The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

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NEW YORK'S PROBLEM OF POVERTY

NEW YORK papers in recent weeks have been acclaiming the activities of the State Charities Aid Association on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of that organization. Their praise is well deserved.

It was in 1871 that Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler discovered paupers, sixty children among them, prostitutes, the insane, the ill and the crippled, crowded together in a single poorhouse, with no care or nursing save that furnished by the kindlier inmates. Horrified, Miss Schuyler organized a committee to do what it could to alleviate such unspeakable conditions.

For more than seventy years this expanding organization has done such notable work among the ill and needy as to give it a place of national leadership in the field of public health and welfare. The accolades now being bestowed are abundantly merited.

But what of the other side of the picture? Even seventy years ago New York was the richest state in the union. Why, then, such deep poverty? And why, to this very day, though the intervening years have witnessed an amazing advance in man's knowledge of how to produce wealth, is there still pressing need for such an organization as the State Charities Aid Association?

Georgists, of course, know the answers. They know that insanity, prostitution, disease and crime spring largely from poverty, and that poverty arises when men are denied access to the land on which and from which all men must live. Georgists believe—nay, they **know**—that the good God made the earth for **all** of His children and not just a favored few.

They know that when men have free access to the land there can be no widespread unemployment, and that when there is no unemployment there is no poverty, and when there is no poverty, a large part of crime and disease will have disappeared. They are profoundly convinced that when the institution of absolute private property in land can be wiped out, and complete free trade established, the world will be a vastly better place to live in.

Georgists found these answers in Henry George's great work, "Progress and Poverty", given to the world in 1879. What a pity the State Charities Aid Association, then in its eighth year, could not have devoted a part of the activities now being so justly extolled to spreading the knowledge and understanding of Henry George's social philosophy of progress through freedom. Had it done so, it would have found its task of alleviating poverty, disease and crime, vastly speeded up.

C. O. STEELE

Lessons We Can Learn

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL recently remarked editorially that the old French saying, "The lesson that history teaches us is that no one learns anything from history," may stand beside another well-known saying of the French, "All generalizations are false, including this one," and that both may take their place with a third, which is that "History repeats itself, but never in the same words."

To these we would add Professor George Santayana's proverb, "Those who refuse to study history are condemned to repeat its mistakes."

A clue as to the reason history repeats itself might well be sought in the French proverb about the nature of man: "The more it is different, the more it is the same."

That we have continued to have depressions and wars—which are the worst kind of depressions—must be due to study by so few and to factors overlooked by even the few who have studied. That the mistakes of history have been repeated does not mean that causes could not have been isolated, nor, having been identified, that they could not readily have been understood by the average man.

If our premises are soundly based on the nature of man, our conclusions are more likely to be correct. Though physically not unlike other animals, mentally and spiritually man is characterized by two universals:

(1) Man seeks, however imperfectly and however restricted, to satisfy his desires with the least exertion.

(2) Once his animal wants are satisfied, man has but set his feet on the first step of an infinite progression—a progression upon which the other animals never enter.

Man's desires are insatiable. The demand for quantity once satisfied, he seeks quality. As the power to gratify his wants increases, so aspirations grow.

Man would never feel that he must repeat the mistakes of history if he had a proper understanding of events and causes. Students of history and economics have an unusual opportunity to seek out the facts and to pass them on to a waiting world.

LANCASTER M. GREENE

Protecting Labor's Gains

THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN has been accused of being antagonistic toward labor. The charge is groundless.

The ranks of American labor include more than fifty million workers, some ten or twelve million of whom are organized. It would be absurd to say that the level of loyalty, decency and intelligence in this group is lower than in other groups of citizens of comparable size and diversity.

It would be equally absurd to deny that, under leadership which has shown itself at times to be stupid, vicious, corrupt and unenlightened, certain practices have grown up in organized labor which are distinctly antisocial in nature and incompatible with the national welfare. These are too well known to bear retelling.

It is toward these admitted wrongs that the editor of The Freeman is antagonistic.

Self-styled friends of labor do their cause a disservice when the best they can do in defense is to fall back on the feeble argument that for every wrong committed by organized labor, employers have been guilty of a greater wrong. And to say, as one writer recently said, that while a union member must sometimes pay a racketeering leader to get him a job or an increase in pay he could well afford to do so because of the benefits gained, is worse than no excuse at all; it is an abject confession of guilt.

The editor of The Freeman is not antagonistic toward labor. He merely agrees with the recent statement of Attorney General Biddle that "labor must clean house to protect its social legislation gains against war time and post-war time pressure for repeal of those benefits."

C. O. S.

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No Silver Lining

THE MAN OF WHOM it was said that he had a very even disposition—even worse today than it was yesterday—probably got that way from overlong meditation upon the legislative atrocities perpetrated in Washington from time to time. Certainly few things would be more likely to sour on the mind than the Silver Purchase Act. During the past eight years it has compelled the Treasury to buy a vast store of silver, for which it had no use, at a price much above and in recent years about double the world market price.

Passed originally at the insistence of a vehement and vociferous minority in Congress, on the claim that it would help practically everything from international relations to fallen arches, the act has failed dismally to accomplish any of its avowed purposes. On the contrary, it has long been recognized by thinking persons as being nothing more nor less than an unconscionable grab of public funds in behalf of the domestic silver producers.

But the crowning absurdity of the situation is yet to be told. The war effort has disclosed that silver has many of the properties of copper and tin. It is a good conductor of electricity and, combined with lead, it takes the place of many times its weight of tin in the making of solder. This is important in view of the country's being cut off from its chief source of tin. But, though the Treasury holds some 3,300,000,000 ounces of silver, and domestic production amounts to about 70,000,000 ounces annually, under the terms of the existing legislation American-produced silver cannot be used in war industry.

It is bad enough for the government to have to pay for silver which, by Natural Law, belongs to all the people; it is worse for the government to have to buy silver that it does not need; it is still worse that the government, since it *is* buying silver, is forced to pay double the market price; and finally, it is the acme of folly that in these critical times, when the very life of our nation depends on production, American industry is compelled to rely on foreign sources for the silver needed in the making of ships, airplanes, tanks, trucks, guns, shells, bombs, torpeodes and a variety of other war materials.

The vast sums that have been handed over to the silver producers are, of course, gone beyond recall; they are as irrevocable as a haircut. But that the nefarious practice should be continued, much less that the government's stock of silver should not be made available to American industry, is unthinkable.

Congress should act at once to correct these intolerable conditions.

C. O. S.

Landfall After the War

A BUFFALO BANKER told The American Management Association at its New York meeting not long ago that the survival of the free enterprise system in this country depends very largely upon the steps which private industry takes now in preparing to make jobs during the post-war period. The speaker warned his hearers that the government already has plans for doing the whole post-war job if it should be necessary, and added that "it is just this probability of government being forced to take over the whole job that we must avoid."

The banker was right. Government taking over the job of finding work for millions of men home from the wars and other millions no longer needed in defense plants is indeed something to be avoided. For the simple truth is that the government can create jobs on a nation-wide scale only by becoming a nation-wide employer. When government is a nation-wide employer, call it what you will—state socialism, social gains, collectivism, regimentation, planned economy, New Deal—what you have is a situation not differing greatly from that prevailing in the totalitarian states of the world today.

But what is the alternative? That industry will provide the jobs? In what way is industry better fitted for the task than is government? The fact is that in recent years the government *has made* jobs, through WPA, CCC and similar agencies. Those activities not only could be, but, unless we are on our guard, very likely will be enormously expanded

when the problem of post-war unemployment has to be faced. That, as the banker from Buffalo said, is the thing to be avoided.

But industry is helpless. Industry is nothing more nor less than a collection of business, large and small, engaged in making and selling things for the gratification of human desires. Those things are made for use. To talk of making things for profit rather than for use is absurd. If things are not useful, they won't be bought and they can't be sold, and there will be no profit.

Things that enter into trade *are always made* for use. Otherwise people would not buy them. And when they do buy there is a profit for both parties to the trade. If each party did not get something he values more than he values the thing he gives up, there would be no trade. Goods are always made for use and there are two actual profits in every trade.

But industry cannot sell goods unless people have the money with which to buy them. Idle men do not have the money and there is nothing industry can do about it.

Unemployment, aside from being stupid and cruel, is completely unnecessary. It arises only because men in their folly and ignorance have wandered away from Natural Law. They have denied the existence of Natural Law, or they have believed it could be flouted with impunity. No more tragic mistake was ever made. As Oscar Geiger has written:

"If there is one principle more important than any other principle in the economic affairs of men, it is that the Earth is the birthright of all mankind, and that all have an equal right to its use; and if there is one violation of Natural Law that is more devastating in its consequences than the violation of any other Natural Law, it is the private ownership of land."

There is just one body of men that can end unemployment without disturbing our democratic system of free enterprise. That is the lawmakers. Let them comply with Natural Law by enacting man-made laws providing for the collection of economic rent in lieu of the multiplicity of taxes which now oppress labor and restrict enterprise. Such a change would make all the idle and inadequately used land in the country immediately available for use.

The result would be akin to that described by the old-time Georgist in his story of the mythical island. "Imagine," he would demand of you, "what would happen to employment and wages in this country if a fertile island, half the size of the United States, should pop up out of the ocean, and any one who liked could be transported there instantly, and could take up, without cost, all the land he could use."

The old-timer would have you there, of course, for a moment's reflection would show that in such a happy event unemployment in this country would disappear and wages would rise sharply, while in the new island it is obvious that there could be neither unemployment nor low wages.

The lawmakers could, in effect, bring such an island into existence, end unemployment and raise wages, by the simple expedient of shifting taxes from labor products to land values. Then the lawmakers could take the further step of abolishing all tariff barriers and trade restrictions—since both parties to every trade benefit, the more we can trade the better off we are—and we could trade freely with all the other nations of the world. Having done those two things, the lawmakers could rest on their laurels a while for they would have done away with the principal causes of unemployment and war.

C. O. S.

Brickbats and Bouquets

"There never was in the world two opinions alike, no more than two hairs or two grains; the most universal quality is diversity."

ON ANOTHER PAGE in this issue of *The Freeman* we print some of the letters to the editor which have been received in recent weeks. We only regret that space limitations prevent our printing them all; as a group they are distinctly stimulating, interesting and provocative. None was quite of the "Dear Sir, you cur," variety, although there were a couple of near misses; nor did any exhibit the transparent sham of the man who wrote to a correspondent, "I return your insulting letter unread."

Among our readers are some who object to our views on the war others think our attitude toward labor is wrong; still others are not angry but just terribly, terribly hurt.

While the bouquets, naturally, are more soothing to the editorial self-esteem than are the brickbats, the protests, nevertheless, are a source of gratification. They prove that *The Freeman* is read by persons who do not readily abandon their convictions. And that is good. We are publishing this paper for the quick, not the dead.

