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A MONTHLY CRITICAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

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Peace Is With Us

*The sands and snows run red
This Christmas-tide
And men who walked in Peace
To later churn the earth
With Juggernauts of War
Have found Peace once again
This Christmas-tide
When fallen to the earth
They pressed their lives
Upon earth's hungry breast.*

*Their struggle's done
The endless Peace is theirs
This Christmas-tide.*

*Yet living Peace for living men
Is real
The fount is with us
For countless carols
Wordless—yet surely come from God
Well in the hearts of children
Yet unspoiled
This Christmas-tide
And trustful of the men
Who churn the earth
With Juggernauts of War.*

Our task's to come.

*God help us in it
That those who trust
Shall be unspoiled
And free
At Christmas-tides
To come.*

—GEORGE B. BRINGMANN

Christmas, 1942.

Equal Rights Versus Common Rights

★ THE CREATOR WAS WISE indeed in neither issuing land title deeds nor having them registered. He knew, it would seem, that had He done so He would have advantaged some of His children, even to the extent of privileging them to be masters, while those not holding land title deeds would be but slaves. He must have wanted us all to be free, and that is why He arranged it so that we could all have equal access to all the land.

Were there only one man on earth, he would obviously have a right to the whole earth, or any part thereof. When there is more than one man, each of them does not cease to have a right to the use of the earth, but his right becomes limited by the similar rights of all the others and is therefore an equal right. This equality of right cannot

be achieved by dividing up the earth itself; it can only be secured by taking the additional value that one piece of land has, as compared with another, and using it for the common purpose of all men—in other words, by appropriating economic rent by taxation.

Sight must not be lost of the fact that the use of land is not a *joint or common* right, but an *equal* right. The joint or common right is to *rent*, in the economic sense of the term. Therefore it is not necessary for the state to take land; it is necessary only for it to take rent. This is natural law, which is God's law and not the man-made variety which is most always based on special privilege and advantage for the few who frame it.

—OSCAR BOELEN

The Missionary Urge

★ THREE NEWS ITEMS in one day:

MOSCOW—Members of the communist child movement, The Pioneers, ages 10 to 15, take oath of hate. . . . "With all my heart I hate the fascist occupants." . . .

The Georgist sighs. What an unhappy trick to play on the minds and hearts of youth, filling them with hate, sowing the seeds of future strife. The gleam of the missionary comes to the eye of the Georgist; he feels the urge to go to Russia and teach the Pioneers the true spirit of freedom and removal of all hate and barriers.

WASHINGTON—Attorney General Biddle announced that 600,000 unnaturalized Italians in the United States will be freed from the stigma of being considered enemy aliens.

The Georgist smiles knowingly, because only in a democracy is such a thing possible. He feels quite smug.

MISSISSIPPI—Three negro prisoners were lynched in this state this week by angry mobs of white men, and deprived of their lives and their rights to a fair trial.

The Georgist shamefacedly realizes that there is much work to be done here at home. He doesn't have to go as a missionary to foreign fields. There is an abundance of work at hand.

Hatred and intolerance are not a matter of political allegiance, race, or even whether we are at peace or war. Fear is the only cause of hatred. Establish economic justice between men of the same nation and between nations themselves and there will be no need to hate our fellow man whatever his political creed, color, or race.

—DOROTHY SARA

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Capitalism and Its Barnacles

★ YEAR AFTER YEAR the word "capitalism" is used and abused in economic discussion. Few have considered its origin or its real meaning. Away back in 1933, about the time President Roosevelt was assuming the office of President of the United States, Charles H. Ingersoll, "the man who made the watch that made the dollar famous," in a radio address from Station WABC, New York City, made some remarks about capitalism that should pique the curiosity of both its enemies and its defenders.

"Capitalism is a coined word of Socialism, representing its confused idea of exploitation and its causes. Capitalism contains two utterly opposing elements, one legitimate and the other monopolistic; the one operating for, the other against, popular interest. Capitalism, in its proprietorship of private enterprise, should be impregnable, unhampered and untaxed, while capitalism in possession of monopoly without due compensation to

the natural owners of monopoly, the people, is indefensible.

"If capitalism will use a fraction of its facilities in a real job of engineering, fact-finding and surveying, it will discover that it is upheld, in principle, by the greatest men of all ages, from Moses down, and only needs to correct errors, easily seen and eliminated, to continue its glorious career and build our capitalist civilization bigger and finer."

In other words, the peril to capitalism lies in the fact that sundry excrescences have attached themselves to it as barnacles attach themselves to a ship and, if not removed, finally render it unseaworthy.

Time was when chattel slavery was considered an indispensable adjunct of our economic system. That excrescence has been removed. There are others requiring removal quite as urgently. While they endure they will constitute an ever-growing danger to capitalism—to civilization itself.

—STEPHEN BELL

So They Passed a Law

★ THE September twenty-sixth address of the Archbishop of Canterbury was printed in the Congressional Record at the request of Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, who is evidently in sympathy with the views expressed by the distinguished prelate. One paragraph of the speech reads as follows:

There are four requisites for life which are provided by nature, even apart from man's labor: air, light, land and water. I suppose if it were possible to establish a property claim upon air, somebody would have done it by now, and would have made people pay if they wanted to breathe what he would then call his air. So, too, of light. But it has not been found possible to do this.

It is usually necessary to explain to Archbishops and Senators and other recruits who join the grizzled and dust-brown ranks of the land reformers, that light and air are simply part of the land; for who would purchase or rent a tract of land where there was no sunshine or air, or where sul-

phur and iron heated together would as likely yield acetic acid as ferrous sulphite, or where cows might perchance breed cobras?

Man's position in nature is such that only by access to land can he make contact with the substances, laws and forces of nature, vital or biological as well as inorganic, which are an absolute necessity to his existence. As no man can create the smallest part of life, energy or matter, unless he makes something out of nothing, these natural agents can be the property of nobody but the Almighty. In their totality they constitute the mechanism of the universe.

Men have certain rights in the earth, but unless we consult something besides law books in determining precisely what those rights are, we shall go on forever butchering one another by the millions.

For a long time the law said that the earth was flat, but the earth perversely and with malice aforethought persisted in being round, so the politicians passed a new law.

—HENRY S. FORD

Meet Our New Dictator: Mr. Five Per Cent

Neo-Liberal Illusion: That Collectivism is Liberty is the title of an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post. A few days later it was reprinted in a full-page display in the New York World-Telegram, with the following comment: "We did not write this editorial, but we think you should read it. . . . It touches the life and the interest of every American. How you and some 130 million others meet the issue it presents will determine the course and the extent of this nation's development for the next century." With many points of view expressed in the editorial, the New York newspaper, PM, disagreed in a six-page story entitled PM Answers Saturday Evening Post's Attack on Common People. In the following article MARGARET HARKINS, a member of the editorial board of THE FREEMAN, gives her views on the discussion which has aroused nation-wide controversy.

★ LITERATURE is the straw in the wind that points the direction in which modern civilization is traveling. Today the spoken and written word, the expression of mankind, foreshadows trends with unerring accuracy. If the current historical course veers away from the fate which overtook Greece and Rome we can thank the oft-despised mechanical age which has brought us the printing-press and the radio. These instruments might have saved the ancients, and it seems probable that they will save us. However, since it is the nature of man to seek to gratify his desires with the least effort, his redemption will not be realized through pursuit of enlightenment alone but through the exposure of his false knowledge as well. For false knowledge often seems to encounter the least resistance, as James Henry Robinson has so succinctly stated: "We like to continue to believe what we have been accustomed to believe as true, and the resentments aroused when doubt is cast upon any of our assumptions lead us to seek every manner of excuse for clinging to them. The result is that most of our so-called reasoning consists in finding arguments for going on believing as we already do."

That the *Saturday Evening Post*, in this year of 1942, published an editorial in which the editors advocated the cause of economic freedom, is a matter of great importance to the entire world. It denotes a trend. That the *New York World-Telegram* considered the editorial of such value as to reprint it in full, and that another New York newspaper, PM, devoted six pages of space to attacking it, adds to its importance. At first glance it

would seem that such expressions might come under the heading of "spreading economic enlightenment." But that all three publications failed to realize that the arguments as presented could not stand up under analysis because they were not consistent with the scientific laws of political economy, reveals how necessary it is to remind human beings of their lack of knowledge as well as to encourage their acceptance of objective truth.

First of all, the *Saturday Evening Post* states that this country is considering the abandonment of individual responsibility in favor of the total state. This trend, they say, started with World War I which "set up round-the-world ground swells of economic disturbance, which, after sweeping through Europe, finally caught up with the United States in 1929, throwing its business machine out of gear, bringing on financial panic, unemployment and, as a result, a horde of economic cure-alls, each one of which marked a step backward toward the old, old situation of the strong state and the weak citizen. Instead of natural forces being allowed to cure the economic body, the patient was loaded with stimulants and sedatives in the form of debt and subsidy, each dose of paternal pap making the people more and more dependent upon Federal hand-outs."

In discussing our present conditions it is, of course, necessary to start at some time and place. But why World War I? why Europe? Why not begin with Moses or with the Egyptians? Their problems were not unlike ours, and their reactions were much the same. Things had not changed when Grecian culture was paramount, nor had they been altered during the last sad days of Rome when her people were plagued by unemployment, black markets and ceiling prices. Moreover, the important current factor was not the economic disturbance which "caught up with the United States in 1929"; that disturbance and the World War which preceded it became inevitable on that day early in the century when the last free land, man's last outpost of opportunity, disappeared from the American social structure. It was then that we detected mockery in those words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men . . . are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It was then that all men, destined to live in security on the earth, deprived themselves of that privilege, and consented to a master and slave relationship in which there can be no freedom. Nor did this arrangement come about as a surprise, without warning. A thousand years ago Pliny wrote: "Great estates ruined Italy," quotes Dr. E. E. Bowen in her recently-published book, *Economics Simplified*. "Historians tell us that when Rome fell her land was owned by 2% of her people; when Greece fell, less than 3% of her people were land-owners; Persia had already gone down when her land was held by 2% of her people;

and Egypt perished from the same cause—though in her case not until the land-owning portion of the population had been reduced to 1%. . . . Before the French revolution (1789) less than 1% of the people of France owned more than 50% of the land of France. In Russia before the revolution (1916) the Czar owned one-third of the land and the nobility owned another third. In this world of cause and effect cannot the same cause be expected always to produce the same effect?"

Dr. Bowen goes on to present statistics on land-ownership in most modern countries in Europe and Asia in the years of 1932 and 1936, and these percentages are ominously low, varying from less than 1% to 3.6%, this latter relatively high score applying only to one country—Scotland. While the exact figures for the United States as a whole are not available for the current year, it is apparent from state figures that in both rural and urban districts tenancy is on the rise, and to such a degree that it is believed that more than 75% of the American people are forced to pay tribute in the form of *speculative* rents before they can obtain a place to live or to carry on a business. Some concrete evidence as to how much tribute is exacted by this master, *speculation*, is presented in figures which show that sixty years ago property at No. 20 Wall Street, New York City, sold at the rate of \$30.00 per square foot, while at its latest sale it brought \$655 per square foot, or \$28,531,800 an acre.

The *Post* deplores the fact that natural forces were not allowed to cure the economic body, and that the patient was loaded with stimulants and sedatives. That was indeed deplorable. But to what "natural forces" does the *Post* refer? Only in a few isolated instances since the dawn of history has the one vital natural principal, man's access to the land without payment of tribute, been permitted to function. Therefore it would seem that allowing nature to take its course is not in itself sufficient; men must be educated to understand the workings of natural law and to understand the horrible results that follow in the wake of ignorance or ineffectuality. Likewise, they must become laboratory-minded when considering their stimulants and sedatives. The dangerous poison of the dole is easily sensed. But the average citizen has forgotten or never knew about the havoc caused in the early thirties by that sugar-coated pill, the farm loan bank. This subsidy had its genesis in the wheat lands of the nation, back in those hungry days at the close of the first World War, when Europe cried out for bread. Europeans got grain, and the American farmers got prices that made them fairly reel with the dizzy joy of riches. But that was not enough. The margin was pushed back, again and again; the plow broke virgin grasslands. Wheat flourished, prices rose, and land values soared. There was a time when wheat was pegged by the government at \$2.50 a bushel; there were districts where land values rose from \$50 to \$500 per acre, based not upon productivity but upon hope—the speculative hope of selling out to the first "sucker" who happened along. Then a prostrate Europe struggled to its feet, tilled its own soil. Wheat

As, when we find that a machine will not work, we infer that in its construction some law of physics has been ignored or defied, so, when we find social disease and political evils, may we infer that in the organization of society moral law has been defied and the natural rights of men have been ignored.

