovers of Americanism in the land. Our opinions and advice should be respectfully asked and listened to, and this means that our opinions and advice should be given respectfully.

The fact is, however, that our **Freeman** takes its place with the lunatic and un-American fringe of papers and adds to their sneers and snarls that this is "an imperialist war."

Imagine what will be the attitude of the rest of the country toward Georgism at the end of this war. If we lose the war, the Fascists who will surely be in control will stamp us out at once. If we win the war, Georgists will not have earned the right to sit at the peace table to take part in the negotiations. In the meantime, as the war pressure mounts, we will be looked at as Bundists or Fronters. Our classes will fall off, and we will be debarred from the schools and libraries, where we now hold our classes.

The Land party in England is devoting all its energies to the immediate task at hand, namely to win the war. At the peace tables after the war, they will be listened to with respect. The collectivism to which the British people are submitting will not be permanent. Neither they nor the American people can be collectivized at this late date. I am not worrying about England, or that English Georgism is dead. I am only hoping that the complete detachment of **The Freeman** from the social problems facing us doesn't signify that American Georgism is dead.

Aram Bashian
Boston, Mass.

Our Need of a Navy

By HENRY GEORGE

This editorial, which appeared in "The Standard" of April 6, 1889, has been widely quoted by both sides in the present war controversy. It is reprinted here without comment, as a service to our readers, exactly as in the original; even the typographical errors have been retained. The page proofs have been carefully checked against a copy of "The Standard."

One of the matters for which the papers favorable to it most praise the last administration is its management of the navy department. Reviewing what has been done under the secretaryship of Mr. Whitney, the New York Times says:

> Never before in the history of the United States has a party been able to retire from office with the satisfaction of knowing that during its four years' term of power it has done so much toward strengthening the defensive system of the country and at the same time developed so many material resources for the maintenance of a modern naval establishment.

This is doubtless true. Instead of wasting millions in repairing ships unfit for modern warfare, the policy of the last administration has been to build good vessels, and by a judicious placing of large contracts to induce private firms to set up the expensive plants needed for the making of heavy armor plates and monster guns. In this it has been successful. For the first time since iron began to supplant wood, and powerful marine engines to be developed, we have several iron ships that can both fight and run, while several others are in course of construction. Guns of great size have been made here as cheaply as in Europe, and heavy steel armor plates have been cast at a price only twenty-five per cent greater than they would have cost in Great Britain. We have, in short, got the nucleus of a great modern navy, such as those by which the European powers are trying to outvie each other, and in the Bethlehem Iron Works and the Hotchkiss Arms Company the expenditures of the government has brought into being a couple of infant Krupps. For all this, President Cleveland's administration deserves whatever credit is due. But is it not the credit that belongs to the doing well of what in itself is bad?

* * *

What do we want with a navy?

To protect our commerce? We have no sea-borne commerce except what creeps around our coast. Protection has killed our foreign commerce, and on the ocean American passengers and American freights are carried under foreign flags. Yet even if we had foreign commerce, it would need no navy to protect it. We have but to agree to it, to secure to private property at sea in time of war the same immunity that the usages of civilized nations now give to private property on land. And even if this were not so the days of convoys have passed.

To protect our seaboard cities from bombardment? Who is there who wants or is likely to want to bombard our cities? And if such there were, is it not certain that the most effective defense of our seaboard cities from bombardment would not be steel-clad ships such as we are now constructing and that are certain to be antiquated with the first great war that comes, but by balloons and submarine boats and torpedoes and electrical devices such as American ingenuity, if its springs be kept in strength, will bring forth whenever there is need?

* * *

In the beginning of the century, when compared with European powers, we were small and weak; when the black flag was yet known in the gulf, when Barbary rovers yet sailed the Mediterranean and passed beyond the straits; when the eastern seas were infested with Chinese and Malay pirates; when railroad and telegraph were not known, and it took months to communicate between places where now only minutes are required—then there might have been some reason for spending money on a standing navy. But what reason is there now? Pirates have disappeared, barbarism, on the sea coasts at least, has everywhere succumbed to the power of civilization, and all the principal ports of the world are linked in telegraphic communication with New York and Washington. The American republic, in the beginning of the century small and weak, is now, all things considered, the strongest nation in the world, while every decade as it passes steadily increases her superiority. Separated by three thousand miles of ocean from the rivalries and enmities of Europe, seated without hostile neighbors on a continent where none would dream of measuring strength with us, what foe have we, what foe are we likely to have, against whom we should need a navy? The notion that any nation on earth would be "tempted by our defenseless condition" to deliberately attack us, is worthy of a lunatic asylum. There is no power or combination of powers that could successfully invade us, and there is no power or combination of powers that could have any temptation to wantonly attack us. So long as we refrain from wantonly attacking others, peace with all the world is in our hands. It is perhaps the very greatest of all the advantages which we enjoy over the other great nations of the earth that so far as human eye can see we may rest secure of honorable peace so long as we prefer it to dishonorable war.

* * *

But "war may come." Yes; war may come. No one could deny that any more than any one could deny that Mrs. Toodles' daughter might marry a man named Thompson. But what use is there in keeping up an expensive navy to meet that possibility? The possession of steel-clad fleets and navy yards and foundries based on government contracts does not mean maritime strength. We may build and maintain a navy as great as that of England, but so long as we have no mercantile marine—so long as England carries our passengers

and transports our freights on the high seas—we shall not rival England's maritime power.

The robbing system of protection has reduced us from the first rank of maritime peoples to the maritime rank of the Turks or the Japanese, and now the advocates of this same system, as one of the excuses for keeping up the blighting taxes from which some few monopolists profit, insist on giving us a "modern naval establishment." It will no more make us a naval power than the purchase of ironclads by Turkey and Japan make those countries naval powers. A navy without a merchant commerce is an exotic that may make a brave show in time of peace if money enough be spent on it, but that will surely wither in the blast of war with a commercial nation. To become strong on the seas again—to have again the American flag floating over the swiftest ships and the best seamen that any nation can boast, it is only necessary to give freedom to American enterprise and American ingenuity—to abolish the taxes that have driven them from the ocean. The millions that we are spending on this infant "modern naval establishment" of ours, if left to private enterprise by the abolition of duties on everything that enters into the cost of building and sailing ships, would soon give us a mercantile marine that would be a better reliance in time of war than any navy; would soon build up foundries and machine shops able to turn out more and better and quicker work than any establishments that mere government patronage can create.