C. O. S.

The Right of Property in Land*

By THOMAS F. WOODLOCK

Many years ago the present writer incautiously entered the ring with an ardent single-taxer. He was carried out unconscious, but unconvinced, and never since has repeated the mistake. Among his friends are not a few followers of Henry George who perpetually tempt him to tread the rosin with them. Occasionally he feels the instinct of combat stirring in his old bones but it never quite runs away with his discretion. One reason for this is that he is unsure that he understands the position of the George disciples well enough to focus the matter upon its essence, clearing away all the rest. This, no doubt, is his own fault, but being equipped as he is with a massive and comprehensive store of ignorance generally, he has not been conscious of enough physical inconvenience to make him bone down to the bedrock of this particular controversy and thoroughly inform himself thereupon. It has occurred to him that, instead of donning trunks and gloves and climbing through the ropes for a fight, he might usefully take his seat in the back row of the class-room and appeal for enlightenment at the hands of the teacher on that which seems to him to be the fundamental of the matter—namely, property right in land.

The "right of property" is not absolute, any more than is any other right. All rights are conditioned in fact, conditioned, indeed, by themselves, which is necessary for the sake of order. The simplest example of this conditioning is furnished by our traffic regulations, and the principle exemplified by these applies to the whole rights structure. This being conceded, what this writer would like to know is whether the George gospel recognizes the same **order** of property "rights" in the case of land as in that of other property and that the difference between it and the others is merely one of **conditioning**, or whether the right of property in land is of a different **order**, independently of conditioning. This is probably a clumsy way of stating the question. Another way to put it might perhaps be to ask whether a land owner's dominion over his land differs in **kind** (apart from its conditioning by the rights of other land owners) from the dominion that we concede to owners of other kinds of property, and, if it does, what **principle** it is that determines the difference.

In his present (and to tell truth his normal) state of lazy ignorance of this matter (as of most other matters) this writer has supposed that it turned upon the ownership of **rent**, that is, the return which a land owner can exact for the use by someone else of his land. This rent fixes the "value" of the land in the market. He has supposed that the George gospel denies to the owner of land the full ownership of its market "value" on the ground that a portion of that value is the creation of the community within which the land is situated.

For example, this writer understands that the land across from the Bank of England in Princess Street, London, fetched a sum equivalent to some $25,000,000 per acre, when one of the large banks acquired it for its new building. Similarly, he is informed that a reconstruction of the Charing Cross bridge over the Thames would have entailed a cost of some $44,000,000 for the land required for the approaches. He assumes that the George gospel would deny the right of the owners to any such "value." What he would like to know is the principle upon which it would fix the "value" to which the owner was entitled as a property right. How much is right; how much is too much; why?

Also, oil is discovered on an Oklahoma farm which makes its market value, say, $10,000 per acre, for which the farmer paid $10. Who "owns" the difference between the $10 and the $10,000 and why?

These are not intended as trick questions. This writer is well aware that he ought to dig the answers out for himself by study of the George gospel and the writings of its commentators. But time is fast running out on him, and there is much yet to learn about many other important things, and he throws himself upon the sympathy of his Georgian friends and asks them to help him out. And he particularly appeals to his friend J. R. M. of San Francisco—who in a postcard message recently received demanded of him: "Tell us just what is 'Capitalism.'"

* Reprinted by permission from the **Wall Street Journal**, New York, May 22, 1942, where this essay was published in Mr. Woodlock's editorial page column, "Thinking It Over."

Fundamentals of the Land Question

By WILL LISSNER

Over the past decade or so the present writer has had the good fortune to make the acquaintance, and, he hopes, the friendship of several ardent single-taxers, properly so-called. If he has never been carried out unconscious from an encounter with one of them, as Thomas F. Woodlock delightfully reports he has (in his column in The Wall Street Journal of May 22), it is because, as an admirer of Henry George himself, he received greater mercy than the elect can be expected to show to the gentiles. Besides, he learned many years ago a very useful panacea that solves such situations, particularly when the argument is running against you. You simply look bored. Like a cup of cold water dashed upon an over-playful dog, the bored look, the present writer has found, quenches the ardor of even the most faithful of disciples.

Now dwindling to a handful is the group of George's followers who saw

in the single, proportionate land value tax the universal panacea for all social ills. The present generation of George's followers is more interested in effecting better understanding of the economist's contributions to the social philosophy of ethical democracy, the social philosophy of moral progress through the extension of democratic freedom. Yet it must be admitted that the ardor of those who gloried in panacea-mongering has accomplished much more toward making George's distinctive ideas generally known, in some fashion, than the enthusiasm of the modern Georgist which is tempered with qualification. And it must also be admitted that while such qualification is a more faithful reflection of George's own approach, and arises from the greater familiarity of present-day students with George's complete writings, and with the pertinent literature of economics and sociology, it has tended, as a reaction from the exaggeration of the panacea approach, to minimize unnecessarily the importance of the solution of the land question in the abolition of poverty, absolute and relative, amidst plenty, actual and potential.

Along Mr. Woodlock has come to remind the modern Georgist that the land question is the focal point of George's system of ideas. And to make apparent to him, in a most charitable way, that the Georgists share with most other cohesive groups a common failing; they speak in so sectarian a language that an honest observer, like Mr. Woodlock, cannot be sure he understands their position. For this the followers of Henry George, old-line Single-taxers and present-day Georgists alike, owe Mr. Woodlock a double debt. All who cherish the memory of Henry George might well repay the debt by seeking to define, in terms any honest observer could understand, the meaning of the land question and its solution.

Language, of course, is an imperfect medium for communicating ideas. Metaphysics and the other divisions of philosophy seek to reduce the imperfection by using terms from several languages, and particularly the classical ones. The moralist, thus, encounters less difficulty —but only somewhat less—than the economist who, largely, must content himself with the vulgar tongue. The term "land" illustrates ideally the difficulties that beset the economist.

The Biblical writers lived in an agricultural age and land, to them, consisted of the fields where crops were grown for sustenance and exchange. The geat Christian teachers of the patristic period lived in an economy where fields and mines and woodlands yielded sustenance to men; these they considered land. The fertile field, the accessible mine, the lush wood, all these were the bounty of nature, free gifts to man for his sustenance. So these teachers drew the inescapable conclusion: these free gifts were intended for all men.

Modern systematic philosophy dates back to the Schoolmen who, on the basis of the patristic writings and of the earlier attempts at systems, developed, among other things, a theory of right conduct, a theory which we, today, divide into individual and social ethics. Under the medieval system, based, as it was, on the closed economy of the manor, there was social control of the use of fields and mines and woodlands, as well as of some houses and some roads. This social control was inadequate and thousands of persons were outside or driven from the manorial economy. But by reclaiming the wastelands of Europe, as many did under the leadership of the monastic orders, they found fields and mines and woodlands that were free to them.

Thus to the Schoolmen access to the "land" in the sense, for example, of the field, was not so pressing a problem as access to the manor as a whole. The "land" question did not appear to them in as naked a form as it had appeared to the prophets during the struggle for justice in Israel. Hence they considered "land" along with houses, tools, machines, animals as the material goods of the earth and these, they taught, were created by God for all men and should flow equally to all.

From the time of the Schoolmen, with certain unique exceptions, philosophers have tended to lump the resources of nature which are free gifts to men together with the products of man's labor applied to such resources. But meanwhile the economic system we know as capitalism developed, and with it there came into being prices and markets and the organization of production and exchange. The social controls of the medieval system over the ownership and use of land, as well as other things, were scrapped. Fields that were naturally fertile, or naturally adapted to man-designed fetilization, or that were near the habitations of other men, or near to markets or roads or other means of access to markets, or were desirable in other ways from social and economic considerations, acquired owners. The philosophers, from the time of the Schoolmen until the rise of liberalism, had denied that the right of ownership in land or any of the other material goods of the earth could be absolute. But under liberalistic capitalism absolute private ownership of land as well as other things became the fact, even if it never quite became the law.

What George and his anticipators noticed about this process was that many men were denied their rightful share in a portion of these fields. To acquire a space to cultivate for their sustenance, these landless men had to impale themselves on the horns of a dilemma. Either they paid other men for permission to work upon "owned" fields, or they went beyond the pale of the economy and the society to reach fields so undesirable, socially and economically, that no one had bothered to take title of ownership to them.

George noticed this, first, with respect to fields, agricultural land. Then he noticed that it applied to dwelling sites, to sites of commercial enterprises, to sites of industrial establishments, to mineral deposits, woodlands and even (especially in our day of sovereignty over waters and over the means of access to them) to the sea. He noticed

that rain and air and sun were free until they acquired the social connotation of climate, when they acquired a value with respect to the site they blessed with their presence or cursed with their absence.

Another fact George noticed was that, in the economy we call capitalistic (by a quirk of language, for the economy preceded the appearance of enterprises based upon the employment of large capitals), competition for the ownership and use of the products of men's labor applied to land usually resulted in the multiplication of such products on the market and the cheapening of their price. But competition for the ownership and use of fields and sites and deposits and woods resulted in the diminution of the amounts of such land on the market and the heightening of their price.

Still another fact George noticed was that the market process, as far as land was concerned, involved the sale of titles, rather than the thing itself, and the titles were not merely bills of sale but guaranties by society, through its creature, the State, of the prerogatives and perquisites of ownership. So he discovered that patented technological processes had the same experience in the market as land. In our day the list has been extended of the things which obey market laws similar to those obtaining for natural resources. George generalized the term "land" to mean all socially-limited economic opportunities that are not man-made in origin.

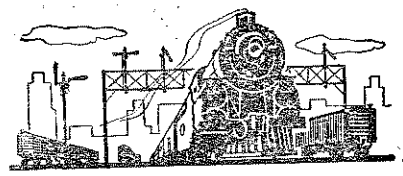
The fact that "land" may mean a patented process that has no relation to site or field or deposit tends to confusion, it is true, but the thinking man has to do the best he can with the linguistic tools that he has. Understanding these things to be "land," and such things like houses and tools, the products of man's labor applied to land, as "capital,' the Georgist attempts to distinguish between "land" and "capital" but still he insists that it be recognized that the field to which the farmer has applied manure, but nothing else, is a mixture of "land" and "capital." For when the Georgist speaks of "land" he is thinking of a place to cultivate, a site to work upon, as man found it. Usually he talks about "bare land" to avoid this confusion. But "bare land" is an entity that usually exists only in economic analysis, not in the well-developed economy.

When the follower of George speaks of landed property as being different from other property, he is thinking of a right to own a socially limited economic opportunity that is not man-made in origin. The right to own such property, he believes, differs in kind from the right to own other property. The value of such a right, the measure of the economic advantage its possession gives to the owner over and above that which he would receive from the possession of an economic opportunity that is not so limited, such as fields beyond the pale of the economy and the society, he calls the economic rent. Three principles are involved. First, that this kind of property is indispensable if a man is to live and to sustain himself; it is an "economic opportunity." Second, no man can claim that his labor produced it; it is "natural." Third, it is limited in a social and economic sense, a site in a civilized society, a scarce deposit; it is "socially limited."

Thus the Georgist calls for the social appropriation of the full economic rent of land not merely because the community created a part of it but because the socio-economic process created all of it and no single owner any of it. But to avoid confiscation—unless abnormal conditions make it necessary—the Georgist would approach full social appropriation gradually, over the period of capitalization. To explain how this can be done would take too much space, but it can be done.

