The Freeman

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The burning down of a city is indeed a lessening of the aggregate wealth. But is the waste involved in the burning down of a city any more real than the waste involved in the standing idle of men who would gladly be at work in building up a city? — Henry George in "Protection or Free Trade?"

Reds, Occultism and Education

WHAT is civilization? What are the earmarks of its progression or decadence? Does the mass pressure for power indicate its virility, or is the quest for individual wisdom a sign of its break-up? Does rationalism, with its necessary divergence of opinion, its intellectual conflicts and its apparently futile search for truth, point to decline? Is the positivism of mass action the height to which the social order aspires? Does man find his finest development in uniformity of purpose or heterogeneity of expression?

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This age-old philosophical question, with all its ramifications, is clamoring for an answer; it is being asked on the battlefield, in legislative halls, in the public press, in the courts, in the privacy of one's study. And the answer evades us until we determine, by some objective technique, the aim of individual life.

To those who chose the viewpoint that the progress of civilization is in direct proportion to the degree of human happiness which it affords, and who measure that happiness in terms of freedom, the present world trend indicates a decided decline. The depth of that decline is now being measured by war, with its necessary condition of complete conformity to the mass will. But other manifestations of the civilization's downward path are not wanting.

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There is, for instance, mass intolerance of divergence, as expressed in the formula: "If you're not with us you're agin us." Non-conformity is being suppressed, not only by political power but also by the popular opinion which supports it. The witch-hunt is on. College professors who may or may not be Communists are being routed out of their positions and their livelihood on fact or suspicion; to be accused is to be convicted. Textbooks are being evaluated not on their factual worth, literary merit or soundness of conclusions, but by mass hysteria standards.

Peculiarly enough, the Communist who is thus victimized is an exponent of the same philosophy from which he suffers. Perhaps he deserves no sympathy even from those who espouse the primacy of individual freedom. The point is that civilization is on the decline when minds are being molded by force, when reason is superseded by hysteria.

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But the advocate of freedom finds in communism itself a sure sign of civilization's decay. He sees in it a form of escape from reality, a seeking for happiness in some sort of security in a mystic all-powerful State. Socialism, the pseudo-science of communism, is itself an opiate, and its general acceptance (even by those who disavow allegiance to the name) indicates a disintegration of the human fibre.

Another form of intellectual and moral stultification is the resort to spiritism and exotic cults for surcease from apparently insoluble problems of existence. "As the world crisis gets worse," says "Time" in a discussion of a movement to expose a growing trade in ghostly fakery, "more and more folk have fled to seance rooms, as they have to astrologers' parlors."

* * *

Meantime, the falling off of enrollment in our colleges and schools may have a simple economic explanation: The lure of wages. But free adult educational institutions also report lack of students, and cultural forums show a marked drop in attendance. The call in our libraries is for fiction and biography—escapism—while books on economics or social philosophy gather dust on the shelves.

When people abandon fact for fiction, when reality is sought in action rather than in reflection, when reason becomes a bore and the non-conformist an object of repression, in what direction is civilization headed? After all, what is civilization?

China Solves Assessment Problem

SOMETIMES THE DIFFICULTY of assessing land values is interposed as a serious objection to the land value tax reform. Advocates of this reform in England have struggled long for the establishment of machinery for land valuation, and landlords have bitterly opposed any such move for fear that it might lead to the public collection of some rent; no matter what England taxes rent remains inviolate, save for what is collected through the income tax.

To those who advocate the socialization of rent this pother about land value assessment seems silly and, more important, untenable because it is based on an unethical premise. All assessments proceed from the market value of land; the land assessor tries to approximate its probable selling price. But the selling price is a capitalization of rent. The assumption in the selling price idea is that the owner has a moral right to rent, whereas common sense and economic theory point to the incontrovertible fact that rent is a publicly created value and the private collection of it is sheer confiscation.

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Any assessed valuation is based on a wrong principle. It involves sanction of an immoral, though legal, practice. To urge land valuation, or methods for perfecting it, is to urge entrenchment of a wrong, and thus to validate obstruction to the socialization of rent.

But, it is argued, the reform which must ultimately destroy the market value of land can be more easily brought about by a gradual increase, through the tax technique, of the public appropriation of rent. Perhaps so; the records show that private appropriators are wary of all taxes that tend to separate them from their unearned emoluments, and an out-and-out attack on the source of their income, even if proposed in gradualized dosage, would meet with violent opposition.