* * *

Standing navies and armies are incongruous with our institutions—they belong properly to monarchies and aristocracies, not to democratic republics. Our standing navy and our standing army are and have been since their organization utterly alien to the true American spirit. In them are perpetuated that caste distinction beween classes, the outgrowth of European aristocracy, that the American constitution aims at in prohibiting titles of nobility. Before the civil law all American citizens stand on the same level. Between the president of the republic and the lowest department messenger the distinction is merely that of place and duty. But between the commissioned officer of army or navy and the enlisted man there is a distinction of kind—a distinction essentially and historically the same as that made in the worst days of European monarchies between high born noble and base born peasant. Between the lowest commissioned officer and the highest non-commissioned officer in the American army or navy, there exists the same kind of impassable gulf that exists between the son of an English duke and his father's butler—the one is a member of a superior and privileged class, the other is essentially inferior.

Two American boys enter the navy at the same time. One the son of an influential father, is by favor of the president or some congressman sent to the Naval academy, or possibly in some cases where the congressman puts his privilege of appointment up to competition, he wins it by passing a scholastic examination, which, however it may test his ability to memorize and cram, gives no indication whatever of his peculiar fitness for a sailor. The other enters as apprentice or enlists as an ordinary seaman. The one becomes a favored ward of the government. He receives good pay, an expensive education, and has but to pass the examinations and conduct himself with reasonable propriety to come out of the academy a permanent office holder for the rest of his days. "Society" opens its arms to him as a member of a privileged class. The other is despised as merely "a common sailor." All the one has to do is to live, and he will mount by successive stages to the highest rank. As for the other, his status is not that of a ward of the government and life office holder, but that of a hired man, employed from time to time at low wages and small comfort, who, during his terms of enlistment, is held to his service by force, and who, no matter what his application and ability, can rarely hope to rise in the national service above a position which leaves him the inferior of the youngest and lowest commissioned officer.

All this is utterly opposed to the spirit of American institutions. Its theory is the theory of monarchy and aristocracy, not the theory of republican democracy. The reason assigned for the maintenance of privileged classes—of hereditary office holders and law-makers—by the defenders of monarchy and aristocracy is, that men are thus educated for their duties, and that the state thus gets better service. Whether this is true or not is beyond the point, but it is perfectly clear that if we are right in picking out and educating boys to become officers in our army and navy, then we are wrong in not picking out and educating boys to become judges, senators, commissioners, consuls, presidents—in short, in not putting the whole functions of government in the hands of a specially educated class of life office holders.

* * *

But this aristocratic organization of our standing army and standing navy is significant of something deeper, and shows that they are existing and not akin to our institutions. In the very nature of things standing armies and standing navies are inimical to democracy, and never, save in case of absolute necessity, should those who desire the perpetuity of democratic institutions consent to maintain them. Standing armies and navies have always proved the ready tools of tyranny, and in every country in which they have been suffered to pass a certain point have proved the death of liberty.

This arises from their nature. The great virtue of the military service is implicit obedience, and to its inculcation the whole military education is directed. In standing army or standing navy the citizen is converted into a mere killing machine, which reaches perfection as it becomes ready to kill with absolute indifference any one whom it is ordered to kill. "Theirs not to make reply; theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die" is the spirit and the virtue of standing army and standing navy. And there naturally grows up in it a distrust and contempt for democratic methods and forms.

In the very disposition to strengthen our standing army and navy there is an unconcealed desire to create a force that may on occasion be used not against a foreign enemy, but against the masses of our own people. "There is nothing more timid than a million dollars except two million dollars," and the millions in ones and twos and tens and scores and fifties and hundreds that are piling together in the United States today are more and more attracted to the idea of a strong government. "Militia can't be relied on to put down labor riots, and we ought to have more regulars," is a sentiment that has greatly grown among certain most influential classes during the last ten years, and that is not without open expression in the press. It is an indication that should remind us of what the whole history of government attests, that while "a well regulated militia is essential to the existence of a free people" a standing war establishment is always dangerous. If it is a great one, it is greatly dangerous. If it is a little one, it is less dangerous. But big or little, danger to free institutions inheres in its existence. For there is always a tendency in such things for the little to grow into the big.

* * *

For the man or boy who has no legitimate use for a revolver, the best sort of a revolver to carry, if he must carry a revolver, is one that won't shoot. On the same principle, the wooden navy which the Republicans left when they went out was a better navy for us than the more efficient one that President Cleveland's administration has left. The old ships that could neither fight nor run, but did possess a marvelous capacity for undergoing repairs, fully served every real purpose for which an American navy is wanted—an excuse for giving a number of gentlemen pleasant life situations, for fattening a number of contractors, and for enabling the party in power to exercise considerable political influence. As it could neither fight nor run, there was less danger that it might be used to get us into some disgraceful war, such as Mr. Blaine had all but succeeded in getting us into with Chile at the time when his power was terminated by Mr. Arthur's accession.

For us to spend money on a useless navy is only a little worse than throwing so much money into the sea; but to spend money on an efficient navy, when we have no need for any navy, is a great deal worse, since it creates a constant disposition to use it.

This is a real danger. To win a little military glory; to rouse the miserable vanities and vile passions that masquerade under the name of patriotism; to excite the madness that in man, as in some other animals, is worked by blood, is the most potent resource of a governing class who wish to divert attention from home matters and secure an unreasoning, unquestioning support. God forbid that the lust for power should bring the curse of another war of any kind upon the United States. It is the only thing that can. But just as we add to our military establishment, so do we increase the danger.

* * *

That we in the United States have developed the beginnings of a great "modern naval establishment," is this a thing to be proud of? Is it not like rejoicing that the beginnings of leprosy have been developed among a people that might be clean and whole?

Look at Europe today, cursed with monstrous military and naval establishments that not merely press with awful weight upon the productive energies of the people, but bar the way to all social and political reform. Look at Europe, so weighed down by these monstrous establishments that a nominal peace is becoming intolerable, and the only hope of advance seems to lie through a red sea of blood and a general bankruptcy of nations. Why should we take upon ourselves that curse? Why should we tamper or play with it?

War is the game from which both parties must arise losers! That is true of peoples. But it is not true of special classes who profit and wax strong at the expense of the masses of the people. Special interests find their account in war just as special interests find their account in protective tariffs, and concentrated special interests are always relatively stronger than diffused general interests. And what we are doing in building up a "modern naval establishment" is to develop those interests. To the masses of the people war always means suffering and impoverishment. But to the officers of a standing army or navy war means rapid promotion and enormously augmented importance; to contractors it means great fortunes; to politicians who can utilize its passions it means long leases of power. We can not be too careful not to build up such interests.