Hence no categorical answer can be given to Mr. Woodlok's questions about his examples unless one assumes that the gradual introduction of the device had been completed. With this assumption, it can be said that whatever of the $25,000,000 per acre paid for the Princess Street banking site was paid for improvements in or on the land belonged to the improver or his assigns; that is all to which he is entitled, in economics or morals, as a property right. Similarly, all the owner of the Charing Cross bridge improvements was entitled to was the value of his improvements in or on the land. The same goes for the farmer; the difference between the $10 and the $10,000 per acre of his Oklahoma farm (as well as part of the $10!) belongs to society.

Mr. Woodlock gave two English examples and one American one. It is a pity he did not mention, say, a Welsh farmer. For the laws of England reserve to the crown, which is to say the people of England, the ownership of any oil deposits that may be found in the realm, on the ground that no Welsh or Oklahoma farmer created the current demand for gasoline and other petroleum products or, millions of years ago, started the process that results, in our day, in an oil pool.



To give the Welsh or Oklahoma farmer a single dollar of the $9,990 involved is to say that he has a right to bargain for the highest price he can get if he can get away with stealing what is, clearly, a free gift of nature and its author, not merely to the people of England or the United States but, because of the unequal distribution of natural resources over the world, to all humankind. British law prohibits this with respect to oil land. One day all law will prohibit it, I hope, with respect to every type of land. For all types are limited either physically, as oil, economically, as agricultural land, or socially, as sites, or in combinations of these conditions.

Labor Unions and Strikes

By HENRY WARE ALLEN

In the opening chapter, "The Spirit of the Times" in "Public Relations for Business" by Milton Wright, published by Whittelesy House, New York, occurs the following, "Henry Ware Allen, writing for The New York Times on the plight of the businessman, has this to say, "His income is guaranteed by no one, his enterprise is based upon faith that square dealing and hard work will provide the necessary funds with which to take care of his weekly pay roll, his other expenses, and a modest living for himself. Yet this most useful member of society is continuously treated by social reformers, by legislators, and by the law itself, as though he were an enemy of society, and he is penalized accordingly.

"The average businessman is denounced as greedy for not paying higher wages and salaries; he is condemned by the social reformer as an expensive middleman whom state socialism would dispense with; he is stigmatized by the politician as an economic royalist who is getting more than his share of the nation's wealth; he is penalized with heavy taxes upon his merchandise, his sales, his profits, his income and for his occupation.

"He is put to heavy expense for the advice of specialists in saving as much as possible of his property from robbery by the complicated income tax; he is made to collect and to remit without compensation the heavy state income tax with which his business is penalized, while, by a combination of labor agitators and politicians, he is subjected to labor strikes and his hours of labor and his scale of wages are regulated."

The increasing frequency in recent years of labor strikes together with unreasonable demands upon employers makes the calling of strikes a serious matter. In the year 1941 more than 4,000 strikes are reported to have been imposed upon the public. In the early days of labor unions the sole object was to protect the members from unjust treatment by employers upon the principle that "the injury to one is the concern of all." And this involved an admirable loyalty of union members to one another. In nearly every instance public sentiment was naturally with the strikers.

In recent times, however, labor unions have made use of new sources of power and have become aggressive rather than defensive in character. By the establishment of powerful lobbies at Washington the voting strength of labor unions combined with huge campaign contributions has been bartered to politicians for such legislative favors as the Wagner Act and the National Labor Relations Board. In this way a new era of class antagonism has been engendered.

The working man has had good reason to believe that he was not getting the wages to which he was justly entitled. He has observed that with the great increase in the power to produce wealth resulting from labor-saving machinery and improved methods of transportation his income has not been correspondingly increased while the army of unemployed has steadily grown.

In most cases where strikes have been called it has been assumed that the employer was getting more than his share of industrial profits and that therefore he could afford to pay higher wages if forced to do so; and where strikes have been successful, this contention has been sustained. When it has been possible, the prices of manufactured articles have been advanced to correspond with this increased cost. But it must be remembered that by the force of competition the manufacturer's profit is, as a rule, reduced to the minimum and that this result of competition forces many bankruptcies. In other words, it may be stated as a general truth that the beneficent effect of competition provides the sale of manufactured products to the public at actual cost, the manufacturer's or merchant's profits amounting to nothing more than reasonable salaries.

Wages are fixed by the inexorable law of supply and demand. If there are more jobs than workers, wages tend upward; if there are more workers than jobs, wages tend downward. The only legitimate way to secure higher wages is, therefore, to produce those conditions wherein there are more jobs than workers. This will satisfactorily solve the wage question and without strikes. Wages are not fixed by employers, labor unions, or properly by legislation. When the principles of political economy are understood and made use of by our legislators, the problem should be solved. To secure an increase in the wage scale by means of labor strikes involves the use of force in the place of reason and with consequent injustice to all those workers who are not organized and to the consuming public.

Working men are not to be criticized for the favors which have been handed to them by politicians. The blame for this rests squarely upon those members of Congress who have voted for the unsavory legislation. It has come to be the practice of Congressmen to exchange favors with one another by voting for measures of doubtful character in order to secure support for similar legislation demanded in their own districts. By that method bills providing special privileges have been passed that would never have been adopted on their merits. It is possible that this evil might be remedied if Congressmen were enabled to vote on such matters by secret ballot.

We have applied the time honored adage, "The king can do no wrong"

to our own government, confusing in that way man-made law with natural law. In consequence of this assumption, the power of union labor has been greatly increased. The placard exhibited in a recent strike in Detroit which carried the legend, "Three departments of the Government are with us," indicated the increased power which labor unions were able to exert.

It will be remembered that labor unions were given complete authority in the fixing of wage scales at the recently held World's Fair in New York City. Foreign exhibitors were not permitted to make use of the men whom they brought here to erect their exhibits but were compelled to engage union labor men to do the work at excessive rates of pay while their own men stood idly by. This put an unnecessary expense upon foreign exhibitors of many hundreds of thousands of dollars, and the fact that this outrage has provoked so little protest is an indication of how thoroughly we have been blinded to considerations of justice in such matters.

Irregular practices of union labor men which can only be classed as racketeering, frequently legalized by Congressional action and enforced by federal officers, have taken place in practically every American town and city and have been amply recorded by newspaper and magazine articles. Most serious of all have been the maritime strikes on the Pacific coast causing losses of upwards one hundred million dollars, which losses, if resulting from bombardment of San Francisco by an enemy, would have caused instant retaliation, but which were complacently accepted by the American public without protest. One of the commonest and most outrageous forms of legalized racketeering has been the compelling of employers to rehire undesirable men who had been dischargd and to pay them wages for the intervening time of idleness, from the date of their discharge of reemployment.

Another law which violates a principle of constitutional rights has been heavy fines upon employers for providing employment in excess of the legal limit of 40 hours per week. The blame for these outrages rests primarily with the Congressional legislation which made them legal. The closed shop, which prohibits the employment of any excepting members of a certain union, which compels the employer to collect labor union dues from every man and to discharge from employment any man who objects to such deduction from his wages, is essentially at variance with the liberty which is supposed to be guaranteed by the Constitution and therefore not to be tolerated in a free country. Nevertheless it is a matter of record that when the Federal Ship Building and Dry Dock Corporation refused agreement to the closed shop for their plant the government compelled surrender of its management to federal officials. The Ford Motor Company while agreeing to the closed shop did so under protest and by compulsion of the National Labor Relations Board.

The suggestion has been made that where profits are exceptionally large, as may be the case with the manufacturer of munitions at the present time, this extra profit should be shared with employees as extra wages, but this suggestion is not a valid one based upon sound reasoning. There is no legitimate relation between wages and profits. In a mining camp the same wages are paid by a company which is making a profit of thousands of dollars weekly as are paid by the unsuccessful company which may be losing a similar amount, and in the oil fields a certain scale of wages is paid to oil drillers regardless of whether the well proves to be a producer or a dry hole. If labor is to share in profits, then, to be consistent, labor should work without wages when there are no profits and should contribute its proportionate share toward any loss sustained. When a business of any kind finds that it has had a specially profitable year it may decide to pay bonuses to its employees purely as a gesture of good will, but this cannot be mandatory. It is purely a gratuity, a generous gift.

All history proves that it is futile to attempt to provide prosperity by legislative fiat, also that the granting of special legislative favors to one class of citizens at the expense of all other classes violates the foundation principles of democracy and is certain to lead to trouble. Rates of wages and hours of labor can be properly controlled only by compliance with natural law in harmony with correct principles of government. In fact, as was well stated by Buckle in his History of Civilization, every true reform is secured not by the enactment of any new law but by the repeal of bad legislation previously enacted.

When a man now joins a labor union he dons the cloak of special privileges at the expense of all nonmembers. Of course, he may do this with the best of motives. The very fact that he is a working man indicates that he is a good citizen. He is animated by the right kind of selfishness. He wants to get ahead in the world, he wants to provide the best possible income for his family, and he wants to provide for his own old age. He follows the line of least resistance in adopting the usual method to secure these things to his best advantage. But he is mistaken when he assumes that capital is the enemy of labor, that the employer is the enemy of the employee. However he is as wise as the average citizen.

Political economy is as exact a science as is any other science, current assertion to the contrary notwithstanding. In every public library and in the library of every college and university may be found textbooks which demonstrate precisely how all of the advantages of labor-saving machinery and improved methods of transportation may be translated into commensurately increased wages together with complete absorption of unemployed labor into industry. Fortunately those who have given the problem thorough consideration know that by simple compliance with natural law and the repeal of bad man-made laws the future is full of promise for the wage earner.

The Process of Seeing

By H. ELLENOFF

Isaac Newton, sitting under a tree, is said to have been hit by a falling apple and as a consequence to have discovered the law of gravitation. In recent years, speakers and writers on economic subjects have not been hit by falling apples but by economic watermelons, yet they have not been able to see why poverty increases with advancing progress. Why this blindness?

Because individuals see what they know. What is not known is not seen. The eyes after all are nothing but a transmitter. Unless the mind can conceive a thing, the eyes do not see it. Within the convolutions of the brain are the mental filing cabinets in which are filed away experiences, knowledge and habits. If in the mental file on economics the information is scant or erroneous, the individual vision will be limited accordingly.

At a summer hotel, prior to the present war, three men were engaged in a discussion of current events. We will call the three Professor Nomic, Professor Philos, and Mr. Plain Citizen. Both Professor Nomic and Professor Philos held that it was necessary for citizens to revamp their ideas to fit a changed world, that we must have economic planning with social control, and that private property must give way to human rights. They claimed, moreover, that we must increase the functions of government, as only government has the resources and the power to solve economic problems, and that if industry cannot provide work, government must.

Mr. Plain Citizen quoted Henry George: "Take any country as a whole, or the world as a whole. On what and from what does its whole population live? Despite our millions and our complex civilization, our extensions of exchanges and our inventions of machines, are not all living as the first man did and the last man must, by the application of labor to land."