—HENRY GEORGE

dropped back to its normal value, and land values should have followed. But here the farm loan bank stepped in to "help" those farmers who had purchased land, contracted heavy debts, or rented farms, during the period when prices were sky-rocketing. The speculative rent line held firm, bolstered up by subsidy. Eventually the entire structure collapsed, carrying with it the economic strength of a nation, for the contagion had long since spread to all extractive industries, from there to commodities, and on to purchasing power. Yet even while the general depression set in to run its dismal course, and the graveyard of agricultural hopes blew itself into one of the mightiest dust storms in our history, our "economic doctors" assured a fear-ridden people that such "cycles" were inevitable. All this because of subsidy! All this despite the exhortations of political economists who warned against the administration of this palliative; they knew its dangers; they explained cause and effect; they urged the people to pause, to consider, to stop before it was too late. But the people thought, if they thought at all, that it could not and would not happen here. They gambled and they lost.

The *Post* cites the fact that present conditions in America may have been partly caused by "too many" immigrants coming to our shores to share a ready-made prosperity, rather than to seek freedom. Just what constitutes "too many" and how this calculation was made we cannot even guess. There seems to be more than a hint of the ill-reputed Malthusian theory here, and we have only to witness the struggles of Germany today to understand the diabolical evils concealed behind what appears to be a perfectly legitimate desire for more living space. The only ready-made prosperity which this country offered during the days of our great immigration influx was free land (and the effects thereof), and how eager we were to dispose of that to the first comer may be determined by actual figures—we gave away millions of acres and sold millions more at the rate of sixteen cents per acre. For a while, for a few short years, until land values soared to speculative levels, the immigrant got exactly what he was seeking—opportunity to make a living, *the only economic freedom*.

The human race manufactures most of its economic problems by periodically penalizing or destroying those talented members of society who can solve those problems, the *Post* contends. It goes on to state that this

deprivation leads to conditions which eventuate in capital-labor disputes, with allegations against both, whereas the "cold facts show that 85 per cent of all national income is paid out in wages and salaries, and that capital seldom keeps enough profit to do much better than break even." Now facts, cold or otherwise, could not possibly show anything of the sort, because of the difficulty of agreeing on the meaning of the term "national income." This vagary automatically cancels out all statistical values. Moreover, the amount of money distributed in wages and salaries is simply a measure of production and is in no way significant in determining the general welfare of a people. Whether wages are great or small actually matters little—it is the amount of speculative rent taken out of wages that determines the resultant degree of riches or poverty. But aside from that observation, is it possible that the *Post* is hinting that wages are paid by capital? If so, we should like to know more about the talents of those members of society mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph. For if those individuals who "exercise economic genius" as the *Post* puts it, hold to such a belief, (and we are led to assume that they do) it is clear that they, like the farm loan bank advocates, stand in the direct path of "periodic liquidation," and that they are bound to carry a generous portion of the economic structure with them in their plunge toward destruction. These are the uninformed inventors, the deluded dreamers, the confused initiators of new enterprises, who stimulate progress on the one hand, and who, at the same time, cause poverty to increase at a prodigious rate through their adherence to false economic theories. In new countries, where development is beginning and production is in its infancy, both capital and labor fare well, as indeed they should at all times; yet in those sections where population is dense and wealth great, deep poverty prevails and the spectre of unemployment stalks, all because land values have soared to a point where they bear little or no relation to productivity. The moment that society makes a certain piece of land wanted and desirable, the master, speculative rent, steps in to demand tribute from his slaves—capital and labor. Cognizance and understanding of this one fact is the measure of "economic talent." It is quite true that society frequently yields to a sadistic urge to liquidate some of its most valuable and talented citizens. But we should prefer to be more specific in referring to them: Socrates, for example, who was the victim of a pressure group; the Physiocrats, those original sponsors of the single tax, who were guillotined at the beginning of the French Revolution; Jesus, the greatest political economist of all time, who was crucified while the Romans demanded and got freedom for Barabbas, a political seditionist.

Economic depressions lead logically to the subject of charity, and, says the *Post*, "there is no way, in the long run, of rewarding an individual beyond his fair value to society, and the brutal truth is that there always has been, and always will be, a certain proportion of any population unable to contribute enough to society

to warrant more than a minimum humane living standard. They cannot be allowed to starve, and the only way to make up the deficit between what they need and what they earn is to take it away from those able to produce more than they need." There is more than one political economist who is going to object, and violently, to this interpretation of "brutal truth." For upon examination it happens that this prophecy of what "always will be" turns out to be a "brutal lie," armed to the teeth with swords dripping the blood of battle-slain, and walking, hand in hand, with starvation and death. The society described here is one in which wars flourish, in which "cyclical" depressions reduce its citizens to whining beggars who stare with lack-luster eyes at their economic crumbs and murmur that Fate has willed such inconsistencies. Long before the *Post* made this unhappy promise of things to come, history records another statement: *The poor are always with us*. But this was not a threat—it was merely an explanation that those less perfect than gods should never cease striving to overcome their imperfections, and that this effort would bring its own reward.

Let us disillusion ourselves of the idea that society can blame the individual for his plight, when he is being consistently robbed by society. If, under the present economic system, an individual is able to maintain a "minimum humane living standard" (whatever that may mean) he is to be congratulated, not pitied. If he reaches a level where he must have assistance in order to keep from starving, would it not be wise to consider all the factors contributing to his condition before casting him aside as a useless human being who is to be fed in order that life may continue to exist in his body. There is, of course, a possibility that he may be feeble-minded, insane, incurably ill, or senile. But we do not believe the *Post* is referring to this minority. Rather, we think at once of the underprivileged "one-third of the nation." How did the nucleus of this group come into existence, and why, after 1929, did it reach such staggering proportions? Obviously because employment could not be secured; decreased buying power caused a decrease in production, decreased production led to more unemployment, and thus the vicious circle whirled on and on. But why the unemployment in the first place? Since man's desires are insatiable, it could not possibly mean that the market was glutted with unwanted goods. Somewhere there was a crack in the economic structure, and since economic structures have cracked again and again down through history, and always in the same spot, we immediately look there for the damage. And there we find it—in land speculation and its long train of evils. The world had thought to increase its comforts and at the same time ignore the natural law of motion—that man seeks to gratify his desires with the least exertion. And what price have we paid for our folly? We have paid our laborers more, and this increase has been immediately seized by the land speculators, the non-producers of society. We have maintained and fostered parasites. The "brutal truth" is that this small per cent of our population, the land speculators, represents that

proportion of society morally conditioned to live off the earnings of others. That they do live well means just as much as the fact that Al Capone lived well before he took up residence in Alcatraz.

In connection with this subject of charity the Post speaks of a "law" which is today being challenged. This is summed up in its statement: "The more the surplus—or, if you prefer, the more millionaires a society can produce,—the less suffering that society will experience in the lower brackets, because there are greater tax sources through which to support the untalented." If this comprises a "law," either human or divine, it is understandable that it would be challenged, and rightly so, for it denies all human dignity. The Post, however, is not concerned with that aspect. It points out that the challenge of this revolting idea permits us to fall into the fallacious trap of "production for use instead of for profit."

This fallacy is so childish that it is unworthy of mature thought; even the phrase itself is without meaning, and we suspect that its originators have discovered this. We are being constantly assailed by fallacies, and those with the knowledge and the strength to resist them are seldom even aware of their presence. In time they die, ignored and forgotten. Moreover, it should be remembered that this fallacy, like its kin, is a result, not a cause. It has gained hold in the confused minds of those who are seeking for an explanation of their economic ills. They must know, they must have an answer, and lacking the requisite knowledge to formulate that answer, they grasp at the first piece of nonsense that comes their way.

Perhaps the Post realized this when it stated: "The political and economic issues are so involved, so far beyond the grasp of most of us that the public becomes a milling, confused herd." We know that the Post would not willingly add one word to that confusion, yet we fear that it has unknowingly contributed most of an entire editorial. If the Post, a powerful national mouthpiece, tells the "little fellow" that political and economic issues are involved and beyond the grasp of the average person, it is committing the unpardonable sin of robbing the "herd member" of the bit of self-confidence given him by a democracy—the one attribute that will help him find his way out of confusion. The business of political economy is concerned primarily with getting a living, and even savages know how to go about that. It would be impossible for man to create a problem that he is not capable of solving, and the solution is usually a simple one. "Is there any one rock of truth to which the common man may cling while the storm rages about him?" asks the Post. It is to this rock of truth that a great magazine like the Post must lead its readers. It is wholly unnecessary and unfair to tell them that they may fall by the wayside and become part of a "milling, confused herd."

"Is there any one pillar of freedom which is a key to all freedom around which he (the common man) can concentrate his defenses?" queries the Post, and then answers: "There is such a freedom. Economic

Tariff Fallacies

(From "What Is the Single Tax," by Louis F. Post)

Protective tariffs are crude schemes for raising the prices of home-produced commodities and thereby—so the argument runs—of home wages. By levying taxes upon imports from other countries, thus increasing their prices—for taxes on products add to the prices consumers must pay—advocates of protective tariffs infer that high prices on home products will be encouraged and that therefore high wages for work will be paid by home employers.

The characteristics of that remedy for social defects are fully discussed from the Single Tax point of view by Henry George in *Protection or Free Trade*, which was published in 1886 when protection policies were extremely popular in the United States.

Tariff protection is not even a superficial remedy for social disorder. Nominally designed to encourage wealth production at home by lessening competition from abroad, it in fact chokes production at home by abnormally increasing the prices of "protected" home products and thereby lessening effective demand for their consumption.

What can protective tariffs be in practice but a check upon delivery of foreign products in exchange for domestic products? They obstruct trade for the benefit of domestic monopolies. Only in so far as world trade is free can home producers be free. Trade being absolutely essential to diversified production, the freer it is the better it must be for all producers.

freedom." Here the Post has at last hoisted its banner atop the "rock of truth." Two words, *economic freedom*, make this editorial important to the entire world. With this key we hope the Post will unlock other truths to give to its readers. For if the Post joins in spreading economic enlightenment we shall not be fighting our fight alone. We shall not have to await that dreaded hour of global slavery when world land ownership is controlled by five per cent of the world's population. We shall not have to meet our new dictator: Mr. Five Per Cent.

The earth belongs to the living, not to the dead. Each generation has the usufruct of the earth during the period of its continuance.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

Coffee Pacts and Facts

Now that coffee rationing is upon us, an examination of the terms and conditions by which coffee imports are governed may not be amiss. To persons with even a smattering of economic understanding, the revelations in this article will be startling, to say the least.

The author, LOUIS B. POTTER, qualifies as a foreign trade expert by reason of his twenty-seven years in the import and export business. In 1938 he organized and became the first director of the Reciprocal Trade Council, a non-partisan organization devoted to the removal of tariff barriers and the encouragement of free enterprise.

★ THE Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) has recently made an agreement with Brazil for the purchase or underwriting by the United States of the unshipped balance of Brazil's coffee quota for the year ended September 30, 1942. In addition, the United States agrees to purchase Brazil's full quota of 9,300,000 bags for the year ending September 30, 1943, and to pay such storage charges as may arise while cargoes are awaiting shipment. The significance of this arrangement will not be clear unless it is remembered that the balance of the 1942 quota, which this country now agrees to buy, is still unshipped; and that we have likewise obligated ourselves to pay for the entire quota of the 1943 year regardless of whether it, or any part of it, can ever be shipped to us. The quota figure of 9,300,000 bags was first fixed in the 1940 pact between the United States and Latin American coffee countries, which allotted to each of the latter the amount of coffee that it could ship to this country. Being close to maximum shipments of recent years, the figure assigned to Brazil was considered generous, as were the quotas set for the other coffee-growing countries that were parties to the agreement. The arrangement was held to be an effective stroke on our part in the economic warfare on the Latin American front between the United States and the Axis countries.