* * *

Yet if on the ground of expediency we must start with land valuation why bother with elaborate and expensive assessing methods? Why guess at a market price? Let the landowner make his own valuation, with the understanding that he must sell at that price. This will prevent his trying to evade paying taxes through a low evaluation; obviously he will not burden himself with a high levy through over-valuation.

This self-valuation method has recently been adopted by the Chinese government—partly as a reform, partly for much needed revenue. Chinese landlords have been for centuries China's most destructive enemies. Through control of the local governments they have been virtually tax-exempt, while forcing the peasantry to pay as much as 60% of their crops for rent, including "protection."

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Available news reports do not indicate how often this valuation is to be done. Landlords expecting a demand for the land, for production or for government use, might place a higher price on their holdings and thus expose themselves temporarily to a higher levy. An equitable system would require annual assessment.

And, while the reports speak of land value assessment they also speak of "real estate"—which indicates that chicanery in the way of over-evaluating buildings and under-evaluating land might occur. We should also like to know whether the new system applies also to town lands, where rent is of greater importance, or only to agrarian lands.

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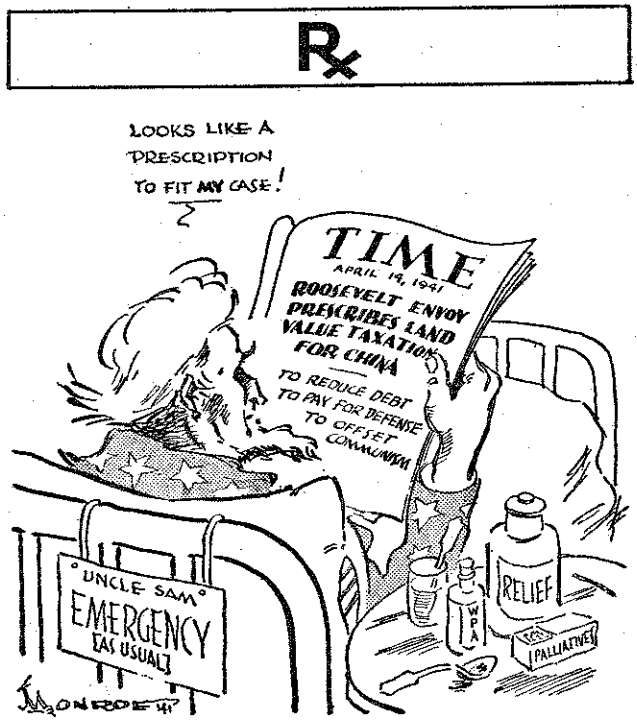
At any rate, a step toward a rational fiscal system has been taken. Maybe Japan will prove to be a benefactor to the coolie enslaved by his age-old masters.



Wagner Theory Pays Off

DOES ANYBODY REMEMBER the Wagner Act? Or the machinery devised to make it effective, the National Labor Relations Board? Both the law and its offspring were advocated as strike preventives. Both seem to have been obscured by the welter of strikes that are blocking the war production program.

Senator Wagner, as good hearted an economic illiterate as ever dealt a New Deal hand, thought that wages are paid out of capital. That is, his law stems from that economic fallacy, and propriety requires the presumption that a Senator has ideas other than those connected with vote-getting.

Anyhow, basing his legislative proposal on that theory, he assumed that the reason for low wages was the reluctance of capitalists to share their capital with laborers, and that the way to pry them loose from it was to furnish labor with a crow-bar: organized power. Labor unions provided the idea themselves; the government, which is the power-producing instrument for all privileged groups, vitalized the idea.

The Wagner Act and the NLRB came into being when jobs were scarce. The unions, which cannot provide jobs because they have no way of effecting production, were glad to have a legal instrument in their hands for harassing industry.

The law did not, and could not, increase wages, but it did give the labor leaders a tighter hold on their membership. It gave them power which they might wield for their own benefit. Dues and initiation fees could be more surely collected.

But workers want jobs as well as wages. The law was peculiarly remiss on that point. The leaders were powerless to give the men what they wanted.

Along comes the National Defense Program with a bonanza of orders. That means jobs, maybe wages. Now is the time for the leaders to satisfy the men, which is ultimately the only way a union official can justify his existence and his emoluments.