Professor Nomic here remarked that he could not see where Henry George's statement applied today, since we are living in a "machine age" and all cannot live on the land.

Mr. Plain Citizen quoted Henry George again: "In the simplest state of which we can conceive, each man digs his own bait and catches his own fish. The advantages of the division of labor soon became apparent, and one digs bait while the others fish. Yet evidently the one who digs bait is in reality doing as much toward the catching of fish as any of those who actually take the fish. So when the advantages of canoes are discovered, and instead of all going a-fishing, one stays behind and makes and repairs canoes, the canoe-maker is in reality devoting his labor to the taking of fish as much as the actual fishermen, and the fish which he eats at night when the fishermen come home are as truly a product of his labor as of theirs. And thus when the division of labor is fairly inaugurated, and instead of each attempting to satisfy all of his wants by direct resort to nature, one fishes, another hunts, a third picks berries, a fourth gathers fruit, a fifth makes tools, a sixth builds huts, and a seventh prepares clothing—each one is to the extent he exchanges the direct product of his own labor for the direct product of the labor of others really applying his own labor to the production of the things he uses—is in effect satisfying his particular desires by the exertion of his particular powers; that is to say, what he receives he really produces. If he digs roots and exchanges them for venison, he is in effect as truly a procurer of the venison as though he had gone in chase of the deer and left the huntsman to dig his own roots."

At this point Professor Philos asked to be enlightened further on Henry George's first mentioned quotation.

Mr. Plain Citizen replied as follows: "In spite of the 'machine age' and the 'chemical age'; in spite of radio and airplane, in spite of all the accumulated knowledge in the arts and sciences, life today basically is the same as in Adam's day.

"The life of man may be compared to an acorn taking root; first there is a tiny seedling, then a young tree, then a mighty tree strengthened by every storm, living out its potentialities of heredity and environment, which, when its time comes, crashes to the earth and mingles again with the elements whence it came. Everything animate and inanimate on the crust of this revolving sphere resolves to earth again.

"'Time passes,' is a common everyday expression. Though clocks check off the seconds, minutes, hours; and calendars the days, weeks, months and years, is it time that passes? Time is, was and ever will be."

Mr. Plain Citizen then explained that private property and human rights were synonymous. "Were we to ask ourselves the meaning of the word 'slave,'" he said, "Would not our answer be as follows? (a) A man whose body is not his own but belongs to a master; (b) A man who has no human rights; (c) A man who has no property rights.

"Now suppose we ask ourselves: What is a 'Free Man'? Would not our answer be (a) A man who has a right to his own body; (b) Having a right to his own body, he has a right to the mind in that body; (c) Having a right to his own body, and his own mind, he has a right to the results of the labor of that body and that mind—property; (d) This property being his, it is private property.

"Therefore, man, a human being, not a slave, possessing human rights, has a right to his private property. Human rights and private property rights, therefore, are one and inseparable. Without the right to private property there cannot be freedom. Without freedom there cannot be human rights."

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Two Victims Of Southern Land Monopoly

By JOHN DEWEY

* Reprinted by permission of the author from The New York Times, May 16th, 1942, where this article was published as a letter to the editor.

The United States Supreme Court, on May 4, declined without opinion to review the case of Odell Waller, colored sharecropper, convicted of first degree murder in the shooting of his white farmer landlord during a quarrel induced by Waller's attempt to get his share of their wheat crop. Colored people regard this unexplained refusal as just one more evidence that when white people speak of fighting to preserve freedom, they mean freedom for their own race.

It is particularly gratifying, therefore, to learn that Waller's counsel, John F. Finerty, is about to petition the court for a rehearing, and that an amicus curiae brief will also be filed with the court on behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations, and such prominent citizens as Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, president of the Union Theological Seminary. In such a case the court, it seems to me, should be mindful of the late Mayor Gaynor's great dictum, "We must act not only with justice but with the appearance of justice."

Waller pleaded self-defense. The only eyewitness to the shooting was a colored boy of 18, in the employ of the slain man's family. This witness refused to talk to the defense attorneys after the shooting. At the trial he testified that Waller, after a friendly conversation in which Davis told him he would get his wheat soon, shot Davis in the back as he turned to go to breakfast.

Against this testimony we have Odell Waller's story, which fits much more logically into the known pattern of Oscar Davis's repeated mistreatment of the Waller family. Waller testified that Davis refused to give him the wheat, cursed him, and reached for the pocket in which Waller had known him to carry a gun. In fear of his life he shot Davis, and the defense contends reasonably enough that the first two shots hit Davis in the side of the head and on the arm, their force, coupled with his attempt to flee, whirling him around so that the second two shots hit him in the back.

It is hard to believe that Waller would have shot a man with whom he had just had a friendly conversation. Moreover, reliable Negroes who know the South insist that it is incredible that any colored man in that region would give testimony against a white employer's interest, in a white man's court, after a conference with a white prosecutor.

Not only the credibility of the testimony is in question. The case also involves the constitutional right of an accused person to be tried by a jury of his peers. The Virginia Constitution makes the payment of a $1.50 poll tax for three consecutive years the test of a citizen's qualification to vote, a provision which the present Senator Carter Glass, at the time of its adoption, frankly stated was intended to disfranchise Negroes. In effect it disfranchises more white people than colored, and is widely resented. The lists of qualified voters are commonly used in making up the lists of qualified jurors. Thus Odell Waller, a colored man disfranchised by poverty, was convicted by a jury of white voters, ten of them farmers employing sharecroppers. On this basis his attorney contends that he was denied his constitutional right to trial by a jury of his peers.

In the public discussion of this case I have noted the argument that, since payment of the poll tax is not in law the condition for jury service in Virginia, this contention of the defense is invalid. But if payment is in fact the condition of service, as the defense has proved with sworn statements, then this argument is irrelevant and technical.

The Supreme Court, in failing to state why it refused to review this case, left it unclear whether it regards a jury of poll-tax payers as peers of a man disfranchised by poverty, or whether it considers that, because Waller's young trial attorney raised the commonly known fact that jurors are selected from the tax lists, without adducing specific proof, the condemned man must die solely because of this error. It is vital to the integrity of our judicial procedure that the Supreme Court either grant the petition for a rehearing or state its reasons for refusing. If it shall develop that the court refuses to review the case on the basis of any technicality, dodging the issue of trial by one's peers, the effect will certainly be to weaken the faith of the poor—and especially poor Negroes—in the democratic processes.

And now a word about the social and humanitarian aspects of this case. It is clear from the record that both the slayer and the slain were victims of the economic forces which for some decades have exerted terrible pressure on both white and colored farmers. The white man was a debt-ridden renter; the colored man, a destitute sharecropper. As Jonathan Daniels has put it, "both the white man and the Negro were caught at the bottom of an American agriculture in the South which gives so little that fighting over it —maybe even murder over it—is not to be taken as an unexpected result."

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V

Pioneers of Social Reform in Chicago

By ALEXANDER GREENE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

No social movement of our time has had so many men and women of outstanding character and colorful personality in it as the Georgist movement. Truly may it be said that each soldier in the Georgist ranks carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack; equally truly it may be said that often he was called upon to wave it, which he did with noteworthy capacity.

We of the younger generation of Georgists cherish the memories of these men and women. Their achievements were more than day-by-day victories; they live on in our time as inspirations to us who have come after. To meet this avid interest of the newer recruits to our ranks, The Freeman *is presenting a series of sketches of the pioneers of the Georgist movement.*

Collaborating with me in the series are a group of distinguished Georgists, who, in long careers, have bridged the gap between the past and the present. The first of them is Mr. Alexander Greene, an old resident of Chicago, whose work at the side of those he writes about is recorded indelibly in the pages of Georgist history. May his recollections prompt others to join in this series, and share with all of us the memories that have spurred them on in spite of all obstacles, difficulties and disappointments!

V. G. PETERSON

In the period 1896 to 1914, we had in Chicago many splendid men and women who did effective work for social reform, yet who were not known outside this city. We also had some who ranked amongst the foremost Georgists of the country. To name a few, we had Louis F. Post, his wife, Alice Thatcher Post, John Z. White, Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Frederick S. Monroe and George A. Schilling.

Besides our weekly meetings, we had a lunch table at a restaurant centrally located, where some of us met daily. Mr. and Mrs. Post, Editors of The Public, were usually present and often brought an out-of-town guest. To impress a friend, we would invite him to luncheon and give him the privilege of meeting our "great." Mr. Post was always gentle and patient, no matter how stupid a visitor might be; but the same cannot be said of John Z. White. If the inquirer were a socialist, or showed a socialist turn of mind, Mr. White charged to the attack, his eyes blazing and his great voice booming around the table.

Chicago knows the Posts no more. Louis Post died in 1928. Mrs. Post is living quietly in Washington. John Z. White is still with us. Today, he is slightly deaf, but the advancing years have not impaired his powers of oratory. His powerful voice can still fill the largest hall without the aid of a microphone.

To Frederick S. Monroe is due inestimable praise for his work as President of the Henry George Association of Chicago, and, more especially, for taking John Z. White out of a printing office and putting him on the road as a lecturer. He held us up for pledges that would enable him to finance the plan. His son, John Lawrence Monroe, is manifesting the same zeal in his work with the now flourishing Henry George School of Chicago. He, too, has mastered the fine art of extracting money and work from people without causing them a sense of loss. For twenty years Mr. White traveled, filling lecture engagements procured for him by Mr. Monroe. He spoke to legislatures, Kiwanis clubs, to church groups and to many other organizations. He had the distinction of being "egged" while speaking in Missouri; but the eggs were fresh and, next morning, he breakfasted on one which had fallen, unbroken, into his pocket.

One of our dearest associates was George A. Schilling. He liked to tell that he was formerly a cooper. He was self-educated and well educated, one of the gentlest of men, of a religious nature but not a member of any denomination. Many of our people were without religious ties, and when they died Schilling would officiate at the burial and "make a few remarks." For that reason we called him "Pastor George." The story goes that in his early days he was an anarchist. Once, walking along the street, he stepped upon a banana peel and fell. His days as an anarchist ended. As he picked himself up he decided there should be enough government, at least, to prevent people from throwing banana skins on the sidewalk. He took up socialism, but he was too much of an individualist to remain long in that camp and soon became a Georgist, and a great credit to the movement.

Schilling had friends in all kinds of society. The Labor Unions trusted him; he was welcome in the offices of bankers and other big business men. He was an intimate friend of John Peter Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, and had known the anarchists upon whom responsibility was fastened for the death of several policemen in the Haymarket riot; but nobody knows to this day who threw the bomb. Governor Altgeld was petitioned to pardon those who had escaped hanging and were in prison, many influential business men being in the long list of petitioners. Mr. Schilling used to relate how he pleaded with Altgeld to sign the pardon. The Governor listened, saying nothing, pacing the floor of the executive mansion.

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du Pont: Georgist and Modern Physiocrat

By WILLIAM E. CLEMENT

The recent passing of Francis I. du Pont removes from the American scene a figure long prominent in finance, chemistry and economics. Member of the well known Delaware family of that name, and former director of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Mr. du Pont at the time of his death was active head of the New York Stock Exchange firm of Francis I. du Pont & Co. and Chisholm & Chapman.