As regards the present deal, the CCC states that "this agreement will contribute greatly to the stability and prosperity of the Brazilian coffee industry;" that "both governments will make every effort to facilitate the shipment to the United States of the full amount of the quotas, *subject only to the shipping priorities as they are established by the United States for inbound traffic and to the availability of coffee,*" and that "American importers, acting as purchasing agents for the CCC, will be permitted to buy during the 1942-1943 quota year the full amount of the basic Brazilian quota of 9,300,000 bags, *if it is their desire to do so.*"

It would seem that the CCC official spoke with his tongue in his cheek, knowing, as he must have, that a substantial part of the preceding year's quota remained unshipped, though cargo space had been readily available, and knowing, too, that coffee surpluses were rising steadily in all the Latin American coffee producing countries. None the less he did not hesitate to announce that coffee imports into the United States would be subject only to "shipping priorities and the availability of coffee." And to climax the comedy, he offered the assurance, quoted above, that American importers would be permitted to purchase the "full amount of the quota, if it is their desire to do so."

As to the claim that the new pact "will contribute greatly to the stability and prosperity of the Brazilian coffee industry, let us go back a little in recent history. In the early thirties, Brazil, like all the other countries of the world, was suffering from the high tariff barriers that had been erected by one country after another in the vain hope of keeping purchasing power at home. Acting in the belief that by excluding all possible imports they were encouraging employment at home, what the Brazilians actually accomplished was only a dangerous brand of super-nationalism, a large degree of economic isolation, and a considerable measure of planned economy. Little did they realize that by sending wealth abroad, while refusing to accept any in return, they were impoverishing their economy and adding to their hordes of unemployed. The inescapable result was a continuing decline in purchasing power at home and a sharp upsurge in international animosities. Tariffs, plus heavy taxes and penalties on such exchange of commodities as continued to be carried on, plus, again, the giant monopoly inherent in a system of land ownership which denied access of the masses to the great natural resources of the country, were taking their inevitable toll. Employment continued to drop while unsaleable stocks of coffee, cocoa, manganese and other commodities mounted to huge proportions. Like all the other nations of the world, Brazil, because of laws which were economically unsound, was experiencing ever-deepening poverty in the midst of plenty.

Seeking a way out but groping in an economic fog and prodded by greedy pressure groups, Brazil then formulated its so-called coffee valorization scheme whereby the government bought increasing quantities of coffee from the farmers and stored it away in the hope of being able to sell at some future day in a more favorable market. But the more favorable market failed to materialize; surpluses kept on mounting as the government continued its buying program, and world markets were glutted and demoralized. Government credit was being undermined in the international market, and the huge surplus coffee stocks were a constant source of pressure on world coffee prices. In desperation the government resorted to the extremity of burning huge

quantities of its stored coffee. It was only a matter of time until the valorization had to be abandoned.

Instead of finding prosperity, the government of Brazil emerged with a staggering deficit, which sharply higher taxes could only partly offset. How marvelously like our own government stabilization schemes for bringing prosperity to our wheat and cotton farmers, and all the other plans for subsidy or relief to this and that group, all of which, in the long run, can only make for a condition of national weakness rather than of strength, of pauperism rather than of prosperity!

Instead of contributing to the stability and prosperity of Brazil's coffee industry, the CCC subvention will have the contrary effect. It is nothing more nor less than a scheme for spreading privilege abroad, a privilege in which our international monopolists will certainly participate. Can the CCC stop with the coffee growers, or will its help extend to cocoa and other products, to the mineral and agricultural lands of the land-owning monopolists in Brazil and elsewhere, in the very near future? The government has already declared that this coffee pact will be extended to the other coffee-growing countries in Latin America. How long will it be before our leaders will awaken one morning to find a vast herd of little and big pressure groups from beyond the seas waiting at their doorsteps? How long will the people remain blind to the fact that to encourage privilege is to aggravate these evils which are the very enemies of stabilization and prosperity?

Does the CCC imagine that through its plan it will relieve the "over-production" of coffee in Brazil or that it will inflate the purchasing power of the Brazilian economy? Can any such plan succeed when it overlooks the greatest of all impediments to purchasing power in international trade, namely, tariffs and other barriers?

To undertake such superficial means of bolstering without taking trade barriers into account, is to offer aggressor countries the opportunity to exploit and confound our own economy. Our government economists are either blind or they are refusing to tell us that as a result of our quota arrangements with the coffee countries, the non-quota portions of the coffee stocks of those countries are being sold to other countries at prices far below those which our own importers are required to pay for coffee of the same type and quality. Our superficial efforts at bolstering foreign coffee growers are encouraging the increase of large unsaleable stocks of coffee as well as of other products which Axis countries have shown us they know so well how to exploit through bilateral trade methods and similar exchange restrictions. We remember but too well how ineffective and helpless our own state and commerce departments were, in meeting the threats and depredations of the bilateral or barter deals of Germany and other aggressor countries. We recall to our sorrow how for years, by offering the mere pittance of token currencies Germany and Japan were able to secure for a song tremendous supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials from all over the world while we sat back complacent in the belief that we could reattain prosperity

by pump-priming. Our potential enemies were buying up world surplus stocks at better prices than we could get, and more than once before the outbreak of war, Germany was able to deliver coffee to our shores at a lower figure than we could obtain it direct from the producing countries.

One of the probable objectives of the pact, though it is not stressed by our officials, is the good will of the countries to the south of us. If so, the scheme is bound to fail. For years we have been making loans to Brazil. We were always her largest customer. Our present quota agreement with Brazil and the other countries was entered into in October, 1940, fifteen months before Pearl Harbor. But not one step did Brazil take to curtail the operation of the German-owned network of air-lines connecting strategic points in that country, nor did she stop shipments of minerals sorely needed by us to Germany and Italy via the Italian-owned Dakar-Natal airlines. Not in any way did she restrict her trade with the Axis powers.

The good neighbor policy as practiced by us with Brazil paid scant dividends. While our State Department intimates that the final alignment of Brazil as our ally, late though it was, resulted from our course, there is ample reason for believing that Brazil's action was determined solely by her own interests and was taken in spite of, rather than because of, our practice of coddling and indulging our neighbors to the south.

The higher price for quota coffee in Brazil has already been mentioned. Aside from price, however, now that the Brazilian coffee grower is going to be paid for his coffee no matter what happens, is he going to give his best in the important service of picking and sorting his coffee, or are we likely to get poorer coffee than before? The American importer must content himself with a limited maximum quota based on his previous imports, with net profit limited to 1½% of his cost. The CCC is the real buyer, even to the extent of advancing the funds. The importer's profit assured, limited though it is, will he exert himself to secure the best grade for his money? Will he look for economies in freight, in service and elsewhere as formerly when competition ruled the market?

The small importer is likely to find the business unprofitable. The business will most likely tend to gravitate toward a few politically influential firms, while in the meantime bureaucrats will gloat in the acquisition of added power.

The whole world seems deluded by the belief that the world's wrongs can eventually be righted by a program of government spending, with rigid trade control on the Russian or German plan or through a so-called democratic planned economy. Tied in with such economic fallacies is our weak and completely unscientific good neighbor policy. If we are to help freedom everywhere, obviously we must retain our own freedom, and neither is possible of accomplishment in any measurable degree so long as we stick to tariffs and other trade barriers. The retention of tariff laws on our statute books, especially in war when they are largely inopera-

The Rise and Fall of Italian Fascism

Italy's dilemma—whether to stick with the Germans, whom her people hate, and face an almost certain beating at the hands of the Allies, or to join the United Nations and risk the full force of Nazi terrorism—gives added interest to this revealing picture of life in that unhappy country. The author, FRANCES BARRETT, has spent a good part of the past twenty years, off and on, in Italy, having left there last in 1941. Her official contacts and her family's social position were such as to give her access to invaluable sources of information.

Miss Barrett holds the degree of Doctor of Literature from Carls University, Prague. In 1938 she was granted an American commercial pilot's license and became a member of the National Aeronautic Association of U. S. Prior to the outbreak of the war she was Hollywood correspondent for the Prager Tageblatt, Prague, and other European publications. At present, among her other activities, she is pursuing a course of advanced study at the Henry George School of Social Science in New York.

★ FASCISM IN ITALY presents two distinct aspects: the polished surface and the meaty core. To the outside world fascist accomplishments savor largely of intrigue, international diplomacy, politics and economics. Behind the borders which encompass Italy there is the second aspect of fascism—the totalitarian control under which the Italian people work and live. This is the core of the fascism that for years has been the established order of the country. Travelers in Italy since the advent of Mussolini have had their attention concentrated upon superficialities—the immortal works of art, the picturesque scenery, and the highly publicized claim that fascist trains run on time!

Since medieval times the Italian peasant has continued

tive, makes our claim of non-isolation a shabby pretense, our loans to foreign countries and other economic shots in the arm to the contrary notwithstanding.

When will our people arouse themselves from their state of economic illiteracy, shake off the bureaucratic incubus that threatens to strangle trade and production, and learn for themselves the truths that can lead them to economic salvation?

to live in a semi-feudal state, a wretched life but all he could hope for in exchange for years of toil on the estate of his *padrone*. Life and death are in the hands of his master, who, with his priest, molds and controls his mind and his soul. His children marry at a nod from the *padrone*, and prepare inevitably to replace him when he dies. He is a serf, a part of the soil, and the owner of the land owns him as surely as he owns the crops in the field or the beasts in the stable. Ignorant of reading and writing, he works, he eats, he reproduces—that is life.

Sometimes the Italian peasant is able to own a bit of land, but only if it is not sufficiently productive to interest the local land baron. A few goats and sheep, perhaps a warren of rabbits, and whatever the rocky field will yield, keep him and his family from starvation; with a few pennies for an occasional mass. Yet he is no worse off than his cousins in the city who work in factories or as servants in the homes of the rich. On the land or off, the poor Italian can hope for only a bare existence through his labor.

The peasant sees but a few coppers in cash from one end of the year to the other. The shepherd's wages are no more than 300 lira (about \$15) a year. The servant gets little besides room, food and clothing, and of the last, his ornate uniform is to be worn only when there are important guests; at other times he works in rags.

In the city the poor children go begging, and woe to the luckless child who doesn't bring home a lira's worth of coppers or a bag of bread. Worse, though this is true only in southern Italy, when the parents can contrive it, their offspring are sold into bondage as house servants. It is not uncommon to see children of seven or eight tending babies, washing clothes and dishes, standing on chairs to reach the stove. The breeding of children becomes a racket, for it is the father who is paid; the child receives nothing for his work.

Within an hour's travel of Rome are communities without running water. One or two of the super-rich may ostentatiously possess a bathroom, but since water must be transported miles, bathing is a luxury for the few. Here will be found servant girls whose sole function is to trudge interminably back and forth carrying water. It is a bestial existence, the servants being exploited to the point where they become tantamount to brutes, and even the nobles of great wealth lack many of the ordinary decencies of life.

No social services are available to the people. There are no such things as labor unions, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, health departments, free hospitals. For the man there is nothing but hard labor for a mere existence; for the woman, housework and child-bearing.

Such was the kingdom of Italy after the first war.

Then Benito Mussolini marched on Rome, bringing fascism, a social upheaval, a political revolution, an awe-inspiring experiment in national economic reform. The firm hand of the dictator was quickly felt. In it he held a surgeon's knife, for gradual change was not his method. Overnight there were promulgated new laws, new decrees and new demands by the government of Il Duce. Laborers whose rights had been non-existent suddenly found labor unions arranging better hours and pay; children were ordered to school and forbidden to beg; men were prohibited to exercise their time-honored custom of beating their women. There sprang up state medical care, old age pensions, job insurance and other undreamed-of reforms.