"The empire is peace," said the Third Napoleon. In this he inverted the truth, and a little while thereafter was, to maintain his empire, forced to involve France in a war which has left upon Europe a legacy of evil that no man can measure. Empires, monarchies, aristocracies—all forms of tyranny—are born of war and the war spirit. Democracy, on the contrary, is the child of peace, and can only really grow and advance in times of peace.

Trace to their root all forms of tyranny and enslavement, all the widespread curses that the world over have degraded and embruted men and made the masses but hewers of wood and drawers of water; ask how slavery, serfdom, cannibalism, private property in land, and national debts came to be; how savage superstitions were engendered and how the slavish reverence for ruling families and classes has been developed and perpetuated—it will be found to be war and preparations for war. Civilization, in what does it essentially consist, but in the art or condition of men living civilly and peacefully with each other? In our most highly civilized society individuals no longer go constantly armed. Why should not nations also become civilized, and discard their war establishments?

Most advantageously situated of all the nations, it might be the grand destiny of the American republic to lead the world to peace. Not to a "Roman peace" gained through blood and destruction, held by massive legions and carrying in its heart the seeds of its own decay, but a Christian peace, based on mutual respect

and forbearance—a living, deepening, growing peace, having for its foundation that golden rule that teaches us that we should act toward others as we would have others act toward us.

Some glimmering recognition of the true place of the American republic is shown in the proposal that has been made in her name that the nations should agree to settle disputes by arbitration. But how much more effective than any precept would be the example that would set before the world the spectacle of a great nation without a standing navy and a standing army!

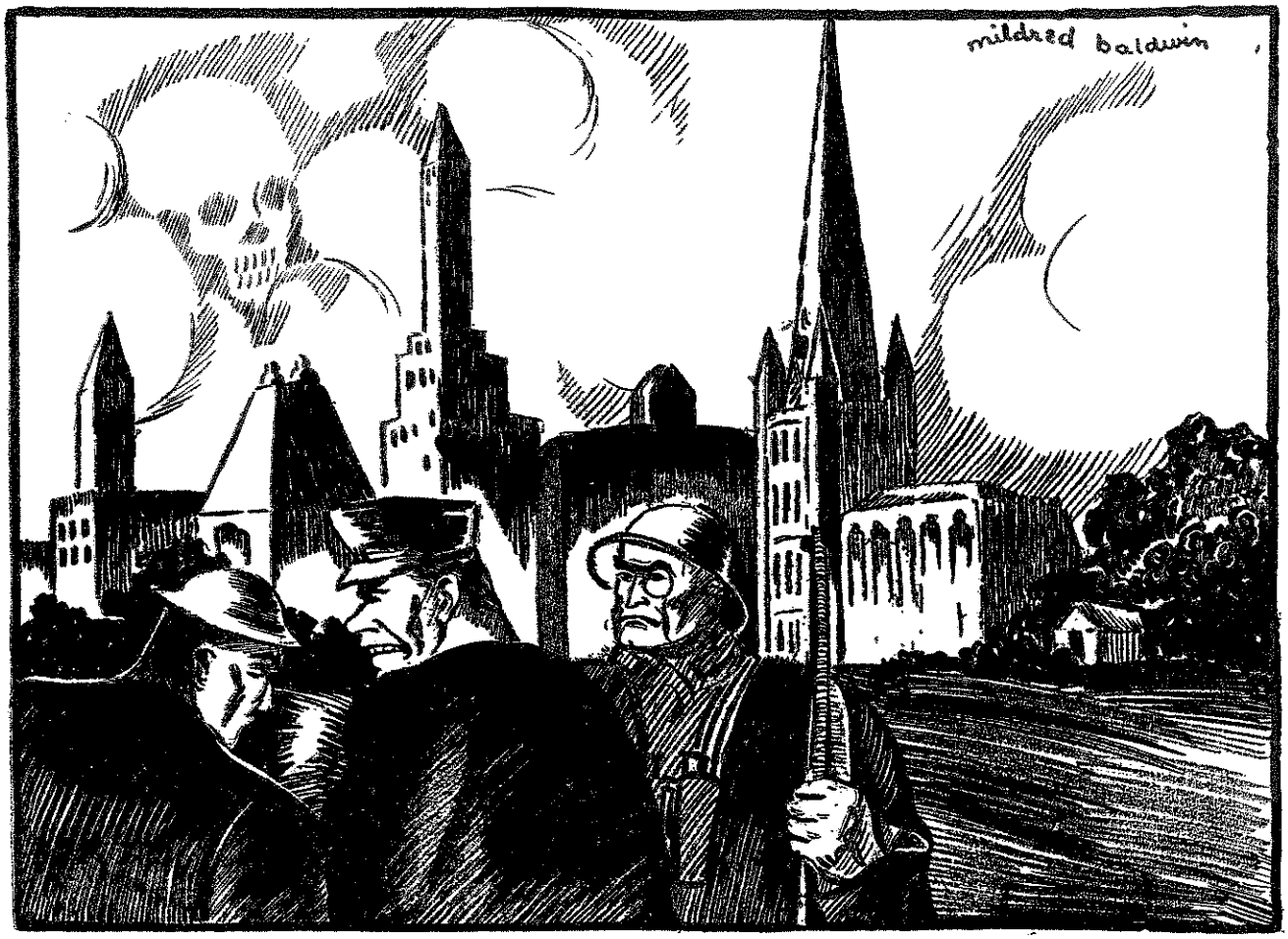
Of all the nations, ours is the one that can most easily and most safely set such an example. Too strong to fear injustice, we ought to be too proud to do it. What do we want with a "modern naval establishment?" In the quick brains, the strong arms, the loving hearts of self-respecting independent citizens who have really "a stake in the country," the republic will find her only sure defense. Building and maintaining "modern naval establishments" can only divert us from securing that.

The real dangers that menace the republic are not from without, but from within. Standing armies and standing navies, heavy armor plates rolled by Bethlehem Iron works and big guns made by the Hotchkiss Arms company can not guard against these dangers; they can only intensify them.

* * *

Bethlehem! The very word recalls the sweet story, radiant with a light that has glimmered down through centuries of iron and blood. Bethlehem, over which the star of a world hope stood, and angels sang of cheer to men of good will; where long seeking wise men bowed in joyful reverence before the lowly cradle of the Prince of Peace, who should turn sword into reaping hook and spear into plow share! Is it not suggestive of our so-called "Christian civilization" that iron works of this name should have taken the contract to roll armor plates? "The old gods are not dead." Many are the statues of Mars and Pluto that have Christ's name painted on them.