Though he was the holder of more than one hundred patents, the best known having to do with the manufacture of smokeless powder and a minerals separation process, and though his brokerage house was one of the more important firms in Wall Street, Mr. du Pont will be remembered by Georgists chiefly for his writings and activities in the field of economics.

Mr. du Pont showed in such of his printed works as "Rural Electrification and Farm Land Taxation" (in which he collaborated with the present writer), "Artificial Scarcity of Farm Land," and "Constructive Criticism of Henry George's Progress and Poverty,"* a good understanding of the iniquities of land speculation and a high respect for the philosophy of Henry George.

According to the du Pont thesis, "Agriculture is the one occupation which cannot be over-manned. Where there is land, men can produce what they need for the life of their bodies. Where men can help each other—exchange services—so much more can be produced that some men can be free to engage in other occupations, such as carpentry, making clothing, etc. This can only be done when enough are engaged in agriculture to feed those who pursue non-agricultural occupations."

Mr. du Pont held that "the abolition of poverty and the wealth and greatness of our nation depend upon the free availability of agricultural land and not upon anything else." When accessability is denied or restricted, "instead of the natural advantages making for easier living and self-supporting homesteads, what happens is that all these advantages give value to land, which is then held out of use in hope of a greater value. This baneful disease of civilization is referred to as 'an investment,' and thrifty persons are encouraged to 'invest' their savings in land, not for homes or farms, but to get a hoped-for enhancement in value."

In Mr. du Pont's view, "The whole question of cities should be left out of consideration. Land values in cities are no part of the social problem. They are mainly only an index of the crowding which results from the artificial scarcity of farm land. I do not mean that cities should be carefully preserved as havens for speculators in land, but only that they are not the province of the reformer. Everything connected with cities will take care of itself, or rather will be adequately managed by persons who never think of the social problem."

To correct the evils inherent in land speculation, "All that would be necessary would be to **destroy the hope of profit in holding land.** Farms and farming communities would then grow rapidly and would draw the unemployed away from the cities and make them self-respecting and loyal citizens. The increasing demand of these people for things other than the product of farms would usher in the **greatest industrial age the world has ever seen.**"

To attain the desired end, this scientist, financier and economist proposed that "laws be passed forbidding any owner of land, who became an owner after the laws were passed, to sell land at a higher price than that paid. Improvements could be sold at cost to replace, less depreciation. As to present owners, let each of them name a price which he will accept in case he sells. Let him put this as high as he wishes and do not permit the price he names to be used in any way as a basis for taxation. If he sells at a lower price, then this will bind the new owner as the latter's maximum. Let there be no restrictions upon the amount of rent an owner may ask from a user. Permit no lowering of the scale of taxation now falling upon land."

Concerning the advantages which would result from the application of his proposal to bring idle and inadequately used farm lands into production, Mr. du Pont wrote as follows: "The development of electrification, road building and other services so necessary to improve the lot of the farmer will proceed naturally, and, where land conditions are approximately the same, will radiate out from centers where these services are available. Costs to all concerned will be reduced as the necessity for passing unused farm lands with expensive roads, power lines, pipe lines, etc., to reach scattered users, will disappear, and a closely built-up, well served farming section will take its place."

The only ones who would be adversely affected by the du Pont plan would be "the land owners who refuse to cooperate, try to hold more land than they can use, or stand in the way by asking an excessive price or rent based on anticipated profit."

In the du Pont analysis, "Social unrest and present day trends toward socialism and communism (exercises in futility, as all history proves) spring from that which is not produced at all rather than from 'unequal distribution,' as claimed by demagogues and scheming politicians. The total amount which owners of land receive, over expenses and taxes, is relatively small, and were it divided among the popula-

* The latter essay was the source of the former; it was Mr. du Pont's last study. The former consists of extracts from the critique, made with the author's consent, and sent in February, 1942, by The Benjamin Franklin Research Society, of which the writer is secretary, to five hundred leading business men.

tion, the amount per capita would not be enough to raise their status appreciably. In other words, the implication (erroneously) has been that the loss to society due to our business and land system is equal to the gain by land owners, business men and industrialists.

"In reality, this devastating loss to society and seat of our present trouble is not what the land owners and business men get, but that which, by reason of the nullification of the law of increasing returns, is **not produced at all.** With what I call the "Physiocratic" principle unhampered, so much could and would be produced that poverty would be impossible. The unleashing of this powerful force for good is therefore an essential part of this proposal. The great land reformer, Henry George (and present day idealists), have failed to make this clear, although George undoubtedly understood it. In failing to make this clear, George unconsciously allied with himself many who are actuated mainly by envy and jealousy of those who are successful.

"In saying this I must not be understood as referring to the Single Tax fraternity—those who, for true patriotism and love of their fellowmen, have recognized George's work as the best analysis of the social problem which has yet appeared."

Mr. du Pont was careful, however, to point out that "It is not my desire to pick flaws in the reasoning of the great writer, George, but only to indicate how it seems to me the work which he began over sixty years ago can be advanced toward making our nation the strongest and wealthiest of all, and the shining example to other nations. To do this, the errors which I think have prevented the recognition of his great ideas must be pointed out as well as the brilliant possibilities which he saw so clearly."

Francis I du Pont was born in Wilmington, Delaware in 1873, the son of Francis Gurney du Pont and the former Elise Wigfall Simons, of Charleston, S. C. His famous ancestor, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, was one of the little group to whom Henry George dedicated "Protection Of Free Trade" in the following words:

"To the memory of those illustrious Frenchmen of a century ago, Quesney, Turgot, Mirabeau, Condorcet, du Pont, and their fellows, who in the night of despotism foresaw the glories of a coming day."

This elder du Pont, by the way, came through the shadow of the guillotine, being saved only by the death of Robespierre. When his house was destroyed by a mob in 1779, he came to the United States. Thomas Jefferson asked him to prepare a scheme of national education, which he did in 1800. His son, Eleuthere (from the Greek, meaning liberty or freedom), founded the powder mill at Wilmington which under his name—E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.—has grown to be one of the greatest industrial organizations in the world.

* * *

With such a background, it is not surprising that Francis I. du Pont became a student of Henry George, though Georgists will regret that he, like his famous ancestor—though with less excuse since, in the earlier day, the agricultural economy was all but universal—failed to grasp the solution of the problem of poverty amidst plenty in its entirety.

The Editors.

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Mr. Plain Citizen added that man has been on this earth millions of years, government only a few thousand years. Man as man is therefore wiser than government. "What is 'government?'" he asked his hearers, and answered, "nothing more than 'management' — the people's management."

Hearing the dinner bell, Mr. Plain Citizen concluded his discussion with the following quotation from Henry George: "Why is it that there are men who cannot get employment? Did you ever stop to think what a strange thing it is that men cannot find employment? ... If men cannot find an employer, why can they not employ themselves? Simply because they are shut out from the element on which human labor can alone be exerted; men are compelled to compete with each other for wages of an employer, because they have been robbed of the natural opportunities of employing themselves; because they cannot find a piece of God's world on which to work without paying some other human creature for the privilege."

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Who Gets It?

By E. W. STIFFEY

What of this National Income we hear so much about and read of so much in the papers? Who makes it? Who gets it? Where does it come from?

Why boys don't you know? That's the yearly feast the workers provide for the quality, the rich and well born as they call themselves, the untitled aristocracy of the Nation, our (land) lords and masters. Them's the fellers as git's it.

Who makes it? Why, the workers who make everything that is made, who have from the beginning of time made all things and who will continue to make all things to the end of time. It's a law of Nature, if you know what that is, a law thought up, provided and promulgated by Almighty God when He made the earth and set it agoing. These are the first laws; enacted and devised by divine wisdom for human beings, backed by divine authority and not one jot or title of them has been lost, abrogated or repealed to this day. They contain the first precedents, the best precedents, the ruling precedents that make all law, supreme court or no supreme court.

Our supreme court may ignore and antagonize them, but no matter. There is a court that recognizes and enforces them in utter disregard of man made laws. These laws of Nature are the laws of God and if the laws of man do not coincide and mesh with them so much the worse for man and his laws, as we are just now having overwhelming evidence.

Where does the "national income" come from? Why, from where all the wealth that ever was and is now came from, and where all the wealth that ever will be must come from—the earth, the land, in its economic sense, which includes all its surface and sub-surface, the atmosphere with its feathered life and all the forces it contains, the waters of the earth and all that inhabit them, its vast products and high-ways of commerce, all the advantages, resources and opportunities that the earth contains. A grand provision for the race, "Enough for each, enough for all, enough for evermore."

God created us and gave us the earth; that is our portion, that is all He gave us. Evidently He considered that to be amply sufficient for our temporal maintenance and salvation for all time. I have never found nor has anyone else ever known the Lord to go wrong at any time or to make a miscalculation. I still put my faith in Him and this Old Deal and consider it if honestly and faithfully administered the best deal that could be devised, infinitely superior to the much vaunted New Deal.

A great many people ignore the land question and consider it unimportant. But the Creator must have attached supreme importance to it, when He created human beings and outfitted them for all time with the land; just that, nothing more. Our relation to the land is our primary controlling, all embracing economic relation. It is our dwelling place, our storehouse, the source of all wealth, of all and everything that enters into our lives. It is the fount, the reservoir of all employment. If you should run across any form or variety of wealth not a product of land you will be in possession of the eighth wonder of the world. If you have a job or can get a job where you will not work upon the land with materials drawn from the land you can take a place above that of all earth's philosophers and wise men.

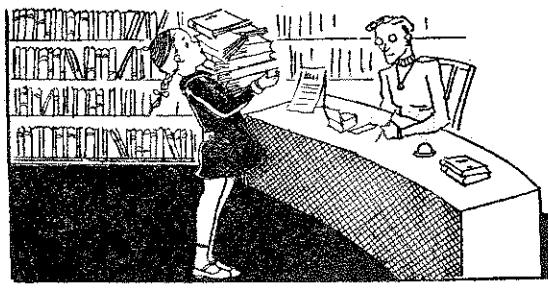
So our equal right with all others to live upon and use the earth is a paramount right. We are land animals. Without this right we have no business here at all. We are aliens and trespassers. We have somehow landed in the wrong place.

As all wealth comes from the land, those who own and have dominion of the land have a controlling influence on the Nation's income, both as to its production and its distribution. By their control of resources they can and do expand and contract production. They may not deliberately plan and enforce these expansions and contractions of production but in the exercise of their powers and functions they will somehow, contract production when it pays best to do so and vice versa.

"WE QUOTE"

"The most valuable lands on the globe, the lands which yield the highest rent, are not lands of surpassing natural fertility, but lands to which a surpassing utility has been given by the increase of population. . . And where value seems to arise from superior natural qualities, such as deep water and good anchorage, rich deposits of coal and iron, or heavy timber, observation also shows that these superior qualities are brought out, rendered tangible, by population. The coal and iron fields of Pennsylvania, that to-day are worth enormous sums, were fifty years ago valueless. . . The coal and iron beds of Wyoming and Montana, which today are valueless, will, in fifty years from now, be worth millions on millions, simply because, in the meantime, population will have greatly increased." **Progress and Poverty**, pp. 242-43.