Do the leaders fall back on the Wagner Act and the NLRB? They do not. They have power now, power which makes laws but does not abide by them except when they favor its ends. So the Wagner creations are laid away. The good Senator served his purpose when he provided the machinery which consolidated labor's power. Requiescat in pace!

Labor wants wages. Where will wages come from now? Not from the capitalist-controlled wage-fund, but from the more plentiful, inexaustible tax-fund. There's a fishing ground that's kept well-stocked all the year round by 130,000,000 wardens! Why didn't we think of that before? Hurrah, boys, bring on your tackle! You don't need much bait—production—to haul in a good catch.

Now it isn't the wages-fund theory, it's the tax-fund theory. It's a vast improvement on the philosophy of the Wagner Act, although those who believe that wages come out of capital would hardly distinguish between capital and taxes, any more than they would separate land from capital. Why be so meticulous? Any old grab bag is good enough—until it's empty.

The country needs war materials. But somehow labor, like capital, finds the patriotic appeal unappealing; it wants wages. That's what men always work for. Having found a new source of wages—taxes—labor is going to lay violent hands on it, regardless of the country's needs.

That's why we have a wave of strikes. And while, as some contend, the leaders may be unpatriotic, downright saboteurs and even "fifth columnists," we cannot ignore the fact that hunger for wages is the raw material of their trade.

And organized power, Mr. Wagner, is their tool. But when a smaller power meets a greater power, what happens?

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Civil Servants To The Rescue!

AS ONE'S OWN TROUBLES are always of paramount personal importance, so many Americans are inclined to isolate the affairs of their nation from world tendencies, to ignore the causal forces which are working toward similar ends elsewhere.

Because we have different traditions, a different history, a different "racial" background, we are prone to believe—if we think of it at all—that our problems and our development must be different in character from those of other peoples.

Yet the universality of wars, of depressions, of poverty in the midst of plenty, of social movements, even of religious concepts, suggests that the differences between nations and their problems are incidental and superficial. The commonality of these currents indicates that the whole world is one people, subject to identical and inexorable forces. Despite aspersion by latter-day intelligentsia, the evidence points to the working of universal laws.

For instance, we in America have been reading about the conflict for control of our national affairs between the "reforming" New Dealers of the past eight years and the business men whom Mr. Roosevelt is now calling into council. It is therefore interesting to note that a similar struggle is going on in England.

In a recent leading article *The Economist* (London) speaks of the "Battle of Civil Servant v. Business Man," and quotes a Lord Perry as saying that "the Civil Servant, although outwardly self-effacing, is really a mass of well-trained gentlemen of leisure grabbing for power."

The publication goes to bat for these "self-effacing" gentlemen, (we are reminded by this phrase of the quality of "anonymity" which the President gave our career men) and points out that the number of failures among business men in national affairs is quite high.

This struggle for political power between visionaries and men of affairs has been going on for years in all countries. Sometimes the one group is in the ascendancy, sometimes the other. Sometimes the struggle becomes so destructive that a third party, the adventurer, steps in to take over.

Hitler and Mussolini were adventurers with whom the "business men" made deals to take over and keep order, only to find that strong-arm men make order only for their own profit. In Russia the visionaries got into control, but they too were ousted by the adventurer. Chaos always brings the ruthless and self-seeking to the top.

The preparatory ground-work for this struggle always and everywhere delves into economic maladjustment. Poverty must be the general condition before social reformers can gain a hearing. A hungry man will listen to any promiser, and the loudest or most extravagant promiser will get the greatest applause, the largest vote.

The promiser par excellence is the intellectual, because he is not hampered in phrasing his promise with any practical considerations. So, upon assuming power he makes a mess of things, or he makes an existing mess worse. The business man, the man who has made a fortune out of manufactring toothpicks or speculating in real estate, is summoned on the assumption that his material success is proof of his ability. He also fails.

No political scheme will ever free men from their economic chains. In fact, these chains have always been forged by politicians. It never occurs to politicians, be they idealists or practical men, that the way to free men is to repeal laws rather than make new ones, and especially to repeal all laws which make for special privileges. But then, politicians never vote themselves out of office.

That being so, and the groundwork of poverty having been well prepared, precedent leads to the belief that at the proper time the adventurer type will gain the ascendency in both England and the United States. Probably after the war.

But a hint at how England's thinkers are planning for that time should be interesting to America right now. The article in *The Economist* ends with a suggestion for a "special service for doing the economic executive work of Government—work that will inevitably grow in scope in the years to come . . . Only so will the State, whether socialist or capitalist, be able to maintain a constructive control over all those many facets of the community's economic life . . ."