Instead of aping European monarchies, why should not the American republic take her proper place and lead the way? The millions we have spent on a useless navy and are now likely to spend on a worse than useless one, what might they not have accomplished if intelligently devoted to the advancement of science and the kindly arts. Only a small part of it might ere this have made aerial navigation practicable, and relegated European steel-clads to the junk shop, and pointed fifty telescopes greater than the Lick nightly to the stars.



". . . in the shadow of college, and library, and museum, are gathering the more hideous Huns and fiercer Vandals . . ."

The Book Trail

A THOUSAND SHALL FALL
By Hans Habe
Harcourt, Brace & Co., $3.00

This is the autobiography of a man who escaped death at the hands of the Nazis at the time of the Anschluss, enlisted in the French army when war broke out, served with the 21st Infantry of Foreign Volunteers, was taken prisoner by the Germans after the capitulation of France, made an adventurous escape, and finally landed on American shores.

According to Habe, conditions in the French Army were deplorable. Munitions were antiquated, but worse still, "... we were not sold out, but we were betrayed. ... A couple of corrupted generals can always be dealt with by a firing squad. But we had no corrupt generals ... They betrayed us without having exchanged a single word with the Germans. They did not want to fight against Germany. They liked Germany. Bought by the Germans? ... We delivered our country without even getting paid for it."

In the German concentration camp the prisoners learned something about the German army. Soldiers got a mark a day, those at the front two marks—20 or 40 francs, as against the 65 centimes a day of the French soldier. German soldiers had two uniforms—"two of everything, and everything first class." The French wore rags. "Your soldiers were herded together for soup like animals. You call that democracy. No thank you. In our barracks, everyone gets his meal and eats it comfortably in his room." But Habe tells also of the terrible tortures of the concentration camp; these were even more horrible for the Negroes than for the Jews.

The book takes its title from Psalms 97:7, which in the King James version reads, "A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee." "It" refers to terror by night, arrows by day, pestilence, and destruction. This immunity is promised to him (verse 2) who "will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust." Righteousness as a fortress and refuge inspires little confidence nowadays; yet it would hardly have been less efficient than the Maginot Line. Maybe the Psalmist was right; perhaps of nations as well as of men we may say with Horace, "He who lives in uprightness and purity has no need for Moorish spears, or bows, or quivers full of poisoned arrows."

BEATRICE PEACH

* * *

THE HEART OF EUROPE
By Charlotte Muret and
Denis de Rougemont
Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $2.50

"The Heart of Europe" is a rather roseate little item about Switzerland, written by an American and a native Swiss now living in the United States. It traces the history of Switzerland from the time of William Tell. One chapter gives a fairly well-rounded picture of the mechanism of the Swiss government.

Switzerland has become, according to the authors, "a Europe reconciled with itself," since it combines three civilizations, two religions, four languages and innumerable races in harmony. The authors distinguish between a democratic and a representative government; Switzerland's government is truly representative and cooperative. The citizens of each canton meet in the village and vote, much the same as in our New England Town Meeting.

The authors propose a Federalized Europe as post-war civilization's only hope of escape from totalitarianism. In substance, the proposal is identical with that of Clarence Streit in "Union Now," and must be rejected for the same reasons. To pass laws abolishing national boundaries is one thing; to induce people to erase these boundaries in their hearts, without eradicating the politico-economic abuses which caused the divisions in the first place, is something else again. It takes more than a pretty blue print to make a sturdy bridge.

Nevertheless, the book makes pleasant reading, especially for its anecdotes about Swiss sagacity, Swiss courage, and the Swiss character generally. Many passages are written with humor, and there is a delightful simplicity throughout which the reader who is sated with sophistication should find thoroughly enjoyable.

HARRIETT PHILMUS

* * *

CHIEFLY MY ENJOYMENT
By Ethel Lyman Stannard
Finlay Bros. Press (Hartford) $1.50

This is the "slim volume of verse" published by the author, with a shy message that she offers diffidently to the world. There is something wistful about these little volumes of poetry—something that reminds me of a little girl with a little garden, who knows all about the gorgeous floral displays of the parks and greenhouses, but still holds open the gate so that passers by may, if they wish, come in and see her rosebush, her row of sweet peas, and the giant tiger-lily in the center. Shakespeare, Swinburne, Sandburg notwithstanding, the modest minor poets still cultivate their small gardens.

In "Chiefly My Enjoyment; Wishing You the Same" Mrs. Stannard, an active member of the Hartford Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science, invites us into an intimate, yet wistful garden. You know how sometimes comic and humorous verse has a deep undertone of longing? Well, that's the case with Mrs. Stannard's lyrics. They are not great poetry. They won't survive after Keats and Wordsworth are forgotten. But they have their own appeal. Here is a sample:

It came at the end of a common day
  The trolley-car was crowded
With light-heart folk and toil-worn folk
  In fleshly raiment shrouded:
And up and down and round about
  Idly I scanned the faces,
Tracing the sordid features out—
Noting the finer graces
When sudden—my eyes beheld each face
  As through a mystic screen
And I caught the weary yearning look
  Of the lowly Nazarene.

ALAN FREEMARTIN

Who Knows about Money

By PAUL PEACH

A correspondence student writes:

An income tax is paid with money. A tax on production must be paid with goods. But our bondholders demand money, not goods. How can a tax on goods, then, liquidate the National Debt?

Another:

Just what is the function of government in respect to money? Is it true that there is no need to bury gold and silver in the ground, and that all the government need do is just issue the money as it is required?

* * *

The difficulties in the theory of money arise from three sources:

(1) Nobody knows what it is.

(2) Nobody knows what it ought to be.

(3) Nobody knows what to do with it.

Paradoxical as these statements may seem, they are still true. Take the first: Nobody knows what money is. Henry George says (S. P. E., Book V, Chap. 2) "Whatever in any time and place is used as the common medium of exchange is money in that time and place." On the next page George adds that money is also a measure of value. It is common practice in text books on economics to define money as "the medium of exchange, the measure of value, and the storehouse of value."