Especially were the younger children benefited by the new regime; nothing was too good for them. The national habit of fecundity was encouraged; the people were rewarded for being more prolific. Fathers fared better than they had in the days of child-selling and child-contracting. But each child had to be enrolled in the *Balilla*, the fascist youth organization. The State took over their upbringing, caring for them with the utmost generosity and consideration. Clad in handsome military uniforms and housed in modern government buildings, the wide-eyed children found themselves in a new world of schools, libraries, physical training, swimming pools and athletic games.

And not alone were the children showered with benevolence from their new government. The common people, the backbone of the nation, who for generations had known nothing but exploitation and deprivation, now found themselves the recipients of blessings they had never imagined. In every village, no matter how remote, there was built a *Casa de Fascio*, where nuns in immaculate white welcomed mothers and prospective mothers, teaching them, caring for them, clothing them, and helping them through the tiring days before and after birth. Convalescent homes and nursing sanatoriums opened their doors, offering expert care to mothers and children. Upon all this, the people of Italy looked as if it were a veritable miracle; it was too good to be true, yet it was there!

The peasant suddenly found himself the beneficiary of every possible assistance that up-to-date science could give. Experts from the universities brought him tools and seeds and showed him how to farm in twentieth century style, in place of the mode used by his ancestors from the time of Christ. Government agricultural officials visited him regularly, lectured to him and his colleagues, taught him how to increase his crop. High prices were fixed by the State for all farm products, and the farmer forthwith became an important citizen, honored in every newspaper, in every government report, in posters all over the land. No longer did he have anything to fear from the *padrone*. Fascism was good to him; when the *vivas* were sounded, his palm was extended high in the air as a token of devotion to Il Duce.

It was like a dream. It seemed to fill bellies that long had been empty; it seemed to make men of what lately had been but animals; it seemed to promise a place for

everyone in Italy, and a place for Italy among the nations of the world. It was almost too good to be true.

Then came the first disillusionment. When the early patriotic fervor had evaporated, Fascists who had felt well repaid by accomplishing a task for Duce and fatherland, sought to take care of themselves, too. Graft and official corruption arose and began to spread. Moneys appropriated for the poor found their way into already well-lined pockets; the weak began to flounder again, exploited anew ('twas ever thus!) by those who were favored with privilege. In the early, rosy beginnings, Mussolini sought to nip the incipient return to official banditry; in the heavy-handed fascist way he punished the guilty. If he didn't find the guilty, then he punished all as an example; whereupon the innocent, knowing they would suffer anyway, decided that they might as well get their share before the axe fell.

The central fascist councils became infested with parasites whose sole thought was selfish gain. It became impossible for Mussolini even to think of cleaning the rascals out. He would have had to strip the Party of men, a purge that was inconceivable. Thus, in a short time, the poor who had learned the taste of joy reverted to their old misery. Once again begging became prevalent, as the efficiency of the revolution was prostituted by its greedy adherents.

Yet, in the big cities of Italy, the fascist organizations continued to develop. Most important to the regime were the youth's and women's groups. The women of Italy found themselves emancipated from old-fashioned customs. For the first time, girls were permitted to go out alone; they learned sports like bicycling and skiing, and were trained in physical culture just as their brothers were. They were even admitted into the universities. Whereas no decent girl had ever been allowed to speak to a man unless a chaperone were present, now girls were free to come and go, to meetings, to classes, drills and all kinds of youth activities. To both young men and young women, all this was a revelation, a welcome and wonderful kind of personal freedom bestowed on them by their beloved Leader. The growth of the youth organizations was the growth of fascism.

As the years passed the people grew restive. The young, trained for warfare, chafed at restraint. The older citizens began to count the cost of fascism in the dawning realization that the benefits from the State were becoming fewer and fewer. The propertied classes began to exert pressure upon the State, urging a complete cessation of social advances and a return to normal business. The government found it more and more difficult to pay the cost of fascist rule. It was the beginning of a crisis. Something was needed to rekindle the flames of patriotism, to bring the people again under the hypnotic spell of fascist propaganda.

Ethiopia must be conquered! The battle cry was raised throughout all Italy. Another land to join the Italian Empire's subject nations was nominated by Mussolini. When the Ethiopian campaign started, the Italians enthusiastically sprang to the colors. Youths who a few years before had been children in the *Balilla* were now

trained soldiers, ready to do and die for Italy. To the Italian people, Ethiopia was a land of promise; land for their children, a market for their goods, coffee for their tables—honor for their country. Conquest; wealth; independence! But slowly they realized that painful consequences were to ensue.

War with Ethiopia cost Italy whatever respect it had among other nations. It cost the Italian people money, goods, lives. It curtailed Italy's foreign exchange to the point of nearly bankrupting her economics. It struck the lives of all Italians with restrictions, taxes and appropriations. Much was needed to carry on the battle; all was taken from the Italian people. No more were benefits given to them; all was taken away. Disillusionment was great; it marked the beginning of the decline of Benito Mussolini—and this despite the ostensible victory that came to Italy when it acquired the territory of ravished Ethiopia.

But with the Ethiopian campaign ended, the masses hoped anew. A hundred thousand families were outfitted and sent to colonize the new African possession. A new life started overseas, relieving much of the misery at home, providing work for thousands and bringing hope for the future. No world war had resulted (as many had feared) and foreigners returned to Italy, reviving trade, circulating money, filling hotels and restaurants and generally awakening normalcy again. It was all over; no great harm had resulted so far, and all Italy more or less thankfully took a deep breath and prayed for better days thereafter. The greatest change was the reaction toward fascism; its gilding had come off; it seemed not so attractive as once it had.

Mussolini had suffered most from the change in public opinion. No longer was he the unconquerable lion, the supreme leader. The people became cynical as they thought of the slogans and mottoes and speeches that had blinded them in the past. Mussolini was no longer a roaring warrior; he was only a politician who might have been worse, and whom some one else would soon replace. In the meantime, Italy was satisfied to let him remain, happy in his tremendous vanity; the country confidently expected a successor to come from around the corner soon. (Prince Umberto? Count Ciano?)

But while Italy prepared to sit back and breathe again, its neighbor and "best friend" had other plans. The Germans, whom Italians called *I Barbari* (the barbarians), invaded Poland. Furtively, fortifications were built at the Brenner Pass and the Tarvisio border. While Italian diplomats continued to profess great friendship for Hitler's Germany, the people laughed in their sleeves at the credulousness of the Teutonic mind. It was an open secret that as soon as fortifications were completed, Italy would turn upon Germany, just as it had in 1914. In the meanwhile, Italian business boomed; everyone looked forward to much profit from the delivery of war materials, sufficient to wipe out the deficit remaining from the Ethiopian campaign which had cost 80,000,000,000 lira without any part of the investment having been returned.

The sanguine expectations of the populace were short-

lived. It was not long before Germany bared her teeth by making demands upon her unwilling ally. First, Germany insisted upon having prior claim to all goods produced in Italy; second, shipments were to be made on a credit-exchange basis. It meant farewell to Italy's war-boom prosperity. Again the country faced a bleak depression—and worse. Germany demanded manpower as well as goods. She backed her demands with a show of power in the form of a million Nazi "tourists," who had entered Italy during the days when "friendship" was the by-word. All of the "tourists" actually were hand-picked German soldiers, ready at a moment's notice to take up arms against Mussolini and his people. Il Duce quickly capitulated; he agreed that every province in Italy would send from ten to twenty thousand men to Germany as labor battalions.

Worse was to come. Before the Italians were through rubbing their eyes in incredible wonder, Italy had declared war, becoming a belligerent side-by-side with the Nazi hordes. It was incredible to the mass of Italian people; they just would not believe it had happened. Even a week after the war they said to each other that it was only a bluff, soon to be called off. Authoritative quarters claimed the war declaration was a clever diplomatic maneuver, made to enable Italy to effect a negotiated peace and thus assure her future neutrality. The whole affair was said to be a brilliant coup, after which Italy would be able to avoid unwanted war and obtain much welcome business. Again, however, Germany had other opinions. Thousands upon thousands of Nazi troops poured into Sicily until it was so covered that many battalions had to return to Calabria because there wasn't enough room for the men to spread their air-mattresses. Two Italian regiments, in fact, were transported from their comfortable southern quarters to Northern Italy, swearing vociferously at the damnable Germans who had pushed them from warm sunshine to cold rain.

It was at that period that Ciano, with tactful regard for his person, made a diplomatic junket to Zurich and Berlin, so that he might enjoy a change of air until the muttering blew over. Mussolini, too, found other things to think about; he retired to the seclusion of his villa on the Monte Mario. Victor Emmanuel was scheduled to abdicate his throne, Crown Prince Umberto being prepared to take it over, but unexpectedly the old king refused to relinquish the crown. Probably he didn't trust the clique that was behind his heir's aspirations. Anybody in Italy with a strong hand at that moment could have taken over the country without a struggle, but for the fact that Germany had worked too fast and too well. The Gestapo had a strangle-hold on Rome and the Vatican City. Convents and monasteries throughout the country were raided on the pretense that they had engaged in political intrigue, and hundreds of nuns, monks and priests were bundled off to concentration camps high in the mountains.

By the winter of 1941 Italy contained more concentration camps than cities! One of them, Camp Matera, in Calabria, held over 20,000 prisoners. Concentration

(Continued on page 15)

An Open Letter to Senator Norris

If Senator Norris doesn't sit up and take notice when he gets this letter, he'd better. ETHEL LYMAN STANNARD, its writer, is not a person to be ignored. She refused to be ignored in 1914 when she found herself with her own way to make and two small sons to support. An intensive training course at the New York School of Filing, an apprenticeship at the Brooklyn Trust Co., and B. Altman's in New York City, and then to Hartford where, for twenty-five years, she has been Supervisor of the Filing Department of the Phoenix Insurance Co., proves that whatever else was buried in the archives, she wasn't.

Mrs. Stannard has done special feature writing for the Hartford Times and the Associated Press. In 1941 she published a book of verse entitled, Chiefly My Enjoyment, which title is grossly misleading, since it is a volume of charm, sentiment and humor, a combination all too rarely found, that could hardly have failed to please its readers. In her odd moments, Mrs. Stannard makes rag rugs for her two married sons and her brand new grandson. (And for the sake of the human interest element let it be noted that a most youngish-looking and altogether attractive grandmother she is, too.)

She is a teacher in the Hartford Extension of the Henry George School, and among her more important extracurricular duties, is the bombarding of legislators and members of Congress with letters in support of such measures as H. J. Res. 338 and its like.

HARTFORD, CONN.,
November 11, 1942

Senator George W. Norris
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:—This is your personal copy of an open letter which I am mailing to the Editors of THE FREEMAN (a monthly critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs—published at 30 East 29th Street, New York City).

The Press wirephoto and notation (enclosed) which appeared on the front page of our Hartford Courant just

after election day, distressed me extremely; and has prompted the message that I am sending you herewith—in spite of the fact that the next day's editorial (also enclosed) made me see your honest utterance of a first reaction mood in a little different light.

Yes, I am remembering that you are getting on (I'm not too young myself, being a grandmother), and that you were coaxed to run again, perhaps against your better judgment, except for the desire that all pioneering souls seem to have, to die with their boots on. But I'm also remembering that you have a record of struggle for the fulfillment of ideals and principles, along with much achievement that can never be taken away from you, and I am mindful of the fact that, to those who seek Truth and Justice, when one door is closed, another opens. Moreover, we may often serve valiantly by only keeping our spirits humble, our hearts clean, our minds clear, and our thinking straight, (please God) even if our frames begin to feel the wear and tear and disappointments attendant upon what we have tried to accomplish.

So, just the same, this is what I want to say about personal or political defeat of any kind, anywhere, any time.

To be defeated is not to be vanquished. Oh, no, Mr. Senator, you have not "reached the end of the road" by a long way—

Not unless you are self-centered—

Not unless you believe politics and legislative halls to be the only avenues of service to human progress—

Not unless you believe all possible freedom and justice and equality of opportunity for your fellows has been achieved—

Not unless you can work for these things only while you stand in the limelight.

It is entirely possible that your greatest of all contributions to true democracy is yet to be made—perhaps outside Washington altogether.

So when you do lay down your arduous legislative tasks (if not before) I beseech you to give an honest hearing to us common folk who are working so hard to spread that sound economic knowledge that must precede the dawn of true economic freedom—without which our civilization will one day collapse, beyond repair.