So Englishmen are fighting for a special government service to maintain a constructive control of their economic life! Who will control the service? And, is that what *we* are going to war for?

From Paul to Peter

LET'S KEEP THE RECORD STRAIGHT. Yugoslavia is not a democracy, any more than is Greece. These little countries deserve our sympathy merely because they are "underdogs," but we must not let our sympathy becloud the facts, nor let war mongers use this sympathy to shape our minds to their purpose.

Prince Paul was a dictator. So was the murdered King Alexander before him, and there is no reason to believe that the present government, if it could reign in peace, would be subject to the will of the people.

That the populace was determined to preserve the independence of their country from German domination, even against the sell-out attempted by now deposed rulers, just proves that they had become adjusted to their slavery and feared a Hitlerian readjustment. It does not prove that they are a free people, economically or politically.

They are not fighting to preserve their liberties, since they never had any. They are fighting to be let alone, to be permitted to enjoy their accustomed subjugation under native dictators.

Home is home. My native land may be a hell, but I like it; foreigners keep out.

Dr. Raymond E. Crist gave us a picture of Yugoslavian economy in the January (1941) *Freeman*. The terrific burden of taxation which pauperizes the people, and the rack-rent system which enables their masters to rob them, are reminiscent of the conditions which prevailed in Ireland for three centuries. The Irish identified their misery with the English—"foreigners"—and they fought. The substitution of Irish for English landlordism seems now to have been met with acquiescence.

So Yugoslavs prefer slavery under their own masters. That's all there is to it, and any romanticism about liberty fighting tyranny is gratuitous.

As for the complicated diplomacy which preceded the outbreak, including the coup d'etat which ousted Prince Paul, we shall not know the full truth for many years. There are, however, precedents for the suspicion that some of the landlords were willing to make a deal with Hitler; like the Henleins, the Quislings, the Lavals. Privilege under any government is universal tory policy. Undoubtedly some promise of privilege prompted the Belgrade pact with Berlin.

Offsetting the influence of any such promise was Hitler's known double-crossing of his dupes in other invaded countries, plus the more cogent promises of Anglo-American diplomats. The "lease-lend" bill and the British army in Greece gave some validity to the promises.

The pro-Peter masters were satisfied that these pledges gave them a better chance to maintain the status quo in which they had wallowed so luxuriously. Patriotic propaganda aided them in carrying out their choice.

The President Was Right

From an address by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, delivered at Chautauqua, N. Y., on August 14, 1936—as reported in the New York TIMES.

". . . IF WAR SHOULD BREAK OUT again on another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches—fool's gold—would attempt to break down our neutrality.

"They would tell you—and unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity—that if they could produce and ship this and that and the other article to belligerent nations, the unemployed of America would all find work. They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations, that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debts. They would tell you that America once more would recapture the trade of the world.

"It would be hard to resist that clamor; it would be hard for many Americans, I fear, to look beyond —to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning, that comes from a false prosperity. To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love peace.

"If we face the choice of profits or peace, the nation will answer—must answer—'We choose peace.' It is the duty of all of us to encourage such a body of public opinion in this country that the answer will be clear and for all practical purposes unanimous."

Why Our Merchant Marine Vanished

A FICTION which, through protectionist reiteration, has become American commercial dogma is that we lost our pre-eminent position on the seas because we were too busy developing an empire in the West. Now that ships are being sent to the bottom of the seas faster than they can be replaced, this buncombe is again gaining currency.

Before the Civil War—before the days of tariffs intended to strangle our foreign trade—American merchantmen dominated the seas. We had the world's fastest ships, most daring seamen, most enterprising captains. The fleet which flew the Stars and Stripes carried over three-quarters of the goods exported from this country, and American "tramps" were known in every port of the world.

* * *

By 1880 our merchant fleet was a pitiful remnant. Before World War No. 1 it was almost a Swiss Navy.

Why? Because we had railroads to build? Because our wages were too high? Because we refused to substitute steam for sails? Nonsense. These are the covering excuses advanced by our protection monopolists. Our ships were driven off the seas by our tariff policy.

England, which started on a free trade policy in 1847, took the business away from us. When we refused to buy goods from the world we lost our customers; our ships had no cargoes to carry. Shipping disappeared simply because our non-trading idiocy killed the business.