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, 1939, mining in Montana employed 14,575 men and paid $25,718,000 in wages. The principal mines of Anaconda Copper are there. In 1934 the total mineral production in Wyoming was $27,640,000. Oil surpassed coal and in 1923 the oil production alone was $48,900,000. Since that time, however, the oil wells have been giving out.



The BOOK Trail

"REVOLT IN ARCADIA"
By Gösta Larsson
New York, American Publishers, 1942
159 pp., $2.00

Under the guise of a fantasy for children, Gösta Larsson, a Swedish American who gave us "Our Daily Bread," has written in "Revolt in Arcadia" a folk-tale of the coming of the land reform to a Graustarkian kingdom that will delight readers of all ages. It is the story of the wood-cutter's son who is taught slipper-making and economics by the Mountain King, a benevolent wood-sprite. The boy is called, as a master slipper-maker, to attend the foot-sore King of Arcadia, and he uses his art to correct more than foot troubles in the stricken kingdom.

How the slipper-maker rids the country of social-economic maladjustment and then wins the hand of the King's charming daughter is told with whimsical humor and the simplicity that lends sincerity to the fantasy. When the slipper-maker succeeds to the throne, utopian conditions reign in Arcadia, and the lovers, from a balcony, see the rays of the sun cast an aura about the abode of the Mountain King.

> "'Beloved,' he spoke. 'Beloved . . . the way of life I am trying to teach people will not soon find many followers. . . There are other nations to be won over to the Truth. There are many millions all over this Earth, devoid of happiness, toiling without hope, groping in the dark.'
>
> "'We will fight for the Truth,' she whispered. 'You and I—together. . .'
>
> "'One day' (he murmured) 'all Mankind will be liberated and free. One day all the races upon Earth will be united in a Cooperative Commonwealth. And there will be eternal peace.'"

In the troth of the lovers, he who has not lost the simple faith of childhood in the good and the true and the beautiful will join. As in "The Story of My Dictatorship" and most other fiction inspired by Henry George's social philosophy, the tenets of social philosophy in Mr. Larsson's book are given in conversations and speeches; that is, his message is preached. Will the average reader heed? Perhaps, for the story may carry him through the preachments. Indeed, the human sympathy and the child-like simplicity of "Revolt in Arcadia" make it an easier tale to follow than William Morris's "News from Nowhere." While the great work in social literature (if ever we have any on the order of Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina") will be devoid of preachment, this shortcoming is one that has been survived by all the great utopian writers, from Plato and More to Samuel Butler and Morris, and so we may hope that Mr. Larsson's work, like that of Behrens and Singer, will be relished because of, as well as in spite of, its message. "Revolt in Arcadia" is a welcome addition to Georgist literature.

W. L.

LAND, LABOR, AND WEALTH
By Ellen Winsor and
Rebecca Winsor Evans
The Caxton Printers, Ltd.,
Caldwell, Idaho

In the preface to "Land, Labor, and Wealth," Ellen Winsor and Rebecca Winsor Evans, the authors, draw on Albert Jay Nock's "Journal of These Days" for the following:

"Some day, if we can only keep on going to pot, we may find it worth while to learn what rent is, and interest, and wages, and why; what capital is and what monopoly; what the three factors in production are; and what laws govern the distribution of wealth among monopoly, capital and labor. I would bet my head that you could take this list of questions from one end of Wall Street to the other, and into every college and university in the country, and not find ten persons in the whole lay-out who could answer them properly to save their souls from Tophet."

Thus for the lead-off, and an excellent beginning it is, too, of this slender handbook of economic terms, crammed with excerpts from here, there and everywhere. The old Freeman contributes this as the first definition in the opening chapter: "Land means all natural resources; air, sunshine, water-power, timber, minerals —whatever, in short, comes to the human race as a free gift," which, for clarity and conciseness, would be hard to beat.

In the chapter on Labor, we find the following from that brilliant old-timer, William Marion Reedy, as quoted in the old Freeman:

"The remedy of the future is a universal, not a class, remedy. It is the change in fundamental economics that will keep up wages by pulling down the bars to opportunity. This will provide more jobs than there are men. There will be no need of unionism as we now know it. This can only be done by the unlocking of the earth's resources to free utilization by all who are willing to work. Untax everything but the land values created by everybody and held by a few. Let the only title to land be that of use. There will be no land then held out of use for speculation on other men's

need of it. Rent will not eat up wages. An economic equilibrium will be established. There will be no strikes nor threats of strikes; and there will be no plutocracy owning men's jobs and charging for access to them. There will be no labor question because there will be no land question."

On Free Trade, we find this by Louis F. Post in The Public: "The unhampered exchange of products drawn by the labor of free men from unmonopolized natural resources—this is Free Trade."

A neat definition of economic rent is attributed to "Authority unknown," and reads as follows, "The sum paid for the use of the inherent capabilities of the soil."

"The Single Tax," according to the old Freeman, "is a tax upon the site-value of land; not upon its use-value or its superficial content. All other forms of taxation, direct or indirect, are abolished. There is no tax upon industry or the products of industry, i.e., upon wealth, or, specifically, upon that portion of wealth which is used to facilitate the production of more wealth, i.e., capital; or, again specifically, upon labor. There is no tax of any kind upon enterprise."

The authors have borrowed copiously from "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade?" Those quotations, of course, will ring with greater familiarity to the students of Henry George, while the veterans in the movement, who make it a practice to read practically everything written on the subject, will find little in "Land, Labor, and Wealth" that they have not seen before. The fact remains, however, that the authors have done a commendable job. A vast amount of work must have gone in to winnowing the wheat from the chaff, and from all the millions of words written on the philosophy of Henry George, much of it by unformed and uninformed amateurs, notable mainly for their zeal, there was plenty of chaff, you may be sure.

The blurb on the jacket of "Land, Labor and Wealth" informs us that the authors "were spirited workers for woman's suffrage and served terms in the District Jail in Washington, D. C., during the dramatic days of the suffrage campaign. They have been prominently identified with civic-betterment work. In the early days of birth-control movement they were active in Pennsylvania. As members of the Amnesty Committee for Political Prisoners they helped to secure the release of such prisoners in 1923. Today they believe that peace and freedom can be obtained only through economic justice."

Well, these women are on the right track at last. As has already been intimated, they have done a bang-up job with "Land, Labor, and Wealth"; it is a work that ought to be in the hands of every student, teacher, lecturer and writer in Georgism.

C. O. S.

(Continued from page 181)

Then he stopped before a portrait of Lincoln. For a time he looked at it. "I'll do it," he said. He did, but, not satisfied with merely releasing the prisoners, he told why!

The story of Altgelt is best told in "Eagle Forgotten," by Harry Barnard. This book also pays tribute to Schilling, who furnished the author with much of his material. Altgeld never declared himself a Georgist, but there was a strong, friendly feeling between him and our crowd. In later years he ran for Mayor of Chicago, but was defeated by that "peanut politician," as he called Carter Harrison. The only good deed Harrison ever did was to appoint George Schilling President of the Board of Local Improvements. In that position he had the opportunity to become a rich man by using the knowledge his position gave him to speculate in land values; but he never took advantage of it, and died a poor but much loved man.

Another Chicago man who did good work for the movement was Judge Edward Osgood Brown, one of the guarantors of The Public. On one occasion when he spoke for us he declared in his low, guttural voice, "Next to the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, the Single Tax is nearest my heart."

In our Sunday meetings, and at our banquets, we listened to Georgists from other cities. Many years ago we gave a banquet in honor of Francis Neilson, then a resident of England. The toastmaster on that occasion was Hamlin Garland, the novelist. William Marion Reedy of St. Louis, editor of that remarkable paper, Reedy's Mirror, was once our guest. So was Bishop Williams of Detroit. John W. Benough of Canada gave us a "chalk talk" on one of these occasions, illustrating as he went along, with sure, deft strokes on a blackboard. Benough's cartoons had a pungency of their own. Among others were John S. Crosby, a splendid orator, Joseph Fels, full of vigor and fire, and Jerry Simpson, that clever congressman whom his critics tried to discredit by dubbing him, "Sockless Jerry." Simpson was a wit. In closing a speech for us, once, he said: "Well, goodbye—I hope to see you again sometime, somewhere—up here or down there—I have friends in both places."

Then there was that magnificent man, Ernest Crosby, who several times came to Chicago. He was tall, handsome, bearded, of striking appearance. Mr. Crosby was the American representative at the International Court in Egypt, an appointment for life. But he read Tolstoy, became disgusted with his position and resigned it. Before returning to America, he went to Russia and met Tolstoy, who asked him what he intended doing after he returned home. Mr. Crosby said he had no plans. Then Tolstoy advised him to study and preach the doctrines of the greatest American, Henry George, and this he did until his death.

That remarkable woman, Margaret Haley, who fought the Chicago corporations in order to obtain funds for the teachers' salaries, said, in

(Concluded on next page)

Georgists On The Firing Line

Pvt. 1st cl. Ely Goldenberg
Pvt. George W. Hansen
Capt. William Quasha
Paul E. Mueller
Gaston Haxo
Benjamin Roberts
Capt. Henry George Simmonite
Pvt. Vladimir Strach
Pvt. Sidney A. Mayers
Pvt. Paul Wissman
Pvt. Alvin S. Kraus
Pvt. Carl Zatz
Pvt. Benoit L. Banville
Pvt. Walter Maybaum

FROM BRANCH SCHOOLS
Pvt. Kenneth Van Tasel
Pvt. Franklin R. Auchy
Corp. Warren E. Ryan
(Philadelphia)
Pvt. James Ronayne
(Chicago)
Pvt. J. J. Levine
Captain Arthur W. Falvey
(St. Louis)
Pvt. William P. Hanson

Above are listed the names of former students and teachers of The Henry George School of Social Science who are now in Uncle Sam's forces in one capacity or another. Write to them in care of Henry George School. They are hungry for letters from their old associates. Write to them even though you may not receive an answer. Their time is limited and it is quite possible that you will hear from them only through this column. Your letters to them will be promptly forwarded by the School.

Gaston Haxo, former director of the correspondence division and author of "Philosophy of Freedom," sends greetings from somewhere in Africa. By now he has no doubt been joined by Paul Mueller and Benjamin Roberts.

Private Vladimir Strach sends picture post cards from his camp. Private Maybaum, at the same camp dreams of a furlough, and says, "If one comes my way, the school is one of the 'musts' on my list. It is swell to know that the school is sending magazines to us soldiers, and the boys in the barracks enjoyed them very much."

Private William P. Hanson, graduate of the Newark Extension, writes: "The soldiers often talk of what the world will be like when the war is over, and they are very receptive to Georgist ideas of freedom."