Please read studiously the material I send you—and follow up by studying such challenging works as—

"Factories in the Field" by Carey McWilliams

"Progress and Poverty" and "Protection and Free Trade" by Henry George

"Democracy versus Socialism" by Max Hirsch

"State of War Permanent Unless—" by Louis Wallis, and much else that these will lead to.

And when you have considered them very honestly, in the light of your own God-given powers of observation and reason, then *do please* "come over into Macedonia and help us." If there are errors in what we teach and what we advocate—show us where and why. If we are (as we believe) on the right track—lend us a hand. The voice and influence of people like yourself can help the cause of Truth and Justice immeasurably.

With what clear vision Henry George said in 1879, "In our times as in times before creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon the clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have Liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or Liberty withdraws her light; either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the Universal Law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundation be laid in justice the social structure cannot stand."

Some of us believe that teaching the fundamentals of the true Science of Political Economy to the rank and file of the citizenry is the one profitable work that may be accomplished at present. Others are working for legislative action now—in time to expedite the war effort. I am doing both, in so far as I am able. What might you be able and willing to do?

The attitude of every American about H. J. Res. 338 is of tremendous importance. What is yours going to be? Shall you stand with the powerful interests that represent special privilege—to crush it before it is even reported out of committee; or shall you face squarely and honestly this rock-bottom problem of a monopolized earth? Or shall you be complacently indifferent about it? Of course, you need not wait until the measure reaches the voting stages to arouse unprejudiced consideration for it.

It is Armistice Day, and I trust that what I have written here, may in some measure, however indirectly, contribute to the winning of a peace that shall prove more than just another armistice—a mere prelude to another frightful failure to establish the only foundation upon which peace can be built with confidence and security.

Come, brother, hitch your sulky to a star—
So may you yet ride out the frenzied heat
On this mad age's race-track;
And should the wagon crack up at the bar,
Then, just you leap the lurking gray defeat
And ride Pegasus bare-back!

Very sincerely,

(MRS.) ETHEL LYMAN STANNARD

(Continued from page 13)

camps in Italy are operated by the Gestapo differently from those in "barbarian" Germany. Prisoners are herded into villages of a few scattered huts and left to themselves. Each camp is guarded by soldiers to prevent escape—and that is the only expense the government has. Shelter, food and clothing are problems for the unfortunates who have been imprisoned. They must sell their few possessions, and then write heartbreaking letters to their friends and relatives, begging for food.

In this manner, Germany took the situation in hand. Then the Gestapo sounded the all-clear signal and Mussolini and Ciano, after the greatest precaution, returned from their hideaways—Monte Mario and Berlin. Il Duce reviewed a grand parade in his honor! By then, fascism had lost favor with almost everyone except the youngsters of 12 or less who had been bred from birth to believe in it, and had not yet been disillusioned. Thousands of members slipped out of the Fascist Party, a move which led to a law compelling every citizen to join the party and thus make up for the losses.

Ciano suddenly decided that the scene required more action. Without Mussolini's knowledge or consent, he started the war on Greece. Soon it was evident that Italy was ill-prepared for this war, but the Count wanted to show his independence. The result was two weeks of fighting wherein the Italian forces were almost annihilated. Mussolini stormed down from his mountain retreat and with a last show of power dismissed generals right and left. But Greece still repulsed every soldier that Italy could send across its borders. The whole of Italy waited with bated breath, anticipating the long-expected revolution, while Mussolini and his family had it out in a series of internal squabbles. Finally the back-stage arguments were settled; Old Benito lost his power, but retained his prestige. He held on to the strings of leadership, albeit very loosely, and went to a remote part of the Roman *Campagna* "for reasons of health," the official bulletin said.

With *Il Duce* out of the way, German troops were hurried to Greece to save the situation. Mussolini's picture was removed everywhere, to be replaced with posters heiling Hitler, whose face now greets everyone from the empty windows in the empty shops on the Via Vittorio Veneto. And Italians whisper to each other (under the eyes of the Gestapo): Eins, zwei, eins, zwei, the German march rhythm, to explain the whole incredible situation. Now they know!

"Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.
These set He in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garment-hem
For fear of defilement, 'Lo here,' said He,
'The images ye have made of me!'"

—Lowell.

Economics of Democracy

The demands of a heavy medical practice have not prevented F. MASON PADELFORD, M.D., Fall River physician and author of the pamphlet of which this article is the first installment, from finding the time, after ministering to the physical needs of his patients, to delve deeply into the economic ills that afflict the world.

Writing of Dr. Padelford and his booklet in the November FREEMAN, Dr. Janet Rankin Aiken of Columbia University, author of Surely Goodness and numerous other books and articles, said: "In twenty-eight pages he accomplishes the almost impossible task of presenting a complete summary of the Georgist philosophy so lucidly that to the student of fundamental economics it is inescapable in its logic."

The author, a graduate of Boston College, writes: "I read Progress and Poverty more than thirty years ago. The truths in George's books are self-evident. They made me a Single Taxer. I count it a privilege to have known John Z. White and James R. Brown. In my judgment, the Single Tax movement, with all that this implies, is the most important of any that confront the modern world."

A previous article by Dr. Padelford, "Constitutional Taxation," appeared in the August FREEMAN.

* THE PROBLEM of wealth production, as far as present-day, or near future, requirements are concerned, has been solved. The more vital problem of wealth distribution, however, has not been solved. This involves the problem of wages, for if wealth is to be equitably distributed real wages must be greatly increased. Simply to increase money wages will not suffice; the increase must be in wages measured in labor goods.

Wages has been defined as a fraction whose numerator is the amount received by the worker, the denominator being the whole product of his labor.

The fact that over a period of years the numerators of wage fractions have steadily increased is interesting, but it is not adequate as a basis for judgment; it is imperative that knowledge also be had of denominators. If numerators, even though increasing, fail to keep pace with denominators, we by and by shall have to deal with over-stocked warehouses and unemployment.

The market may be likened to an immense reservoir, and labor products to water. If the average worker carries to this reservoir, each day, from springs which employers own or control, ten measures of water, and is paid in wages a sum which enables him to purchase but five, and five barely suffices for his daily requirements, ultimately the reservoir will be filled, and in its neighborhood will be found idle men in dire need of water, of which there is an abundance, but which, because of their lack of money, they are unable to buy.

Recurring periods of industrial depression, during which men whose families are in want seek in vain to find employment, and merchants whose stores are well stocked strive unsuccessfully to sell goods, indicate clearly enough that wages have not kept pace with increasing production: People are unable to buy the equivalent of what they produce.

A very natural next step is an attempt to export surplus products. If these products can be disposed of in foreign markets and if, in return, gold, or silver, or other money-metal, can be obtained, and if these metals, either by free coinage or exchange, easily can be transformed into money, it may be that notwithstanding the failure of the domestic market to increase as production increases, our productive machinery can be continuously operated, and that periods of industrial depression will not recur—or at least that such of these periods as are due to "under-consumption" will not recur. But this, manifestly, is to demand the impossible.

No nation whose imports greatly exceed its exports, unless in possession of unlimited natural resources in gold or other money-metal, can pay with such metal its bills for imported goods, and keep intact its monetary system. This should be self-evident. The time may come when money which has no intrinsic value, or which is not immediately redeemable in some valuable commodity, will answer every purpose; but that time is not yet. Money metals still are needed. Paper money pays no foreign debts—nor, for that matter, does any money, as such. If gold, or any other metal, in any great quantity, crosses international boundary lines, it crosses as a valuable commodity—not as money, but as a representative of money. International trade is, and must be, barter.

It is but reasonable to expect that the country which has for export products of the mill and factory will make every effort to establish favorable trade relations with nations which produce chiefly, and have for export, products of the soil. No nation, and certainly no nation which produces for export only agricultural products can, for any extended period at least, pay in money for its imported merchandise; its payments must be made in products. This can but mean that the country which seeks to stabilize its industries by exporting its surplus of manufactured goods must import agricultural prod-

ucts of approximately equal value. The importation of these products gluts, and then ruins, the domestic market for products of the farm. The farmer then, if he is to carry on, must export his surplus. Obviously he cannot expect to sell agricultural products, in any great quantity, to a nation of farmers. Only nations which are engaged chiefly in manufacture can be expected to buy these agricultural products. Such nations can pay only with goods. If such payments are accepted, the domestic market for manufactured products, in its turn, is ruined. A vicious circle from which there is no way of escape seemingly is established.

Until the fact is generally recognized that a nation's exports can not exceed its imports, efforts no doubt will be made to find in international trade a remedy for domestic economic maladjustments. Obviously, if a country which is growing industrially manufactures a surplus of goods which, if sold at all, must be exported, it must have foreign markets of ever-increasing capacity, and a "favorable balance of trade." But as other nations develop they likewise have need of these same markets. Commercial rivalry therefore ensues. This leads toward war—is in fact the one great cause of war. That nation which would take the first step toward world peace should set in order its own house.

To bring about that much-talked-about, but undesirable "favorable balance of trade," protective tariffs are devised. If such tariffs increase prices they decrease sales, not only in domestic, but also in foreign markets. That nation which adopts a protective tariff policy gives to foreign manufacturers an advantage in foreign markets, and therefore destroys its own export business. If tariffs lessen imports they lessen also exports. They can facilitate in no possible way either domestic or international exchanges of goods. They cannot increase real wages. Wages are regulated, not by tariffs, but by supply and demand. When the supply of labor exceeds the demand, wages fall.

In the last analysis wages are a most important factor in the costs of production. There is little doubt but that many, if not most, manufacturing plants in this country are working on so close a margin that bankruptcy is inevitable if any considerable increase in money wages is not followed by a proportionate increase in the prices of manufactured goods. If the worker receives more money for his labor, and the cost of living increases quite as much, obviously nothing is gained.

Ten dollars a day may be a very small wage. Even a one dollar day wage may be very large. We have become so accustomed to considering wages in terms of money that we have lost sight of the major issue, which has to do with the purchasing power of the dollar rather than with the dollar itself. It is not enough to think of the individual as a producer only; he is also a consumer.

When a stage of competition, in some industry, has given way to a stage of monopolization, it may be difficult, or impossible, to determine what part of income is earnings and what part is merely tribute. A monopoly, having gained control of some franchise, or necessary commodity, may charge for service or products what-

As Simple as That

Two things, and two things only, are necessary for a prosperous postwar world and continued peace. These are: (1) the elimination of all trade barriers between nations and individuals; and, (2) a job for everyone who wants a job.

Obviously the first is easy enough to attain, provided, of course, that the lawmakers of the world are so inclined. Since every restriction to trade, regardless of its exact character, is the result of a man-made law, it is necessary only that all such laws be wiped off the statute books.

The second, too, a job for every man, can be brought about by remedial legislation. Rescind all tax measures and provide by statute for the collection of economic rent in lieu of the revenues thus surrendered. This would bring land into use.

History records no instance of widespread unemployment where land has been free. Doing away with unemployment means the end of mass poverty. Ending poverty and freeing trade would be the greatest guarantee of peace and prosperity that this sick and weary world could possibly have.

ever promises to bring the greatest return. Selling prices now bear no necessarily fixed relationship to the cost of labor.

By resort to what amounts to force, Labor may exact from a monopoly an increase in real wages—that is, an increase in money wages which is not followed by a corresponding increase in the prices of what the monopoly has to sell. As a general rule, however, an increase in money wages must needs be followed by an increase in prices of products.

High wages in the building trades are necessarily followed by high rental charges for houses. High wages paid to railroad workers will be reflected in retail prices of transported goods. High wages in the textile industries raise the manufacturing cost of cloth. Operatives employed in the manufacture of furniture, because textiles and other commodities have advanced in price, demand an increase in pay. This goes on, in one field of activity after another, until the circle is complete. In the end no advantage is apparent. Money wages have increased, and the cost of living has increased also. Between income and outgo, the relationship is much as before. Nothing really has been gained.

It is axiomatic almost that if any gain is made in real wages, by any one group of workers, this gain will be at the expense of other workers, and not of Capital—except indirectly.