* * *

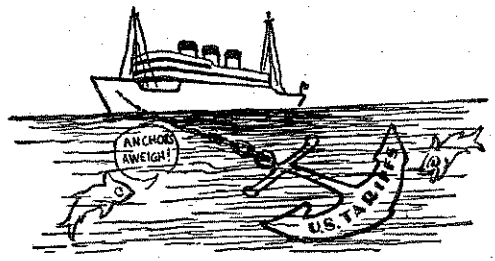
As a consequence of our tariff policy, the cost of building and repairing ships in this country became prohibitive, as compared with the cost in free-trade England. Protected materials cost more than free trade materials. Indeed, some of our protected industries deliver their products abroad at a lower price than they quote to domestic buyers; for example, steel.

It therefore is more profitable to build and repair ships in British yards than in American. Our tariff policy not only drove our ships off the seas, but also drove shipbuilding off our coasts.

* * *

World War No. 1 turned the country's eyes seaward again. There was business to be had. Not good, healthy business—the exchange of goods for goods—but the ghoulish business of profiting by the preoccupation of other nations with destruction. We had to have ships to deliver coal to our Navy; we had been depending on foreign merchantmen. We had to deliver war munitions, before we started delivering men, to the Allies. And we had only eighty-one ships (less than 500,000 tons) in foreign trade.

There was business to be done. So we started to build a merchant marine. We launched over



three million tons in 1918, over four million the next year, and two and a half million in 1920. And then we let this ten million tons of shipping facilities rot.

The billions of taxes involved literally rusted in our docks. Many of these ships were sold at a mere fraction of the cost, as junk. Why? Because our protective tariff would not permit them to go to work. They had no cargoes to carry.

* * *

Now again there is ghoulish business to be had. During the first eighteen months of the present tragic affair, Germany has sunk a net four and a half million tons of shipping—net after replacements of over two and a half million. Experts predict that from three to five millions more will disappear this year.

Of course our shipyards will in time make up the deficiency. Even though through long years of idleness we have lost the skill and our yards have decayed, where there are wages there will be workers. It will take time. But eventually we will build again as many ships as the world can use.

Then what? These ships, built mainly with tax money, since private capital avoids this grisly business as transitory and ultimately unprofitable, will be tied up to disintegrate. Our seamen and our repair shops will be idle. All because our tariff policy kills the cargoes, and cargoes are the life of a merchant marine.

Conscripts Forever

TIME WAS WHEN A DESPOT would march his army up to a town, declare his intention to shoot it up and promptly proceed to do so. If victorious, he esconced himself in the seat of government, outlawed the old forms and installed the "ideology" which to him seemed desirable and perhaps profitable. That was the way of King David, Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, Caesar, Napoleon and George Washington. It was forthright, and one knew in advance what to expect.

Nowadays the technique is changed. The ideology frequently precedes the change in government, and the change in either government or ideology is accompanied by violence only when necessary. Propaganda, applied in the requisite dosage, timed to coordinate with events, is used to effect a softening up of possible resistance. The complete change of the government or the prevailing ideology comes about so gradually that its application is hardly noticeable.

Hitler has used this method on his victims, internal and external. But it is not exclusively his. It is now the way of all governments that seek to introduce changes in the political, economic or social set-ups of their respective nations. Its effectiveness is largely dependent on the subtle and ruthless use of the expanding means of communications.

Consequently it is necessary to watch the obscure press item or radio announcement with a Washington date line to get the direction of propaganda to come. For instance, in the past few weeks some Congressmen have plumped for a change in our draft law and General Hershey, acting administrator of Selective Service, has said that no change should be made until the United States is ready to settle down to regular, permanent conscription on an *annual class basis.*

The softening-up process has begun. Our present conscription law was introduced as an "emergency" measure. Since the beginning of the country Americans have been opposed to compulsory military service, have condemned it as a violation of individual liberty, have correctly associated it with the absolutism which they thought ended here with the Revolutionary War. The "emergency" appeal was necessary to sell it as a temporary measure.

Now we are hearing—very indistinctly as yet—about permanent conscription in annual classes. We are hearing about the 1,250,000 men who turn 21 each year; that all between 18 and 23 should be drafted and permitted to select their year of service; that our present conscripts include men who will soon be middle-aged; and so on.

More of this will come off the printing presses and on the radio. The announcements will be coordinated with the progress of the war. Permanent conscription in annual classes will become the law of the land when America is properly conditioned.