Captain Henry George Simonite and Ely Goldenberg, the boy with "the magic violin and chestnut curls," send greetings. That also goes for Private Arthur Moyer and Private Paul Wissman. Charles Winter was a visitor to the School on his recent furlough.

Contact has been established between Privates Albert Gants and Sidney Mayers. Mr. Gants hitchhiked 62 miles to see his friend Mr. Mayers. They enjoyed the get-together and had their picture taken, which will be the first to go up, in an enlargement, on the bulletin board. Other Georgists serving their country in the armed forces are invited to send in their photos.

Private Gants is in the hospital for treatment of a swollen ankle and infected blisters—whether the result of the hike to Louisiana is not clear.

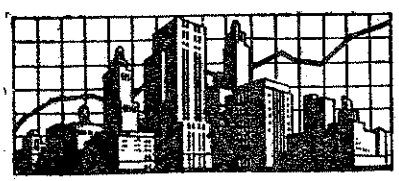
Private Sidney Mayers regrets being so far from his friends. Mr. Mayers, who is in the Army Air Corps, swears that his "outfit is the best damn outfit in the whole damn army." He finds the espirit-de-corps excellent, the men friendly and congenial. The non-commissioned officers, he says, are grand young fellows—a far cry from the proverbial roughneck top-sergeant of the movies. He closes his communique with, "I'd love to hear from you, and, if you like, send me something—a magazine, a New York newspaper."

(Continued from page 186)

her late years, that if she had her life to live over, she would devote it to spreading the message of Henry George. She was converted by reading the "Life of Henry George."

I saw our counterparts in England, when I visited there and made the acquaintance of many of the active Georgists. John Paul reminded me of Louis Post—the same gentle but forceful character, and Andrew MacLaren, M.P., with his hatred of socialism, seemed the English John Z. White. Dear old Frederick Verinder was much like my American friend, George Schilling, but, unlike Pastor George, a staunch Anglo-Catholic.

Long ago, I learned that the most deserving people are not always the widest known. There were many Georgists whom I was fortunate to know who were never known far from their own narrow circle. Yet I may say that, by and large, the followers of Henry George have added more to my enjoyment of life than any other group.



(Continued from page 180)

In dealing with this profoundly tragic issue we must invoke something better than the law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." It calls for compassion—for mercy. If the Supreme Court shall once more decline to review Waller's case, a plea for commutation of sentence will no doubt be made to Governor Colgate W. Darden of Virginia, who has already shown humanity and a courageous disregard of political considerations in granting two reprieves. Because of this record, one may dare to hope that Governor Darden will decide that both justice and mercy can be better served through commutation of sentence than through forcing Odell Waller to pay the extreme—and irrevocable—penalty.

The Survival of Liberty

By STEPHEN BELL

Few men, I imagine, have criticized and denounced more severely than I have the post-war policies of the nations which have at last, as I incessantly predicted, resulted in this second and more terrible World War.

Now that this most dreadful of all wars is nearing the end of its third year and threatening the overthrow of what we have regarded as civilization, shall I or any other Georgist disavow the uncomplimentary things said and written aforetime about the policies of his country in order to qualify as staunch upholders and defenders of the cause of freedom and democracy? I see no reason why we should. If the things I wrote in Commerce and Finance during a score or more of years were true when I wrote them, they remain true now.

It is true that among the "Democracies" there is and has been too much of lip-service and even hypocrisy in our professed devotion to the cause of human freedom, but even in this we show how important, how necessary, is our victory in this "war for survival." We at least "assume a virtue though we have it not," whereas our enemies proudly and vehemently flout the very name of Freedom, denouncing it as an evil principle leading to human retrogression and decadence.

Indeed, from their side of the shield, and from their experience with the spurious "freedom" the nations generally have been practicing, there may be some reason for their seeing "freedom" in that light.

However, that there may be any hope for a civilization based on human freedom that the world may cherish, depends on the utter and crushing defeat of the powers arrayed against the principle of Liberty, to whose broken light we owe all the real civilization we have ever had. The present leaders of Germany and Italy repudiate and spit upon her. The Japanese never knew her. She cannot live if their principles triumph. Their only chance of survival to guide man onward and upward to a civilization worthy of the name depends upon the triumph of those who at least profess to be devoted to her.

There has been no time, from the signing of the armistice that ended the first world war to the attack on Poland which desecrated the centenary of the birth of Henry George, when the nations, or any one of the greater nations of the earth, could not have led mankind into real and permanent peace had it learned from Henry George the knowledge and understanding necessary for the job.

It is now our job, in this war for survival, to do all that we humanly can to insure the survival of Liberty, even strait-jacketed as she is, and at the same time enlighten the nations as to her true value, showing that the awful tribulations through which we are passing are due to our neglect of her.

Truly it is written "The kingdom of heaven is not taken by storm," but it is also written "Ye shall know the Truth, and The Truth shall make you free!"

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

Edited by LAURA BREST

Correspondence Students Mapped

NEW YORK, N. Y.—A map on which is shown the whereabouts of students taking the correspondence course in Progress and Poverty has been prepared by Miss Helene Platkin and Mr. Sidney Bernstein, correspondence course workers at headquarters of The Henry George School of Social Science. The map, on display at the School, shows in a graphic manner, how correspondence course students are distributed throughout the country.

Gift of Rare Books

NEW YORK, N. Y.—As a token of her appreciation of what the School has done for her, and of the excellent work of her instructors, George Hanson and John Fosano, Miss Kathryn Beebe, graduate, has presented to the school library the two complete volumes of "Smith's Moral Sentiments. The books, published in 1813, are a worthwhile addition to the library's collection of works on economics.

Banquet at Chicago

CHICAGO, Ill.—At the annual banquet of the Chicago extension of the Henry George School of Social Science, held at the Congress Hotel much of the program was devoted to reviewing the School's eight years of progress.

Herbert S. Bigelow, pastor of Peoples Church of Cincinnati, and former member of Congress was the principal speaker. Francis Neilson, toastmaster, introduced the veteran Georgist, Judge Jackson H. Ralston, who had stopped off en route to Washington in order to attend the banquet.

Max M. Korshak delivered the treasurer's report after which forty-three of those present pledged $2,239.50 for the work of the School for next year.

Women's Club Election

CHICAGO, Ill.—On April 14th the members of The Henry George Woman's Club held their annual meeting at which Mrs. Edward Goedde was elected recording secretary, Mrs. J. P. Buenemann, treasurer, an Mrs. Amy P. Lewis, defense chairman.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Mr. Joseph Stockman, secretary of the Philadelphia school reports that a course in Fundamental Economics is to be included in the evening classes of the Public Schools of the city.

Selects Georgist Speaker

NEWARK, N. J.—Victor M. Reynal, graduate of the Newark Extension, included a Georgist speaker on his program when he became Program Chairman of the Optimist Club of the Oranges. His speaker was Teresa McCarthy Witort, secretary of the Henry George School of Social Science in New Jersey, who addressed the members of his club on "The Way to Freedom."

Commencement in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Commencement exercises and dinner of the Philadelphia extension of the Henry George School of Social Science will be held June 15th at the Central Y.M.C.A., 1421 Arch Street, Philadelphia. The program will include talks by three students. Guest speakers of the evening will be Margaret E. Bateman, director of the Henry George School in New York, and Lancaster M. Greene, instructor at the Headquarters School.

Faculty Meeting

NEWARK, N. J.—The regular monthly meeting of the faculty of the Henry George School of Social Science of New Jersey was held Thursday, May 28 at 8 P.M., at 17 Academy Street, Newark. Louis I. Weitzman, teacher, submitted a paper entitled "Let's Take Stock of Ourselves" which was discussed at this meeting. In his paper, Mr. Weitzman suggested that the School examine its accomplishments to date, for the purpose of finding out what improvements can be made in the methods now employed.

No Summer Meetings

MONTREAL, Can. — The series of monthly meetings initiated last December under the management of a committee headed by Dan McColl, was concluded for the season on May 15. Mr. John Anderson, president of the Montreal Extension of the Henry George School, presided. The feature speaker of the evening was Philip Blackwell, who compared free enterprise and socialism. Several student speakers also addressed the gathering.

Summer Classes

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Summer classes of the Philadelphia Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science will be held at the Central Y. M. C. A., Philadelphia. The summer program will include special classes for high school students. A fund raising campaign is being inaugurated for the purpose of increasing the number of classes and establishing a branch school headquarters.

Final Meeting

CHICAGO, Ill.—On Tuesday, June 2, the Fellowship Forum will close its series of monthly meetings with a panel discussion of the subjects covered by the various speakers during the season. Among those who have addressed the Forum, and who have been invited to return, are Harry S. Cutmore, George O. Fairweather, Charles E. Fox, George Tideman and J. Edward Jones.

Speakers Bureau Reports

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Magnus Unold gave a talk to the Business Men's Club at a luncheon on May 6th, at the 23rd Street Y.M.C.A. in New York, on "Winning the War and the Peace." Mr. Unold urged his hearers to study such matters as association, justice, the object of ethics, and the science of economics or the correlation of evidence on man's association in production and exchange.

Mr. Unold assists Lancaster Greene in conducting a class in Progress and Poverty at the Railroad and Machinery Club during the lunch hour on Thursdays.

Miss Dorothy Sara, secretary of the Speakers Bureau, reports that the following talks were given recently.

April 20—A. L. McMillan at New York City's Department of Purchase.

May 14—A. C. Matteson, Jr., at Kiwanis Club, Bronx, N. Y.

May 21—Louis B. Potter at Kiwanis Club, Bronx, N. Y.

May 24—M. B. Thompson at Church In The Gardens, Forest Hills, L. I.

May 28—M. B. Thompson at the Readers' Association of the New York Public Library, 707 Rhinelander Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

Greene on Opportunities

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Lancaster M. Greene spoke on "Opportunities Make History" at a luncheon meeting of the Business Men's Club at the 23rd Street Y.M.C.A., May 13. Secretary Clement of the "Y" reported an unusually large number of inquiries concerning the course in fundamental economics resulted from Mr. Greene's talk.

Your May 1942 issue is notable for one thing—the letter written you by Aram Bashian.

When I read your editorials in the Marsh issue I was disgusted. Again, the Freeman was missing the boat. From an appeasement point of view the Freeman has become a labor-baiter. Why begrudge the laborer the few extra dollars he can manage to drag out of the great monopoly-fatted corporations, through his unions. Bad labor leaders are bad, but none at all are worse.

Henry George never begrudged labor what money it could get. Don't you think that the principles of Single Tax will find their most enthusiastic supporters finally in the ranks of the union? Aren't union men the greatest number who are organized and progressive in spirit? Let us appeal to them, not to give up their unions, their wage increases, and their better standards of living, but to enroll them as a powerful unit in our work.

Aram Bashian is right.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Alexander Boardman

* * *

Your change of policy is bitterly disappointing to a reader more interested in causes than symptoms of chaos. You can't cure symptoms.—Sorry that the Freeman has joined the apostates from truth.

New York R. A. Parker

* * *

Mr. Bashian shows clearly that he does not comprehend Henry George's philosophy. . . He attacks Mr. Steele because he thinks that Mr. Steele shows antagonism to labor unions. If Mr. Bashian really knew Henry George his mind would not be working along the line indicated in his letter.