(To be continued next month)

Recent History

The author of this piece, HENRY WARE ALLEN, was born in New Bedford, Mass., in 1861. Owing to some unaccountable set of circumstances it was not until 1888, when he had reached the advanced age of 27, that he evinced a more than ordinary interest in matters economic by organizing a Bellamy Club in Kansas City. A few weeks later he was attracted to the Single Tax movement by seeing a copy of Henry George's Standard on a Kansas City newsstand. He then joined the Kansas City Single Tax Club and has been an active member ever since.

Mr. Allen is the author of Prosperity, a book setting forth the Single Tax in theory and practice, and numerous magazine and newspaper articles. Our readers will recall his "Labor Unions and Strikes," in the June issue of THE FREEMAN. Mr. Allen makes his home in Wichita, Kansas.

★ When President Hoover said that prosperity was "just around the corner" he stated an exact truth. Prosperity was available just as electricity has been available to serve mankind since the beginning of time. But prosperity was not to be wooed by the wishful thinking of a careless suitor. Any graduate of the Henry George School of Social Science and thousands of others throughout the country familiar with the science of political economy exemplified by Henry George, could have advised President Hoover precisely what should have been done, and left undone, in order to bring prosperity around the corner.

Strangely enough, while all of the sciences, particularly those of chemistry, medicine, and mechanics have made remarkable progress in recent years, the most important of all sciences in relation to human welfare, the science of political economy, has been neglected, very few men in public life apparently having any knowledge of it at all.

When Mr. Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency he was equally ignorant as to what should be done and left undone to entice prosperity around the corner. Like his predecessor in office he left undone those things which he ought to have done, but he also did those things which he ought not to have done. It was here that Roosevelt rushed in where Hoover feared to tread. Roosevelt knew that something should be done but he was quite ignorant as to what that something should be. He was in a quandary much like that of three ship-

wrecked sailors midocean in a boat who felt the urge to do something religious but could think of nothing until at last one of them remembered that at a religious service a collection had been taken so he passed a tin cup to the other two.

Obedient to an irresistible urge to do something Roosevelt requisitioned a shining light from a northern university who came to Washington like a Modern Pied Piper followed by a cavalcade of similarly bright students. By some mischance they were not, true to form, led down to the Potomac River to be submerged in its waters, but were instead taken to the White House where they constituted the Brain Trust that was responsible for the fantasies of the New Order.

The new President had the go-ahead signal from the American people. Never before had an American President been so liberally favored. He assumed that Uncle Sam had the constitution of a Cardiff giant and the capacity of a rat hole, and all of his subsequent acts were based on that assumption. The New Deal was appropriately ushered in with a "Bluebird of prey made of papier-mache" nailed over the front door of every citizen. Then followed a long series of regulations each one more startling than the last. Humble citizens were thrown into jail because they charged too little for their services; every third row of growing crops was plowed under in order to provide the farmer with better prices for his product, while five million little pigs were sacrificed upon the altar of the unknown God. And prosperity still remained unmoved around the corner.

Meanwhile, an unsympathetic Supreme Court had inconveniently condemned certain of these prosperity remedies as unconstitutional. This was too bad, and in order to remedy the matter that august tribunal, the bulwark of our liberties, must be purged of recalcitrant members. Fortunately, the guillotine did not have to be used as seven of the nine members were in failing health and could soon be replaced by reliable New Dealers.

Then followed the appropriation of billions of taxpayers' money to Agriculture and legislative favors to Organized Labor in fulfillment of pre-election promises. Worthy farmers received a steady stream of subsidy checks as rewards for raising what they were going to raise anyway and for not raising other crops that they were not going to raise anyway. These payments put a lot of new money into circulation and had a slight effect of producing a fairly good imitation of prosperity, such as may be produced by a shot in the arm, but the national debt inconveniently rose steadily while the army of unemployed continued to increase.

Partnership between the New Deal and Organized Labor then resulted in the National Labor Relations Act and the Wagner Act. Strikes became more frequent and

(Continued on page 21)



The BOOK TRAIL

CIVILIZATION'S HOPE PORTRAYED IN ALLEGORY

"The Garden of Doctor Persuasion," by Francis Neilson.
C. C. Nelson Publishing Co., Appleton, Wisconsin.
1942. 235 pp. \$2.

"The March of Christendom," "How Diplomats Make War," "Duty to Civilization," "The Tragedy of Europe," all these and others, some of them translated into Swedish, German and French—now Mr. Neilson gives us "The Garden of Doctor Persuasion," a work of fiction as gentle as its title. When one who may command our reason by his logic, instead appeals to our hearts, who can resist?

The story of "The Garden of Doctor Persuasion" is an account of the steps by which a member of the British Cabinet, owner of a vast estate, attains the conviction of certain basic truths. As a logical result of this new light the Squire resigns from The Government, puts his estate in trust for his tenants and accepts his mission to the masses of people everywhere who are waiting for someone to come and tell them the truth.

Doctor Persuasion's garden is located on the Squire's vast estate in a remote rural district of England. So backward are the tenants of the estate that few of them have been thirty miles from their tiny village. So little has progress touched the area that none of the natives is rich, none is poor, and no one is idle. It is hard for them to believe a visitor from London who tells them that there, "Thousands go hungry and never know a decent bed."

These unlettered rustics naturally have difficulty in understanding a number of things which are quite clear to educated people. One of their perplexities is the current war, which in itself points up conditions which seem inexplicable to Mr. Neilson's primitives. On food rationing, for instance, they are told it is necessary because "most of our food comes from other parts." They answer, "Queer—seeing most of the land about this place ain't been put to use, nay some of it not 'arf, not a quarter."

These farmers who live so close to the land are not even unconscious Malthusians. When some of their men are hauled off to the war they notice immediately that the living standards of those remaining goes down. They shake their heads and remark, "The land canna afford to lose its men."

Mr. Neilson's backward people have stopped voting! To them their government appears more a menace than a source of hope. "Seems to me, we 'uns who work on the land be the country, and the chaps up in Parlyment they be the government that 're paid and fed by us—sometimes for years we never 'ear much about it and

then when some fellows that get five thousand pounds get themselves into a fix its the chaps on fifteen bob a week that have to go and give their lives for their country."

Some readers of "The Garden of Doctor Persuasion" will be disappointed in the book as a stroke for the cause of freedom. But, are not the quotations above examples of the most effective kind of persuasion—that which is not recognized as special pleading?

For bringing closer the day of our economic emancipation, "The Garden of Doctor Persuasion" is, I believe, worth a dozen tomes of political science. The almost universal acceptance of Marxian philosophy today is not the result of the ideological harangues of communist and socialist politicians nor is it based on widespread understanding of "Das Kapital." Such writers of entertainment literature as Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Bernard Shaw, together with countless others in every department of letters, planted in the public mind acceptance of the idea that the cure for social injustice is government intervention. Mr. Neilson's book is, with Louis Wallis' "By the Waters of Babylon," the pathfinder, I devoutly hope, for a school of literature and art which will stir the soul of our century to reawakened hope of economic and social liberty.

But, as all true reformers know, there are certain eternal truths which underlie the tenets of all philosophies and all causes. Into the mouths of his rustics Mr. Neilson has put the materialistic, what after all, are the superficial aspects of his message. It is Doctor Persuasion himself and his converts who state and exemplify these deeper truths of which such concepts as freedom, justice, fraternity are but implications: "Men must see themselves as they are if they are to read aright the symbols of Truth"—"We are not responsible to society, or to each other, but only unto God"—"Man's purpose here is solely to find leisure to use his mind for God's work."

And so it is that Mr. Neilson's story is told when the Squire can say, with a philosopher of the middle ages, "Once I saw clearly the road which led to the goal, I knew there was but a step to realize it. And so fair and so free was the path that all I had to do was to put out my foot and place it on the way."

—JAMES W. LE BARON

That we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us—that we should respect the rights of others as scrupulously as we would have our own rights respected, is not a mere counsel of perfection to individuals, but it is the law to which we must conform social institutions and national policy if we would secure the blessings of abundance and peace.

—HENRY GEORGE

NEWS of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

If You're Going That Way

NEW YORK—The following letter from the secretary of The Henry George League of New South Wales speaks for itself. Georgists in the American forces are urged to get in touch with Mr. Huie should opportunity offer.

"The July number of *THE FREEMAN* is to hand this morning and I notice that you have a number of Georgists in the firing line. So far we have only had an opportunity of meeting one, Captain William Quasha. He called to see me and I had quite an interesting talk with him. Unfortunately both his and my time were somewhat limited. I would like to have seen more of him but his headquarters are in Melbourne. If you could give me the Australian addresses of those serving in this country, I would be pleased to send them a line and copies of our paper. Further, if any of them are able to call and see us we would be glad to give them a personal welcome."

Yours faithfully,

A. G. HUIE

Sims a Georgist

Of the late Admiral Sims, outstanding figure in World War I, Charles A. Beard, in his review of "Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy," which appeared in *The New York Times Book Review* for September 27, writes:

"Soon after leaving Annapolis Sims set about educating himself. He read Buckle, Darwin, Huxley and Herbert Spencer, in the process of developing his own 'philosophy,' with laissez-faire as its law. He read Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and became 'convinced of its truth'; he dined with George and his 'charming' family in New York; and when he first saw the frightful poverty of London, Sims declared, 'If I had the brains I would quit this business and give them to the single tax.'"

Chicago Enrollment Gains

CHICAGO—A break-down as to origin of 370 enrollments for the fall term in the Henry George School of Social Science, this city, out of a total of approximately 500, discloses that 170 of the new students learned of the course through the school's mail campaign; friends accounted for 108; newspaper announcements brought 35; posters, 26, while the remaining 31 were classed under the head of "miscellaneous."

Registration of 500 for the fall term compared with 494 for the preceding term, though it was under the record high of last fall of 682. Sixty graduates of the elementary courses are attending advanced classes, the largest number being in the "Science of Political Economy" group under Mr. Henry L. T. Tideman.

From the Far East

NEW YORK—Distinguished visitors to the Henry George School in late October were Dr. Li Yu-Ying, President of the Chinese National Academy, Peiping, and Chinese delegate for International Intellectual Cooperation, and Dr. Wousafong of the World Confederation of International Groupments and of the *Free World Magazine*. Evincing keen interest in the philosophy of Henry George, whose writings so largely influenced their great leader, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the visitors expressed hearty approval of the proposal of Miss Margaret Bateman that a Henry George School of Social Science be established in China as promptly as possible after the cessation of hostilities. Miss Bateman announces that plans for this important step will be developed in due course.

Copies of *Progress and Poverty* and *Protection Or Free Trade*, in both English and Chinese, were presented to each of the callers, as was a set of Henry George's speeches in English.

An interesting personal note to the meeting was Dr. Wousafong's surprise at meeting Jean Lackey, whom he recognized from having seen in a motion picture, produced and shown in Geneva, Switzerland, a few years ago.

Foreign Duty for Manfrini

NEW YORK—R. Joseph Manfrini, member of the faculty of the Henry George School in New York, and a frequent contributor to *THE FREEMAN*, has been commissioned a captain in the U. S. Army Specialist Corps. Captain Manfrini expects to be given military intelligence duties and detailed for service abroad at an early date.

Tax Study by Greenwald

NEW YORK—An exhaustive survey of the commoner forms of taxation now being imposed upon the American people by Federal, State and Municipal bodies has been made by L. L. Greenwald, and published in an attractive eight-page brochure, under the title of "Know Your Taxes," by the Henry George School of Social Science. Applying the basic tests of "Effect on Production," "Certainty of Collection," "Ease of Collection" and "Is It Fair?" Mr. Greenwald demonstrates in convincing fashion the clear superiority of land value taxation over all other forms.

It is the desire of the author and of the school that the folder be given the widest possible circulation among business men of all classes. Students, teachers and others wishing to participate in the distributive campaign may obtain supplies of the folder in quantities desired at one cent a copy from the school.

Truehart in New York

NEW YORK—A "hail and farewell" supper party was tendered William Beach Truehart of Los Angeles in the Coffee Shop of the Henry George School on the evening of Friday, October 23. The "hail" part was due to the fact that the guest of honor, Texas born and a resident of Los Angeles for the past four years, was meeting most of those present for the first time; the "farewell," because the eastern Georgists attending gave him a rousing send-off to his new job of Field Secretary of the Los Angeles Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science.