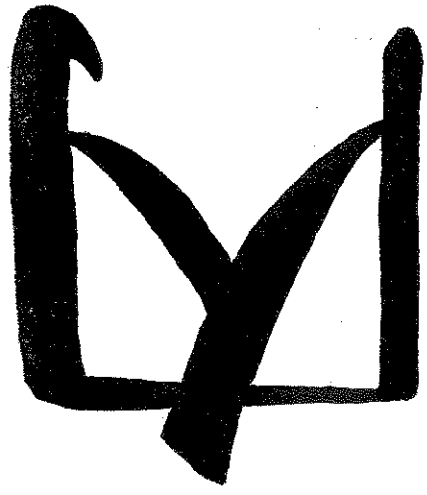
Now, if we accept the definition that money is the common medium of exchange, we mean in the United States that money consists of pennies, nickels, dimes, quarters and other coins, and of dollar bills, two dollar bills, five dollar bills, and bills of higher denomination. The definition is clear and unambiguous, and of course it is in this sense that we customarily speak of money.

But when we begin to study political economy, we soon find that this primitive notion is no longer adequate. Either we must introduce a new term (such as **credit**) to describe what we observe, or we must extend the notion of money to embrace these new concepts.

Consider George's idea of **money**: "The medium of exchange and the measure of value." This is two definitions, not one. It is by no means obvious that the two can be combined. The standard of length is the meter; but a distance equal to one meter is one thing, and a meter stick is another—even though we measure the former by means of the latter. An hour is not the same thing as a clock, nor a year as a calendar.

If we are to define money as one and only one thing, I think we must stick to the medium-of-exchange idea. But for modern economy we cannot restrict our ideas of the medium of exchange to coins and bills —that is, to **currency**. Currency is one thing; money includes currency, but is something bigger, broader.

Irving Kass, a graduate of the Henry George School, has given us the term **authority**, and I find this term very useful. If I have economic authority, it means I can go into the market place and say, "I have a desire; satisfy it." We commonly do this with coins and bills. I desire to eat a hot dog; I go to the hot dog stand, announce my desire, and produce a coin as a token of my authority. In return for the hot dog, I transfer my authority to the vendor, giving him the coin by way of token.



One thing to notice is that, though in this example I have surrendered the coin, such an act is not necessary to constitute money. The stone money of the Island of Yap served all the purposes of currency, but because of its immense bulk and weight (up to twelve feet in diameter) was not portable. If you wanted to pay a bill, you told your creditor, "You may have the stone now lying in Smith's back yard. Smith traded it to me for a missionary." Your creditor would accept this payment, and would pass on the ownership of the particular stone in the same way. In one case a stone fell into the sea and was lost; but it continued to circulate by word of mouth just the same. Nobody was interested in the stone itself; the only desire was for the economic authority which the stone symbolized.

I may, then, transfer my economic authority without actually handing over any token of that authority. If, however, I take part in a great many such transfers, I have a choice between keeping books (for my memory will not retain the details of all the trades) or of handing over to my creditor some physical object which will be accepted by the market as evidence of his authority. This is what I did when I gave the coin to the hot dog man.

The market will, however, accept other things than coin as evidence of authority. The most common of these is a bank check. In actual practice, the huge bulk of transfers of authority, in point of the amount of authority transferred, are made by this means; business bills are seldom paid in any other way. The use of checks instead of cash requires a certain assumption of honesty which impedes the negotiability of the checks; but in actual fact there are mighty few bills which cannot be paid by check if you insist upon paying in that way.

(Concluded next month.)

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

Edited by LAURA BREST

Chicago School Reports Record Breaking Enrollment Students Crowd Classrooms for Fall Term

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Chicago Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science has completed its analysis of the returns on the recent campaign for students, which resulted in a gratifying enrollment of 682. Of these, 285 were recommended by friends, 212 came as the result of circularization through the mail, 101 from posters, 32 from newspaper announcements, 22 from radio announcements made by Dr. Bradley, and 6 from the telephone campaign. The telephone idea, which seemed promising at first, did not fulfill expectations, as many of those who promised to come when contacted over the phone did not keep their promise. The rest of the students came from miscellaneous sources.

Of the 285 who came from friends, 157 came from 66 graduates, 53 from current students, 7 from non-graduates and 69 from unnamed friends. These results lend new weight to the invariable experience of the School everywhere, that its greatest asset is student enthusiasm and good will. No method of getting students can compare in effectiveness with the recommendation of friends to friends.

The 1942 enrollment is twice that of last term, when the total was 343. It is nearly 50% higher than for the fall terms of 1939 (467 enrollments) and 1940 (458 enrollments). In all, there are 36 classes in Fundamental Economics, covering a territory from Waukegan on the north to Blue Island on the south, and as far west as Elmhurst.

One out of ten of the new students has studied economics in high school, and two out of ten in college. The remaining seven are making their first investigation of how men in civilization make a living—and why some men can't.

"Now that this term is under way, we're already thinking of the next one, which will start about the middle of February," says Henry L. T. Tideman, Director of the Chicago Extension. "If the graduates of this term are as enthusiastic as those of the past, we can beat the thousand mark when next semester rolls around."

The School is preparing to offer 20 advanced classes to the new enrollees at the close of the term.

Article on Land Tenure in Catholic Journal

NEW YORK, N. Y.—In the November issue of "America" there appears an article entiled, "Is Our Form of Land Tenure Best Fitted for Modern Needs?" It is an analysis from the Catholic point of view of the amendment to the New York State Constitution being advocated by the American Society of Scientific Taxation.

Chicago Coming Events

CHICAGO, Ill.—The following are announced in "On The Campus," the monthly publication of the Chicago Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science:

Tuesday, December 2: Monthly Fellowship Forum at the School's Headquarters, 64 West Randolph Street, Suite 600. Time, 8:00 P.M.

Tuesday, December 9: Christmas party and sale, with games and refreshments, by Henry George Woman's Club, at 64 W. Randolph St., 8:00 P.M.

Sunday, December 28: "Progress and Poverty Bus Tour" (No. 2—North Side). This is the "laboratory lesson" which has proved so popular in previous terms. Bus leaves from 64 W. Randolph Street at 2:00 P.M. Fare 75c.

Chicago Finance Committee

CHICAGO, Ill.—During August, September and October the Alumni Finance Committee received pledges of $476.40 from 106 friends of the School, bringing the total of pledges for the current school year to $3000.77. Members of the committee are: Bernard V. Drebin, chairman; Maurice L. Cohen, Myron Goldenberg, Mrs. George M. Menninger, George H. Moyland, Edward P. Therrio and R. H. Vrooman.

"Our budget for the School year," Mr. Drebin stated in his report, "is $5,000. The balance of the required funds could be met by 166 friends each chipping in a dollar a month.