On the day before his death Henry George addressed a great gathering of working men. The chairman of the meeting introduced him as "the great friend of labor." On getting up to speak, Henry George's first words were: "I have never claimed to be a special friend of labor. Let us have done with this call for special privilege for labor. I have never advocated nor asked for special rights or sympathy for working men. WHAT I STAND FOR IS EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN!"

Mr. Bashian does not know that American labor unions came into being with the passing of the frontier. . . He does not know that Henry George's economic plan, carried out, would produce a condition of more jobs than men and that under such conditions all would get the full product of their toil. When the time comes that men get the full product of their toil, then labor unions will be unnecessary. Mr. Bashian does not know that poverty is not due to greedy employers. All who hold such a belief, hold a Marxist concept. It is not greedy employers who beat wages down to a minimum or bring about poverty amidst advancing wealth. Poverty and all that poverty stands for is caused by an artificial condition which makes jobs scarce —which creates a condition of more men than jobs.

Since labor unions function on the premise that it is the employer that beats wages down to a minimum, labor unions can never solve the problem of poverty.

New York H. Ellenoff

I will admit that you have brightened up THE FREEMAN considerably but I think you are overdoing it on labor. Why not point out some of the sins of the other groups, especially the large corporations?

New York M. Goldman

* * *

I admire your judgment in publishing Aram Bashian's letter because its caustic approach frustrates dispassionate reception but generates loathing. Most deserving of comment was the ironical threat of laboring unions capturing a democratic government, which to some of us is historical, not prophetic.

I distinctly remember the culture wasted upon organized labor half a century ago to propagate "Single Tax." The resultant failure blighted prospective expansion for several decades. Long since I concluded that we cannot inculcate scientific economics upon static minds.

Chicago Henry E. Rohn

* * *

The May number of THE FREEMAN has just arrived, and a hasty reading so pleased me that I was inspired to write and tell you so.

Montclair, N. J. Amalia E. DuBois

* * *

I am just reading the May Freeman.

On P. 146, you say "The deplorable condition of the world today is due to just **one thing alone,** economic ignorance." . . . "The rulers of the world believe in Malthusian theory, in tariffs, in power politics . . . encumbered by such a mass of misconceptions, public education . . . has been a ghastly failure."

On P. 147, you say "Nations have got to stop **wanting** to take a sock at each other. And they will never come to that until they learn wha really causes wars."

With which I am in entire agreement.

But then, on P. 149 you blare out with a violent contradiction of the above, and talk just like anyone who had never even heard of "Progress and Poverty."

I am one of those who "prated" of war mongers, altho I can't remember hearing anyone "boasting" of "splendid isolation."

As an intellectually convinced Georgist, I cannot prostitute my integrity to lip service to this war as anything but a crime against God and man.

Our "Commander-in-Chief" has been one of the most guilty of economic ignorance in all history. But we Georgists should turn our backs on the truth and follow errors!

On P. 163, H. G. Brown also turns summersaults and cartwheels in a noble but ridiculous effort to justify war and taxes. If I were a brand new student of H. G. right now, and were being taught in such an equivocal fashion, I would be disgusted and walk right out.

Mr. Brown was really funny when he said "We must not permit others who have even got any inkling of the distinction to forget it. We must emphasize and reemphasize it on every appropriate occasion." And, "To tax capital when there are still large streams of land rent flowing into private income is **economic foolishness.**"

I say "War is economic foolishness," and an honest Georgist knows it.

A Georgist bally-hooing for war is like Cortez Christianizing the heathen by the sword.

I am really sad over your lack of faith in the power of the truth.

Una E. Miller

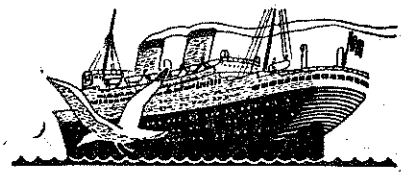
Summit, N. J.

I have been at some pains to find out the reaction to The Freeman, and I think people feel that the policy is practical without any sacrifice of principle.

I think it is more effective than it was before. I think your program ought to bring out our qualities of team work.

The publication of Progress and Poverty by the Classics is a great achievement. I know of people who have received it, and who need it badly. It should accomplish a lot of good.

La Grange, Ill. Victor Cronk



For the life of me, I cannot see any direct relevancy in Mr. Bashian's citations of the N.A.M., Pegler, Girdler, the Republican Party, the isolationists, the abolitionists, Nation's Business, the Catholic Church, Admiral Mahon, etc., etc., etc. Might he not, with almost equal competency, have added color and romance to his list by including Alice in Wonderland, Sally Rand and Mickey Mouse? . . . I hazard the opinion that Mr. Bashian is a Marxist at heart, with a thin smattering of Georgist philosophy. His style seems to follow the Marxist pattern of almost incomprehensible pseudo-dialectics, semi-hysteria in making accusations, and the intolerant, demanding spirit of bureaucracy.

Brooklyn Emanuel Gettler

* * *

I was just about to write and compliment you upon the fine May issue of the Freeman when I came to the "Letters to the Editor" and read Mr. Bashian's tirade and your quite inadequate, almost disinterested comment upon his letter.

I think the Freeman has improved a thousand percent in the past three months, but I would not print such letters without giving them the label they deserve. The man who wrote this letter has never gained a clear understanding of the philosophy of Henry George. The fact that Henry George ran for office on a labor ticket has no bearing on the case. In the first place, in those times unions had not reached the point where they could jeopardize the rights of the individual. And, further, George although a member of a union, taught that individualism, not collectivism was the ruote to freedom. Over and over he stated that the finest cooperation could be achieved through just competition.

Mr. Bashian is a socialist, but apparently does not realize it. Labor unions are but units of the collectivist movement, the ultimate goal of which is some form of socialistic government, with individual rights absorbed by the State. The Single Tax seeks to give unto the State only that which belongs to the State and to keep for the individuals who compose the State those things which Nature's Law has endowed them with.

The only manner in which union members can be helped to a better livelihood is through the abolition of the taxes that now take half of their production from them. This neither they nor their leaders have the intelligence to understand, nor is there any possibility of teaching them the road to their salvation so long as they cling, as Mr. Bashian does, to the will-o-the-wisp, collectivist ideology.

Erie, Mich. R. L. McCaig

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Your editorial, "Georgism in the Fight for Freedom," might have been written by any person trying to protect himself from suspicion that he was not a "loyal" American. It might even have been written by an office-holder of the federal government, or by a would-be-office-holder. The editorial is nothing but the usual twaddle we are used to receiving from ordinary newspapers and from radio orators—if we are so foolish as to be influenced by such organs.

Of what avail all the efforts to educate the young if they are to accept your absurd reasoning. Georgists, if anybody, know the causes of all wars, and we are supposed to declare them, but not to accept them as inevitable.

Chicago, Ill. Alexander Greene

* * *

I congratulate you and your readers on the marked improvement in the appearance and substance of your last (April) issue. The article, "When the War is Over," by John C. Lincoln, is the best I have read in months—not that it tells Single Taxers anything new, but it tells the uninformed so much that is new to them, and tells it so clearly. This article is worth publishing three or four times a year.

My long-time criticism of single tax publications is that their language goes over the head of the man on the street, and is not needed by the initiated.

Ashkosh, Wis. John Harrington

You're In The Army Now!

The Henry George School has inaugurated several new services for our brother Georgists who are representing us in the armed forces. A complimentary issue of The Freeman will be sent to each of them monthly, wherever they are. A rotating lending library of light reading, the books being donated by graduates, friends and teachers, will be at their disposal. We will publish shortly a list of the books on hand and copies of the list will be mailed to Georgist soldiers, sailors and marines. From that list a man will make a choice of three or four books, which will be forwarded to him. When read, books are to be returned promptly so that they will be available for the next applicant.

As will be seen, this service will require a goodly number of books. All Freeman readers and friends of The School are asked to help. By this means we hope to keep alive the contact between the men in the service and The School. In every letter received so far the plea has been for reading matter. They would also like to have the Sunday editions of all New York newspapers. Why not volunteer to send your discarded Sunday paper to some one on the list printed on this page? Please advise The School of the name selected and the paper to be sent in order that duplications may be avoided.

Cooperating in this work are Miss Vivienne Bosco, our illustrator, Mrs. Sylvia Wiren, and Mrs. Edith Sheppard, operator of the school cafeteria. Incidentally, Mrs. Sheppard's offer of a free meal to each visitor in uniform still holds.

The Henry George Schools of Social Science in other cities are invited to send the names and addresses of their members in the armed forces, to be included in The Freeman's news columns. It is suggested that the branch schools inaugurate a similar book and news service for Georgists in the fighting services.

JUST AMONG OURSELVES

WHEN some one offers you something for nothing, it is time to yell for the police. Usually, but not always. There are exceptions. One exception has to do with knowledge, or it might be better to say education. A lot of knowledge may be gained, a lot of education had, without cost. Monetary cost, that is. Digging cannot be avoided. You have got to dig for an education, even when it is free.

Any number of educational institutions offer their courses free, or virtually so. The great majority of these, of course, are supported by taxes, and are not therefore actually free. Others operate completely without state or municipal support. These, generally, are institutions which are laboring for a "cause," whose aim it is to spread enlightenment concerning some social or economic program which they believe is indispensable to the making of a better world.

It is not the purpose of this piece to name names, but if you will search the pages of "The Freeman" with a fine tooth comb it is more than likely that before you come to the bottom of this page—that is where you are importuned for heaven's sake to pay up your Freeman subscription—you will find a clue to the identity of a certain educational institution which falls within the latter group.

Financial support of this institution comes from students, graduates and friends, who believe that what it teaches is of tremendous importance to the social and economic well-being of mankind. As to that, it would be hard to deny their claim, for the theme of their educational program is moral progress through FREEDOM. The purpose of this school—you've got to find out its name—is to teach freedom and how it can be used to build an ethical, democratic social order.

The people backing this school are Georgists. There is another clue for you, if it is not too subtle. Georgists, like many other Americans, are highly vocal and opinionated. As to certain things—freedom and the two necessary steps to its attainment—free trade and land value taxation—they are in complete agreement, but as to the methods by which the two steps are to be achieved, opinions differ greatly.

Some Georgists believe in political action; others say it has been tried and that it failed. Some —indeed practically all—believe in a school, but there are many minds as to teaching methods. Some favor correspondence courses, some the class room method, and some both.

Many are strong for organization, particularly an organization that will hold school graduates together and keep them working in the movement. The contrary view is that such organizations create more problems than they solve.

Some Georgists want a periodical like The Freeman. Others want a periodical that is **not** like The Freeman—definitely not. (Fancy that!) Still others want no periodical at all.

It is the considered opinion of this staid and completely unbiased journal that the school—too bad we can't disclose its identity—is a great institution; that The Freeman is doing the best it can and will spare no effort to make itself better, for which there is plenty of room, finally, that Georgists, with all their family differences, are a swell bunch of people.

THE EDITORS