Preliminary to taking up his new duties on the Pacific Coast, "Young Bill," as he quickly came to be known around school headquarters, had come on to Chicago for a few sessions of intensive coaching in field work at the hands of that master organizer, John Lawrence Monroe, Associate Director of the Chicago Henry George School of Social Science. This completed, the pair made their way to New York, with stops en route at such Georgist centers as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Newark. Two days in New York were taken up with conferences with members of the school staff and trustees regarding organizational matters.

O. K. Dorn, trustee, presided at the dinner. Speakers included Anna George de Mille, Chairman of the Board; Margaret E. Bateman, Director; Lancaster M. Greene, Trustee; William Hall, of the New Jersey Extension; John Lawrence Monroe and the guest of honor, "Young Bill."

Commission for Rubin

NEW YORK—Arnold Rubin, graduate of the Henry George School and at one time employed in the accounting department of that institution, recently completed the Officers Training Course at the Army Air Force Statistical School at Harvard University, and received his commission as second lieutenant.

School Library Listed

NEW YORK—The library of the Henry George School of Social Science is one of more than 350 whose collections are analyzed and described in a survey recently completed by Robert B. Downs, Director of Libraries, New York University. Dr. Downs' book, *Resources of New York City Libraries; A Survey of Facilities for Advance Study and Research*, treats each special collection in its appropriate place under sixteen principal subject fields. New York City libraries maintain an aggregate of 16,500,000 volumes, a veritable treasure-house of research material covering an infinite variety of both obscure and common subjects.

Appeals for Names

NEW YORK—Duplicates of Christmas card mailing lists, with the elimination of names of children and others who would not be "prospects" for school enrollment, are requested by Miss Margaret E. Bateman, Director of the Henry George School of Social Science. Another excellent source of names, Miss Bateman says, are telephone books of the smaller communities scattered throughout the United States. Copies of these, which may be secured at small expense, are urgently requested by the school.

Speakers Bureau Reports

NEW YORK—Miss Dorothy Sara, Secretary of the Speakers Bureau, reports the following schedule as having been completed in November:

Nov. 5—A. Robert Chananie at Allerton House, on "International Trade Relations"

Nov. 5—C. O. Steele at Kiwanis Club of Williamsburg, on "Youth's Hope in Democracy"

Nov. 5—A. C. Matteson, Jr., at Kiwanis Club of Richmond Hill, Long Island, on "Can Democracy Work?"

Nov. 9—Mrs. Teresa McCarthy Witort at Political School & Forum for Women, Bronx, N. Y., on "A Workable Democracy"

Nov. 16—C. O. Steele at Political School & Forum for Women, Bronx, N. Y., on "Government in Business"

Future bookings now on file are as follows:

Dec. 18—A. Robert Chananie at Bay Ridge Jewish Center, Brooklyn, on "International Trade Relations"

Dec. 25—A. P. Christianson at Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center, Bronx, on "Is Religious Freedom Doomed?"

Jan. 8—L. Leo Greenwald at Young Israel Synagogue of Tremont, Bronx, on "Government in Business"

Major Potter, Maybe Governor Potter

NEW YORK—Louis B. Potter, member of the faculty of the Henry George School of Social Science in New York, and of the Faculty Council, has been notified by the School of Military Government that his appointment in the Army Specialist Corps, with the rank of major, has been recommended. Training includes a sixteen-week course in the School of Military Government at Charlottesville, Va., beginning about January 8, next, upon completion of which Mr. Potter would be in line for appointment as Military Governor of some area to be determined.

Going Up

NEW YORK—A few months ago Walter Maybaum, former student at the Henry George School of Social Science, was inducted into the Army. A few weeks ago Corporal Walter Maybaum, Medical Administration Corps, revisited the scene of his economic enlightenment, bringing the news to his friends that he has been selected for the Officers Training Course and that, in the normal course of events, he should have his commission about February 1st, next. Corporal Maybaum's friends were pleased but not surprised. Knowing that young man as they do, they will be surprised only if he fails to attain the rank of *jigger-dear-brindle*, or its equivalent, before any great period of time has elapsed.

More Books from Mr. Nash

NEW YORK—A further substantial contribution of works on social and economic topics has been made to the library of the Henry George School of Social Science from his own extensive collection by Louis Nash of Seattle, Washington.

Farewell Party for Clancy

NEW YORK—The numerous friends of Robert Clancy, one of the editors of *Land and Freedom*, tendered him a farewell cocktail party at the National Arts Club Saturday, October 24, a few days before his induction into the armed forces of the United States. Though quite a young man still, "Bob" Clancy, friend and pupil of the late Oscar Geiger, founder of the Henry George School of Social Science, has been an active and militant Georgist for ten years or more. He has performed invaluable services for the school in the matter of cataloguing and systematizing the school's extensive and steadily growing library. From time to time he has conducted courses dealing with the life and philosophy of Oscar Geiger.

Mr. Clancy will be succeeded as a member of the editorial board of *Land and Freedom* by William W. Newcomb, who has been active in Georgist circles in New York and a frequent contributor to *Land and Freedom* and other publications.

The library work at the Henry George School will be taken over by two young former students, the Misses Hester Bradbury and Isabella Rosen.

Leon on Patent Rights

NEW YORK—"What About Patent Rights in a Free Society?" was the subject of debate at the November 10th faculty meeting. The discussion was led by William Leon; Louis B. Potter presided. Topic for the next meeting was given as, "Georgist View on the Conservation of Natural Resources"; date and speaker to be announced.

Mr. Leon presented an exhaustive paper on the subject of patent rights, covering the topic in so comprehensive a manner that publication of his dissertation in pamphlet form is now being considered by the Henry George School.

(Continued from page 18)

labor leaders more defiant of law and order. Employers were commanded by government officials to rehire men who had been discharged for reason and to pay them full wages for all the time since they were discharged. Heavy fines were imposed upon employers for the crime of employing labor slightly under legal age and for employing men more than forty hours per week. Still, prosperity stubbornly refused to budge from its position just around the corner.

Fortunately for the New Deal, the subject of prosperity was suddenly changed by the declaration of war. Up to the last minute supplies of gasoline and scrap iron had been sent to Japan in huge quantities so the contest started with extreme difficulties for Uncle Sam. But the opportunity was now open for a huge expansion of governmental activities and regulations that would not have been tolerated in times of peace. One of these was the infamous regulation of rents under

Administrator Henderson. Owners of property were commanded to reduce all rents to the lower level of the depression period and to cancel all contracts and agreements in force under penalty of fine or imprisonment or both. This involved the robbery of one class of citizens for the benefit of a larger class of voters who were, as a rule, better able to pay the normal rents they were paying than were the property owners to receive the reduced rents.

For wages then being received by tenants were in many cases three times the normal pay for similar services. This confiscation of rents was regarded as possibly an entering wedge for the confiscation of all wealth. At least, it was State Socialism in action. Now the people evidently did not want Socialism. The presidential vote for the Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, was in 1932, 918,057; 1936, 200,522, and 1940, 112,274. Again, it was Roosevelt who rushed in where Norman Thomas would not have been allowed to tread.

Letters to



the Editor

Is the Gentleman Sarcastical?

Reading THE FREEMAN is a pleasant enough pastime these days and one gathers that the editors are on the whole favorably disposed toward the theories of Henry George and mildly recommend them for consideration in relation to the problems of Political Economy. This is no doubt vastly better for the blood pressure of your readers than a year or so ago when the paper was just a five-cent sheet. Then one found articles in THE FREEMAN exposing, in convincing and forceful language corporate and individual greed and economic injustice that gave rise to real indignation and prompted one to do something about it if only to write to his congressman or a newspaper. Maybe in the infinitude of time the present way will not be without effect. However the present teaching staff must feel the loss of those cogent and fact-disclosing analytical articles that used to furnish such good arguments in and out of class rooms. Margaret Harkins' article was provocative and an excellent handling of a difficult approach to social thought and action. Briarcliff, N. Y. HERBERT THOMSON

Bouquets to Correspondents

It is good to see that FREEMAN readers are alive and kicking. Two recent items—a letter from Mr. Bashian and an article by Mr. Ludlow, both horrible—were so thoroughly blasted by later contributors that the ulcers engendered in my stomach when I read them were thoroughly soothed.

Bouquets to THE FREEMAN's alert correspondents.
Harvard College MASON GAFFNEY

Attention, Mr. Mason

Just a word to J. Rupert Mason as to RENT collecting. In this city of Topeka, Kansas, population about sixty-five thousand, there is a fine example of how RENT can be collected most efficiently. It is the Parking-meter System. You drive your car into a marked space, and you drop a nickel into the meter box, and your RENTAL OF THAT SPACE FOR THE NEXT TWO HOURS is paid. You pay for the privilege of occupying that particular space. It is, say 10 by 20 feet, or 200 square feet. This street is 100 feet wide, and belongs to the public. No matter where you come from or where you are going, for this small fee you are privileged to occupy that space if you pay the rent. No one can buy that street, no

one can sell it, it belongs to SOCIETY. And the RENT is collected automatically, just the same as we pay our taxes at the court house.

Just across the ten-foot sidewalk the space is occupied by buildings: bank, hardware, mercantile, drugstore, dime store, clothing or shoe business. These occupy larger units of space and for longer time; they are there permanently. Why should they not pay RENT just on the same basis as the cars? Why not collect RENT from the people who want exclusive occupancy of these larger units of space just the same as in the case of the cars? Some one has a TITLE to these lots so why not collect RENT from him, too? How much RENT, you ask? Just what he is willing to pay for the SPACE. Same as the meter box. If you do not want to pay, you do not have to park there. A clear demonstration of real RENT-collecting.
Topeka, Kans. DR. W. J. ROBB

Private Sommer Reports

I thought the November issue of THE FREEMAN better than previous ones. The paper definitely makes reading easier and the type seems to be different, too. In particular I liked Miss Harkins' article which I thought a very fine piece of writing, logical and expressing clear thought. Also outstanding was Dr. Brown's article and the poem on the ape.

The day before yesterday we finally had our fifteen mile overnight march, complete with such trimmings as gas drill, pitching tents without any light amidst the trees and then breaking them down again and rolling our pack in the dark. The night was cool, the sky full of stars, the air saturated with the aroma of flowers and hay, and altogether it was fun. Needless to say we didn't walk over good roads but tricky cross-country trails.
Camp Croft, S. C. RICHARD SOMMER

Suggests a Plan

Mr. J. Rupert Mason's letter in the October FREEMAN propounds a number of vital questions regarding methods of applying the Henry George philosophy to the levying and collection of land rent.

When Nebraska was admitted into the Union, sections Sixteen and Thirty-six of each government township were ceded to the State for common school purposes. Setting a price of \$7.00 per acre, the State at once began to sell these lands, providing that the funds derived from such sales should be invested in certain secur-

ities. Not until 1897—after most of the desirable lands had been sold—was the sale of such lands stopped by statute and a method of renting or leasing the then vacant common school lands adopted.

At given times auctions were held and the lands offered for lease to the highest bidder, to run for a given number of years. The bids were at so much value per acre and the annual rent was fixed at six per cent of the total value so bid. Provision was made that all fences, buildings and other improvements made by the tenant during the period of his tenancy were to be his property; and at the end of his lease and a re-auction and re-letting, if an outsider should over-bid the then tenant, he must buy the improvements at the value fixed by a committee.

Except that the tenant was taxed upon his improvements, the method was not unlike the Henry George plan, in that the tenant paid rent instead of a tax on the land he possessed.

I am firmly opposed to allowing any government official or assessor to fix the rent the tenant should pay. He should fix his rent by bidding in competition with others. And proper provision should be made for purchase of his improvements, if an outsider should over-bid him. The lease period for most lands might well be twenty years.

Lincoln, Nebraska CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE

Keep 'Em at Home

If diplomatic representatives are of any use one wonders to whom? All the peoples now engaged in cutting each other's throats had ambassadors or ministers and consuls. Ostensibly these were to help maintain the peace and to promote commerce. If such is their mission or ever was they failed lamentably and all should be discharged and the offices abolished.