"The assets of the School are its hundreds of friends. I am confident that they wish us to strike a balance against our liabilities—for printing, postage and additional headquarters space—in order that this fundamental educational work may continue to expand."

Substitution in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Because of the illness of Instructor Ernest Schneider, the class at Germantown Y.M.C.A. has been taken over by Charles Scheerbaum.

Speakers' Bureau Reports

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Miss Dorothy Sara, Secretary of the Speakers' Bureau announces the following engagements:

Oct. 31 George Hanson at History Society, Jamaica High School, Long Island.

Nov. 13 Albert M. Gants at Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Belle Harbor, L. I.

Nov. 16 Jacob Schwartzmann at A. Z. A. Fraternity, Brighton Beach, Brooklyn.

Nov. 21 Dr. Irving Korn at Bay Ridge Jewish Center, Brooklyn.

Nov. 25 A. P. Christianson at Knights of Pythias, Royal Lodge, New York.

Nov. 27 C. O. Steele at Men's Club, Hebrew Alliance, Brighton Beach, Brooklyn.

Acquisition for Library

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Library at the New York Headquarters of the Henry George School of Social Science is now almost completely catalogued, thanks to the efforts of volunteer librarians Bob Clancy and Hester Bradbury. Recently an old friend of the School, who had not visited us for two years, dropped in for a look at the library, and said to Miss Bateman, "My, what a change. The last time I saw it is was so upset, and now it seems entirely in order."

"Yes," answered Miss Bateman, "Bob and Hester have done a splendid job."

"You know," said the visitor, "I have a copy of Patrick Dove's 'Theory of Human Progression'—the original, complete, you understand, not an abridgement. I'm going to bring it down. It's quite valuable."

"That's awfully kind of you," says Miss Bateman.

"Don't mention it," replied the visitor. "It belongs to the School. I found it in the library about two years ago, and took it home with me. I was afraid it might get lost in the confusion."'

Georgist Appointed Chairman

TORONTO, Ont.—R. C. Berkinshaw has been appointed chairman of the Wartime Industries Control Board (Canada) thus becoming controller-general of the wartime controllers. A number of other important positions in the national administration are now filled by Georgists, or by men in sympathy with the Georgist ethic.

Philadelphia Extension Expects Doubled Enrollment Will Cooperate With Adult Education Groups

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The Philadelphia Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science, under the leadership of Julian P. Hickok, is putting into operation extensive plans for securing more students, more classes and more activity on the part of graduates. It is expected that October enrollments will be at least doubled in the new term, and that many classes will be added outside the city proper.

In addition to the 8 classes opened in October, there are three new ones, the tardy harvest of the summer campaign. The first of these meets at the home of Miss Katherine Auchy in Manoa. Miss Auchy not only donated her home for a meeting place, but also went out and secured all the students herself. The instructor is Llewellyn Howe, a recent addition to the faculty, pupil of Ernest Schneider. Mr. Schneider is in the hospital and has been seriously ill, but is now convalescent and will be on the active list again soon.

Another class, which meets at the Frankford High School, was secured through the efforts of Dr. Henry George. Dr. Waldman, and former Field Organizer Ed Ross. This class is being taught by the founder of the Philadelphia Extension, Julian Hickok.

The third class, which was scheduled to open November 24th at the Har-Zion Temple, was secured by Samuel L. Green, who will also teach it. Mr. Green is a member of the Philadelphia Board of Trustees and a tireless worker.

The Extension has contacted the Junto, a new organization formed in Philadelphia with the aim of encouraging adult education. At present the Junto has not included economics courses in its agenda, but there are hopes.

The Philadelphia Georgists are planning a "get-together" in the form of a dance or card party, or other social activity, with the aim of bringing together the faculty, students and graduates and rallying them to the support of the School. Plans are also under way to secure a central office for the School.

Champion from Chicago

CHICAGO, Ill.—The champion student-getter of the present term is John A. (Slugger) De Vos, Hinsdale civic booster and technology instructor at the plant training school of the Illinois Bell Telephone Company. Twenty-eight students in Loop and Hinsdale classes admit on their registration cards that they once met John De Vos. To meet John A. is, sooner or later, to join a class—and like it!

Runner-up as a salesman of economic study is Thomas Polad of Evanston. At least 11 current students are from his wide circle of friends; one of them his son, Louis.

Enrollment at the People's Church (57) is the largest at any location. Members of the team working for this enrollment were Cameron Bester (captain) and Mrs. Bester, Mrs. Clyde Bassler, Miss Emily Coverdale, Francis J. De Nevue, and Ernest Janson. Dr. Preston Bradley, pastor of People's Church, announced the course during his broadcast services, resulting in 22 enrollments in classes throughout the city and suburbs.

Georgist Publishes Poems

HARTFORD, Conn.—Mrs. Ethel Lyman Stannard, of the Hartford Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science, has published a collection of her poems, "Chiefly My Enjoyment." She has left several copies at the office of the Henry George School in New York City, and copies may be obtained from the School or from the publisher.

Jersey Faculty Meets

NEWARK, N. J.—Dr. Elizabeth E. Bowen conducted the present term's second meeting of the faculty of the Jersey Extension, Henry George School of Social Science, which took place at the Academy Building in Newark.

Nearly all members of the faculty attended the meeting. Some of the new members related difficulties they had encountered and obtained further information on these points. The "older" members offered constructive suggestions and from time to time indulged in a little hair-splitting.

Among those present was George L. Rusby, whose two invariable habits are to enroll new students and discuss the question of interest with confirmed Georgists. (This is our way of letting Lloyd Haas know that he will shortly hear further from Mr. Rusby.)

Yule Jollity in Chicago

CHICAGO, Ill.—In place of their regular December meeting, the Henry George Woman's Club will hold a Christmas party and bazaar in their club rooms on Tuesday, December 9th. Each member is asked to donate one or more articles that can be sold, and come prepared to purchase gifts for Christmas. Donations will be received at this time to pay for the fruit and nuts with which the Christmas stockings will be filled. These Christmas stockings are filled every year for a party given at Olivet Institute for the under-privileged children of the neighborhood.

Freeman to Cease Publication?

NEW YORK, N. Y.—At the December meeting of the Trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science in New York, the question of continuing or abandoning the School's sponsorship of The Freeman will be discussed.

A number of readers of The Freeman, especially those who favor increased American participation in the war, take issue with its editorial policy and call for its suppression. Groups in New York and Boston have submitted petitions urging the Trustees to take action.