And, as there will be the same shortage of jobs after the war as there was before the war, nobody will bother about reconditioning us to the discarded article of Americanism.

Let's Regiment the Women

BREATHES THERE A MAN who would not consign woman to her proper place? Or who has not thought up a place that to him seems quite proper for her? If such a man breathes, he shouldn't.

Heads up, boys, for your ancient urge seems on its way to sublimation. What you have never been able to do, the State—the solvent of all problems—has a mind to undertake. Maybe not immediately. But the trend is on, and it won't be long before Eve's pestiferous daughters will be properly coordinated. At least, in the matter of their hats.

A step in that direction is the recent issuance by the State of a "Primer of Problems in the Millinery Industry." This statistical document dolorously recounts the death rate of millinery establishments, the consequent low wages and insecurity of jobs.

It's terrible! And all because women—as we men so well know—are fickle. Such is the perversity of woman that every new $1.98 creation atop her head becomes obsolete with its second wearing. What to do about it? The State has a suggestion:

"*Cooperation* of women consumers could aid the industry in steadying style caprice."

Notice, men, that word "cooperation." In the light of current usage it is pulsating with promise.

To Abolish War Make Peace Profitable.

Quezon's Quandary

By TWYLA KRYDER

Manuel Quezon, head of the only political party machine worthy of the name in the Philippines and in consequence President of The Philippine Commonwealth, has his hands full. This patriot and politician is one of the latest to learn (although it is doubtful he would admit it) that freedom finds its ultimate expression in the economic sphere rather than the political, that all men, regardless of political geography, racial taboos and philosophic convictions, measure the efficacy of government by the ease with which government allows them to satisfy their desires. Quezon in a fervor of patriotic eloquence once took a dive over the political side of the boat: "I prefer a government run like hell by Filipinos to one run like heaven by the Americans."

His government, whatever it turns out to be after July 4, 1946 (the date of total independence from the United States under the terms of the Philippine Independence Act of the United States Congress), has vast problems confronting it. It must serve a population of nearly 13,000,000 scattered over several thousand islands dotting the Pacific for a distance comparable to that between Lake Superior and the Gulf of Mexico. It must serve a polyglot people inhabiting 114,000 square miles of land in the East Indian Archipelago or an area approximating the total areas of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. While Quezon's stated preference in government may be quite opposite to his real convictions, the average Filipino, as all men, certainly must want "good government."

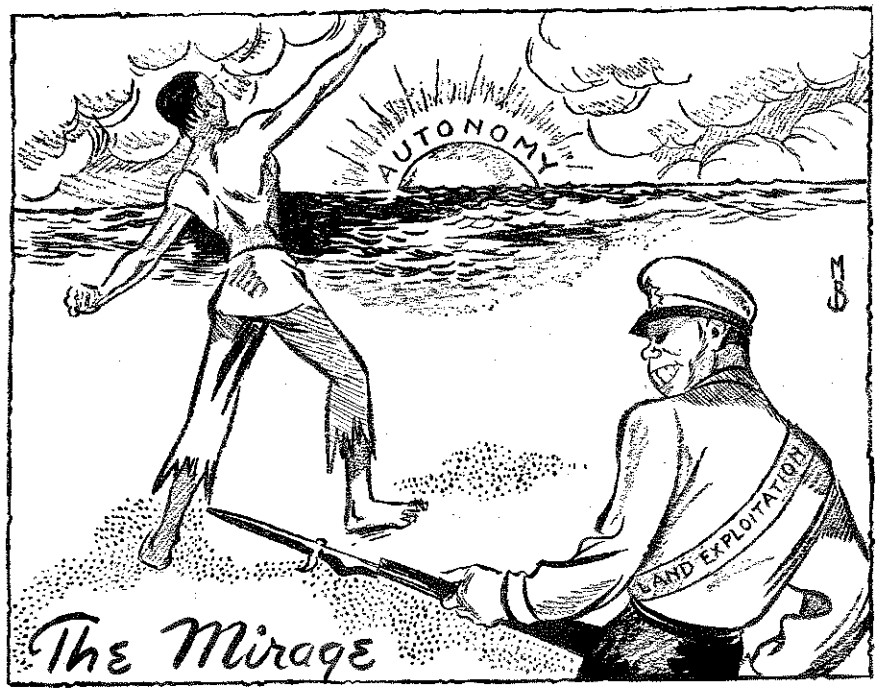
Basically, the industries of the islands are of an extractive type, and agriculture, forestry and mining employ the majority of the population. A bountiful nature has provided every advantage for a healthy economic life—the islands are considered by authorities among the most fertile areas in the world—but men and associations of men in political entities have erected barriers. For example, the Philippines are a favored area for the production of coconuts. Climate and elements in the soil make much labor unnecessary. The trees become productive five years after planting, reach their maximum production around the tenth year, and have a life of from fifty to sixty years and sometimes a hundred years. The Islands produce one-third the world supply of coconut oil and head the list of producers. One out of every three persons is directly dependent upon the industry or those affiliated with it—the manufacture of copra, copra meal, and desiccated shredded coconut.