People who wish to live in peace and trade with people in other lands must make one proviso: That no government official shall be vested with power to interfere with business or be permitted to cross the international boundary without first resigning his office. When people go abroad on their own the chances are they will behave, while if they represent their government or feel that they are protected by their government they are likely to play with the power they assume is back of them.

Governments do not trade. They produce no wealth and have nothing to trade. All they do abroad is to interfere with trade the same as they do at home, where they overstep their true functions, which are to maintain equality of opportunity by collecting the rent and protect the people in their peaceful pursuits.

When exporters go abroad they receive such welcome as their goods and services merit. If they do not, that is their concern, not the government's. Anyhow, most goods exported are bought here, bought by customers we welcome. Our own imports are bought by us as customers where the goods are made and as customers we are welcomed. All but chiselers

would be glad to conduct their foreign trade under free trade conditions, which is impossible under government trade treaties with their implied coercion and penalties back of them.

Our government should never furnish visas. Let people go on their own or stay at home. Least of all should a government official go abroad. All our government's business is at home. With that settled we will have no foreign alliances and no foreign wars. We will have peace and all the foreign trade we can handle.

H. W. NOREN
Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Real Impediment

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Jersey Georgist Miss Una E. Miller bestirred by comments in "The Progressive," La Follette's Magazine, addressed the following letter to the editor of that periodical. Miss Miller's letter was published in the issue of October 5th. It is reprinted by permission herewith:

The Worst Monopoly

Dear Sirs:

Among the promises that we, the people of the United States, made to ourselves and to posterity in the Preamble to the Constitution was one to establish justice—that greatest of human aims. But the adoption of neither our Constitution nor our Bill of Rights resulted in the attainment of this aim.

Indeed, to those same forefathers, to whom we unstintingly give credit for our wonderful Declaration of Rights, must we, unfortunately, charge statutes and institutions that directly oppose the grand principles enunciated in that declaration and nullify their application.

They declared for the principle of justice (the only possible meaning of which must be equality of opportunity), while enacting laws that permitted one to charge another for living on the earth. Those laws still continue to operate and maintain a condition of slavery worse in some respects than chattel slavery—worse because more widespread and insidious, because not understood.

Lincoln understood both, and said, "The land should never be the possession of any man, corporation, or unfriendly government, any more than air or water."

Lincoln freed the slaves. But the 13th Amendment covers more than chattel slavery. It says, "Neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude shall exist."

It would be unthinkable to normal men that we should ever again put the black man back into slavery. But we have never understood that *involuntary servitude* exists universally in our "free" land because one man must pay tribute to another in the form of "ground rent" for the right to live, one of the rights which we consider inalienable.

The object of the 13th Amendment can only be realized through government collection of all ground rent.

UNA E. MILLER
100 Baltusrol Road
Summit, N. J.

Boosts Cooperatives

While the proposals of George are fundamental to the achievement of freedom and the good life for men, there are other movements which also contribute to the development of human personality and good relations between men.

One of these is the consumer cooperative movement in which I have been active for some years. I wish that more cooperators were acquainted with the fundamental economics of Henry George. And one thing that would help them become so, would be for more Georgists to acquaint themselves with consumer cooperation. These two great movements have a great deal to contribute to each other.

It is with regret, therefore, that I read in an article by H. B. Jones in *THE FREEMAN* a discussion in which he says that cooperative organizations are the beginning of socialism—its first stages. Nothing could be further from the truth. Cooperators believe in doing things for themselves—not in having the government do things for them. The most civilized countries in the world, where cooperatives are most highly developed, have the fewest laws and the least bureaucracy. Iceland is perhaps the leading example. The Scandinavian countries are better known examples. May I recommend to Mr. Jones, and anyone else who wants to acquaint himself further with the cooperative movement its basic text, *Cooperative Democracy* by Dr. James P. Warbasse.

And may I point out for George B. Greene and those who may have accepted his classification of the labor movement as "the largest group in the nation having common economic interests" that laborers do not form anywhere near the largest such group. The largest group in the nation having common economic interests is formed of *consumers*.

Los Angeles

MORGAN HARRIS

Decries Defeatism

The two-a-day letter of Alex. J. Duris in the October *FREEMAN* was one of the things I have been looking for—new ideas on spreading news of our school, of Henry George and his proposal. I wish your magazine carried more ideas like this one.

The printing of Dr. Clothier's letter and Mr. Hammond's article is another matter. They have been discussed by others and my name can be added to the list of dissenters. Of the two, Hammond's article does deal with Georgism from start to finish, whereas Clothier's letter had nothing. It just doesn't belong in our paper.

Just prior to Pearl Harbor I had a letter prepared to send to *THE FREEMAN*. Our entry into the war caused me not to mail it. This was a plea to *THE FREEMAN* to stop using its columns in debating war—for or against. And for Georgists to cease doing so except as individuals and when not attending school classes and gatherings. This is even more vital today. Let's devote our energy to spreading economic enlightenment.

Where do we get this defeatist attitude

that appears from Georgists here in Boston and elsewhere? When Henry Ford has just come out with an endorsement of George's plan; when we have a resolution before a congressional committee; when William Allen White wrote such encouraging words on August 20, 1941; with the Classics Club selecting Progress and Poverty and printing a bulletin with such a glowing account of our cause, and the statement of Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, advocating a change in the private ownership of land, to say nothing of many more signs pointing to a triumph of economic freedom! Instead of discouragement, there should be much enthusiasm among us.

Newtonville, Mass.

ROBERT ZWICKER

Mr. Stiffey and Free Enterprise

A new student of Henry George reading R. W. Stiffey's editorial on "The Myth of Free Enterprise," might get the notion that "free enterprise" is the cause of our economic ills, when as a matter of fact, the very opposite is true.

Most Americans, including professors of American history and economics do not know the real history of America. "Free enterprise" is truly a myth in America—it has been non-existent. One has only to read the following books, to be disillusioned.

"The Menace of Privilege," (A Study of the Dangers to the Republic from the Existence of a Favored Class) by Henry George, Jr.; "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," by Gustavus Myers and by the same author, "History of the Great American Fortunes"; "Who Rules America," (A Century of Invisible Government) by John McConaughy; "Imperial Washington," by R. F. Pettigrew (formerly United States Senator from South Dakota) published 1922 by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; "The Golden Earth," (The Story of Manhattan's Landed Wealth) by Arthur Pound.

"Free enterprise," in the common sense meaning of the term, means: equal opportunity to all, special privilege to none. Most Americans believe that this nation, "was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Such a belief presupposes that after the Revolutionary War all Americans were on an equal footing, all had an equal chance to attain the wherewith to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Such a conception is not based on the truth as the above mentioned books well illustrate.

New York

H. ELLENOFF

He Knew the Answers

Recently I had to take an important examination in Contemporary Civilization. There were questions on freedom from want, war-time abolition of the forty-hour week, and the terms of the next peace treaty. I found that my study of Progress and Poverty gave me an analytical approach to these questions that I could not have hoped to have otherwise.

New York

EDWIN RICHTER

Glad You Like It

Congratulations on your new format! I never was so pleasantly surprised as when I unwrapped the November issue. I am sure that the change will be richly rewarded.
New York

A. GEORIST

The new typographical dress of THE FREEMAN is a beauty. I am sure that it will in itself win many new subscribers. I particularly like the neat way in which you bring in something about the contents of the article and its author in the editorial foreword to each piece.
Chicago

JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE

I like the form of THE FREEMAN very much as it is in the November issue. It really is attractive. I like also the style of headings in which the writer is introduced. Keep up the good work.
Fort Moultrie, S. C.

N. D. ALPER

My congratulations on the new type design of THE FREEMAN. The paper now looks very readable and you deserve the highest compliments for making it so.
New York

WILL LISSNER

I think the magazine is improving with each issue in that it more and more hews to the line of free trade, free land, free people—which state cannot be established until we collect land rent for revenue and abolish taxation.

More power to THE FREEMAN!

New York

LYDIA H. SPENBERG

Fine, fine indeed, the November number of THE FREEMAN. I was glad to see the reprint of "Uncivilized," the poem by Edmund Vance Cook, (full of vision). Also pleased to read the straight explanatory letter of E. G. Freyermonth, M.D., under the head of "Opportunity." And after Margaret Harkins visits your school a few times and possibly joins a class, I'd like to see another attractive article of hers giving us more of George.
Fairhope, Ala.

EMIL KNIPS

(As it happens, Miss Harkins has completed most of the courses at the Henry George School, and, since THE FREEMAN is endeavoring to interest readers who are not of the Georgist persuasion, it is felt permissible to print an occasional article which may touch but lightly on George, as long as it does no violence to Georgist principles, and exhibits the indispensable qualities of clarity of expression and interesting presentation.—Ed.)

And Then Again

As a believer in freedom—based on Henry George's philosophy—I cannot "continue to enjoy" THE FREEMAN as in the past. Publishing Dr. Clothier's letter to a C.O. is a glaring example of how the editor of THE FREEMAN has succumbed to the war madness. All war is a denial of liberty. No one who condones it is a Free Man.

Malvern, Pa.

ELLEN WINSOR

Since reading Raymond Hammond's un-American and disloyal article, "Can Georgism Bless War," in THE FREEMAN, I have decided that I want nothing further to do with the magazine. I cannot give you the article promised nor can I permit my name to appear in the journal in any connection whatever.

(The foregoing is from a statement by a well-known New York lawyer who, for more than a generation, has been one of the leaders in the movement to put Henry George's tax proposals into effect. As FREEMAN readers will recall, the Clothier article and the Hammond article presented divergent viewpoints with respect to the nation's war effort. This makes it, so far as the editors of THE FREEMAN are concerned, a case of "heads-you-win, tails-I-lose.")

THE EDITORS

On Shifting the Tax

On the question of whether the land value tax can be shifted, a few further observations may be permitted. It sometimes appears that the owner of an apartment house is able to raise rents because his land value taxes have been increased. Investigation, however, will show that in such cases the tenant feels that he can better afford to pay the moderate increase demanded than be put to the expense and trouble of moving. And the tenant, it will be noted, is *already* a tenant. Competition will prevent the landlord from exacting a higher rate from a new tenant, and if he gets it from the old tenant it is only by what might be called loosely some form of blackmail.

The situation with a retailer is much the same. If he meets the landlord's demand for a higher rent, it is not because the latter's land value tax has been increased—even though that may be the case—but because the retailer has built up a clientele in that location and would rather submit to a small increase than jeopardize his following by moving. This is especially true if, as is usually the case, the lease comes up for renewal the first of October. In the majority of retail lines more business is done in the months of October to January, inclusive, than in all the other eight months of the year.

Moreover, the retailer, if he moves, will have to have new equipment and fixtures. What might continue to serve for years in the old location will neither fit nor suit the new place. More often than not the expense would appear prohibitive, to say nothing of the fact that in present circumstances, equipment might be impossible to obtain. Thus the prospective loss of business, at least temporarily, the cost of moving and the heavy cost of new equipment, usually disposes the tenant to accepting the higher rate. But here again it is only that he is accepting the lesser of two evils which the landlord is able to inflict upon him by reason of circumstances which have nothing whatever to do with any increase in the latter's land value tax.

New York

L. L. GREENWALD

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE FREEMAN, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1942.

State of New York, County of New York, ss. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lancaster M. Greene, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Chairman of the Freeman Corp., of The Freeman, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit: 1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Freeman Corp., 30 East 29th St., New York City; Editors, C. O. Steele, Geo. B. Bringmann, Margaret Harkins, Harry Gunnison Brown, John Lawrence Monroe, 30 East 29th St., New York City; Managing Editors, none; Business Managers, none. 2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Freeman Corporation, a non-profit membership corporation, 30 East 29th St., New York City, (no stockholders) Anna George deMille, President; Lancaster M. Greene, Chairman; Otto K. Dorn, Secretary-Treasurer, who are also directors with Ezra Cohen, Francis Neilson, John C. Lincoln, William C. O'Connor and Leonard T. Recker; Counsel, William H. Quasha; Addresses, 30 East 29th St., New York City. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

(SEAL) LANCASTER M. GREENE,
Chairman

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1942.

JAMES P. RICH

(My commission expires March 30, 1943.)

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