Jersey Commencement Dinner

NEWARK, N. J.—The New Jersey Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science will provide an opportunity for the students of the fall term to celebrate their graduation at a dinner meeting on Friday, December 5th. The meeting will be held at the Hamilton Restaurant, 760 Broad Street, Newark; time, 7:00 P.M.

Beckwith Book Published

STOCKTON, Calif.—L. D. Beckwith announces the appearance of his book, "The Answer: by Nature Herself, written from Nature's Notes by L. D. Beckwith." This work deals with economic theory from the Georgist point of view, and undertakes to demonstrate that economics is as exact a science as any other. By resort to natural law, says Mr. Beckwith, we should be able to solve social problems as we solve shop problems.

L. D. Beckwith is the editor and publisher of The Forum (Stockton), a weekly paper devoted largely to economic theory and the interpretation of the news of the day.

Armistice Day Program

CHICAGO, Ill.—The November meeting of the Henry George Woman's Club of Chicago was held on the night of Armistice Day at the Club Rooms. The program consisted of a panel discussion on "Suggested Ways of Peace."

Mrs. E. C. Frank spoke on "Union Now." Howard L. Hommedieu discussed "Passive Non-Resistance." John Lawrence Monroe presented "Wilson's Fourteen Points" and Edwin Hamilton "The Roosevelt-Churchill Eight Points." Harry Fleischman, the last speaker, told about "The Socialist Alternative to War."

Questions from both speakers and audience were willingly answered by all who took part in the program, and the discussion was so interesting that it carried over into the social hour which followed the meeting.

Hold Theater Party

CHICAGO, Ill.—A large group of Georgists and friends were expected to attend the Benefit Theater Party planned by the Henry George Woman's Club for November 15th. The proceeds will be used for furnishing the Club Rooms.

Cinema in Jersey

NEWARK, N. J.—George Lachner, a graduate of one of the classes of James de Roode in the Henry George School of Social Science, attended the faculty meeting on November 11th and presented a forty-five minute movie of Mexico—his own work.

Mr. Lachner has made several trips to Mexico and in addition to his picture taking, made it a point to study the country's history and people. The members of the faculty enjoyed greatly his informative comment and excellent photographs.

Address by Jersey Georgist

NEWARK, N. J.—George C. Winne, of the faculty of the North Jersey Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science, addressed the members of the Lions' Club of Hackensack at a luncheon on November 5th. The title of Mr. Winne's speech was "The Golden Earth."

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Contributors' Corner

Only one new name appears among our article writers this month—that of **May Speed Sexton**, of the New York faculty. We regret that the limitations of the printed word are such that we cannot reproduce for our readers the full flavor of Mrs. Sexton's rich Dixie brogue; perhaps the imagination can supply what the type cannot. The illustrations are by—guess who! Who else, indeed, but the inimitable **Sylvia Wiren**, who for the third time teams up with a lady contributor—and most successfully, we think.

The big picture at the end of Henry George's editorial on "Our Need of a Navy" is by **Mildred Baldwin**. "I love to draw brutal men," postcards Mrs. Baldwin. By preference, she draws from models. Readers of **The Freeman** are requested not to assume that Mr. Baldwin sat for any of the hideous trio.

We have two new book reviewers—**Harriett Philmus**, already known to our readers because of her indefatigable efforts as a volunteer during registration week last September, and **Beatrice Peach**, who gets in because she has a drag. Mrs. Peach has been receiving all sorts of hints on housekeeping recently, but her husband still looks more like Cassius than Falstaff. We have more news of Harriett elsewhere in this issue.

The heading for our "Letters to the Editor" page is the joint production of Mildred Baldwin and Sylvia Wiren. Our movie reviewer still maintains his modest anonymity behind the pseudonym of **Martin Simon**.

Peter Schwander, of Houston, Tex., is well known to Georgists all over the world by his nom de guerre **Horatio**. He thinks Georgists are too long winded, and uses the sonnet form because it holds him down to fourteen lines.

Objections Overruled

The following "Objections Overruled" are from the latest edition of the **Encyclopaedia Americana**. The article on the Single Tax for the **Americana** was written by Louis F. Post.

* * *

Objections to the Singletax are too numerous for complete consideration here. Some are frivolous, some are disingenuous, some proceed from misapprehension; but some are sincere, important and at least apparently reasonable. Most professorial economists are counted among objectors, and the economic atmosphere of the universities seems to be hostile. Yet the objections lack both system and comprehensiveness. Most comprehensive of all, perhaps, are those of Walker's 'Land and Its Rent,' a book which had vogue for a time but is now obsolete. It has been succeeded in university circles by a chapter on "The Single Tax" in Seligman's 'Essays on Taxation.' This chapter, which is limited to the subject in its fiscal aspects, is refuted in chapter XIV of Shearman's 'Natural Taxation.'

Following is a summary of current objections and answers:

The Singletax would take private property for public use without compensation.

As land value is attributable not to individual industry but to social progress, and attaches not to industrial products but to natural resources, it is in fairness social property, for which reason the just objection is not to taking land value for public use without compensation to landowners, but to allowing its continued appropriation by landowners without compensation to the public.

The fiscal principle upon which the Singletax rests, that of taxation in proportion to individual benefits derived from government, is false, sound fiscal principles requiring taxation in proportion to each taxpayer's ability to pay.

(a) Taxation in proportion to ability to pay is a principle of arbitrary tribute-levying; (b) the sound fiscal principle under democratic government is in proportion to governmental benefits.

Taxation in proportion to governmental benefits is impracticable, the benefits being too multifarious and subtle for financial measurement.

(a) As land values financially reflect all governmental benefits, taxation of land values is in proportion to benefits; (b) it is, at any rate, in proportion to financial benefits, which is the crux of the matter.

The tax would be shifted from landowner to tenant in higher rent.

This is (a) unthinkable with reference to unimproved land, and (b) since unimproved land would glut the market under pressure of burdensome taxation, all land would tend downward in market value.

Unimproved building sites do not need the governmental protection that police and fire systems provide and which buildings do need; therefore, upon the principle of taxation according to benefits, building sites rather than buildings should be exempt from taxation for police and fire protection.

As the value of building sites is higher with police and fire protection than without, and the value of buildings is no higher (probably lower from the greater competition in building), it is building sites, not buildings, that are benefited financially by fire and police protection, and which, therefore, should bear the financial burden.

The Singletax would produce public revenues in excess of public needs.

Probably not, if schools, highways and other public necessaries and conveniences were adequately provided and properly maintained.

The Singletax would lack elasticity and therefore be unadaptable to balanced budgets.

(a) This possibility of disadvantage would be outweighed by manifest advantages; (b) it might be obviated by estimating public expenditures after instead of prior to collection of the public revenues out of which they are paid; (c) estimates of aggregate land values for a fiscal year in advance of expenditures are as trustworthy for budget purposes as estimates of any other taxable values or of all together; (d) some Canadian municipalities have for several years balanced their budgets under a policy of land value taxation alone, and with apparent satisfaction for they have been legally at liberty to abandon the policy at the beginning of every fiscal year; (e) the problem of balanced budgets is the same with governments as with individuals namely to balance expenditures and savings in normal circumstances against normal incomes (in emergencies anticipating future income by drafts upon savings and by temporary borrowing), and as land values are essential social property and therefore the normal income of governments, expenditures in government budgets should balance against land values.

Invitation to Writers

SWARTHMORE, Pa.—The Letter Writing Group, organization of which was announced in **The Freeman** last month, is now functioning. Georgists are invited to join, as all can help, with letters and in other ways.

Address **Miss Bertha Sellers, 133 Ogden Ave., Swarthmore, Pa.**

On the Margin

Jean Lackey, of the New York front office staff, greeted a visitor one day, who asked how long the School had been on Twenty-Ninth Street. He was informed that it had been there some years, and previously had been conducted in one room further uptown. With this, he smiled broadly and proudly announced: "I know—that was in my room!"

One of the students at the New York School is the secretary of a State Governor (who must remain anonymous). The Governor has become so intrigued with what he has learned about taxes from his assistant, that he has arranged to devote an afternoon a week to further Georgist research.

Harriett Philmus' mother has succeeded her as a student in Sydney Mayers' class at headquarters. Mrs. Philmus now observes that times have changed, for she no longer asks Harriett whether her school work has been done, but meekly listens while daughter asks: "Mother, have you finished your lesson?"

Miss Emma Hopkins, a student in Lancaster M. Greene's class at the New York School, has worked out a splendid "sample system." Each week she brings a different friend to class, to see how lessons are conducted. By the end of the course, she will have an enthusiastic group ready to register.

One of the students now taking the basic course by correspondence is answering the questions from memory, based on his reading of "Progress and Poverty" about eight years ago. Not only are his papers well done, but he has so intrigued the editor of his town newspaper, that the eminent journalist himself is about to embark upon the study of Georgist principles.

Again demonstrating the dramatic flair that has made his classes in the Science of Political Economy the Mecca for advanced students in search of an exciting course, Burt Levey, of the New York Faculty of the Henry George School, recently starred in a thrilling adventure. Without warning, he found himself suddenly whisked to the Royal Hospital, where he bravely submitted to an emergency appendectomy. Since the operation, Mr. Levey has been doing nicely, and the headquarters staff, as well as his students, happily anticipate his return very soon. In the meantime, Mr. Levey's class is being conducted by Joseph Berger, who generously offered to pinch-hit until the patient is fully recovered.

Operating Room Dialogue

Mr. Levey: Will the anaesthetic make me sick?

Doctor: I don't think so.

Mr. Levey: How long will it be before I know anything?

Doctor: I'm sorry, Mr. Levey; all I can do is take out your appendix.

Books Received

LANGUAGE IN ACTION
By S. I. Hayakawa
Harcourt, Brace & Co., $2.00

THE ANSWER
By L. D. Beckwith
Forum Pub. Co. (Stockton) $2.50

PROPERTY TAXES
A Symposium
Tax Policy League (N. Y.) $2.50

FEDERAL FINANCES IN THE COMING DECADE
By Carl Shoup
Columbia University Press, $1.00

THE GROUND WE STAND ON
By John Dos Passos
Harcourt, Brace & Co., $3.50

The Broken Bridge

By HORATIO

Charity bails the boat; Justice stops the leaks.—Henry George.

The bridge was broken, but they knew it not,
Being too busy saving drowning men.
What did it matter how so many got
Into the river's cruel maelstrom when
They tumble down so fast? Come help us—You!
Nor turn away to needlessly explore
When men are drowning! But the sage withdrew
To close the bridge—it saved so many more!

Sweet Charity! So prodigal of doles,
How blind thou art to the world's greater need!
For every soul thus saved, a thousand souls
Fall through the rotten trestlework of Greed
Which privilege supports. And neither prayer
Nor alms can mend what Justice should repair.

If you want live illustrations to help you in teaching, look in this column. It is made to your order—a Teacher's Index to **The Freeman**. No matter how good your teaching is, you can improve it by using better, more modern illustrations. Get them from **The Freeman**, and find them in The Index.

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References at the beginning of each entry are to the manuals. **P & P 8:4** means Progress and Poverty, Lesson 8, Question 4. Other references are page numbers in **The Freeman**.

Note well: P & P references are to the Fourth Edition of the Teachers' Manual, which divides the elementary course into fifteen lessons instead of ten.

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P & P 1:1—"A Slow Sort of Country" (33). It is not always easy to convince students that wages do indeed tend to a minimum, because he confuses real wages with money wages. By showing that wages are, not the money a man gets, but the things he can buy after he has paid his tax bill, it is easy to show that times of rising prices and increasing taxes may be times of falling wages, even though there are more dollars in the pay envelope.

P & P 2:11—"The Crisis in Iceland" (32). The native Icelanders are enjoying the benefits, so called, of a flood of money. The effect is to make them questions 13 and 14 of Lesson 4.

P & P 7:22—"Machines and the Lot of the Farmer" (32). The feeling that increased mechanization makes for unemployment is very strong in most beginning students. A good illustration to give them is that of a large newspaper—ask whether more people can be employed publishing an edition of (say) a million copies with modern equipment, or with an old style hand press. The hand press will use more labor per paper, but could such a paper be marketed?

P & P 8:22—"Current Cinema Fare" (34), especially the review of "How Green Was My Valley." Compare this with question 13 and 14 of Lesson 4.

P & P 8:22—"Machines and the Lot of Farmer" (32).

P & P 9:26—"Socialism for Beginners" (35). This little verse might well be committed to memory.

P & P 15:4—"Our Need of a Navy" (38). George could not foresee the aggressors of modern times, but he certainly knew about the aggressors of history. Despite this, he seems to have felt that efforts devoted to disassociation and conflict were an unmixed evil.

P & P 15:13—"Our Need of a Navy" (38).

P or F T 3:12—"A Slow Sort of Country (33).

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