However, the dairy interests of the United States felt that coconut oil used in the manufacture of soaps, oleomargarine and animal fat substitutes was competing unduly with their products. They managed to lobby and logroll a bill through Congress setting a quota for Philippine coconut oil at 200,000 long tons annually duty free and requiring every pound above that quota to pay a two cent tariff. It was admitted at the time that a tariff on oils coming into the United States would make the price higher to the American consumer. Inasmuch as the tariff was passed, this economic truth, obviously, had no weight.

The same type of "protection" campaign has been aimed at Philippine sugar by those most interested in blocking it from the competitive market. For sugar, the quota has been set at 850,000 long tons per annum duty free; sugar above that amount pays full duty.

Abaca (familiarly known as Manila hemp), formerly a natural monopoly of the Philippines, in addition to meeting the sharpest competition of substitutes grown elsewhere, has a 15% tariff wall to hurdle. The value of this Philippine export has dwindled from $50,000,000 in 1918 to $8,500,000 in 1934.

These tariffs are but the beginning. As the Philippines draw nearer to independence all their products will have imposed on them, in easy stages of 5% per annum, starting at 25%, the full U. S. tariff rate applied to the products of other countries. This can result only in a curtailment in the purchase of Filipino



products with a corresponding decrease in the production of these products. And the Filipino laborer's wages being no exception to the rule that wages come out of his production, it is evident that his present rather low standard of living will be reduced further, and what was none too good will grow progressively worse.

These are but some of the economic problems Mr. Quezon must solve for the Filipino. What type of economy will arise from Philippine independence depends in part on the conclusion to the dickers and the deals. However dismal may be the outlook of Filipinos for free international markets, the coming Philippine autonomous government in the person of Manuel Quezon has a card yet unplayed. With it he can secure for his people a standard of living equal to, if not better than, the standard they have today.

This unplayed trump is Mother Earth herself. Only one-seventh of the total land area of the Islands is under cultivation. Only 12½% of the total arable area is being farmed. Most important—80% of the total area of the Philippines is PUBLIC DOMAIN! This public domain is under the control and administration of the United States Government until July 4, 1946. After that date, the 63,000,000 acres will be in the hands of the new Philippine Government, which, whether we consider it democratic or not, means in the hands of one Manuel Quezon.

With most of his countrymen crowded in the cities and along the coastal areas, Quezon is confronted with the problem faced by the Oakies and Arkies of our great tragic American migration. But where the American sharecropper lacks a solution, Quezon has one to hand in the 63,000,000 acres of public domain. Were he to have the now rather discouraging land laws amended to allow free access to the soil, a far better economy could grow. The artificially created margin which forces Filipinos to work at subsistence would be eliminated, and wages, being proportionate and determined at the margin would rise. Land values and rentals would drop and the producer of wealth would get more nearly all that he produced. Under an economy such as could be instituted were the Filipinos granted access to free land there would be no absolute dependence upon the American market for the payment of wages. And while this would not bring about a self-sustaining economy in the insular sense, it would be the first step to economic freedom. Filipino trade with the outside world will persist in some measure, despite tariff walls. But in no event would an acute falling off of international orders for Filipino produced goods bring starvation to Quezon's people. Instead of Filipino labor being dependent on the production of wealth for capital use, labor would turn to the production of consumer goods for the Filipinos . . . on the free land of the public domain.

Possibly an economy of this nature might wreck some of the so-called capitalist structures operating on the Islands and depending for most of their profits on the collection of rent. Certainly it will not impose hardship on those capital investors having no such source of income. It is, however, doubtful that any of the latter exist, exploitation or development of new countries being inextricably bound to the one factor in the production of wealth that all labor needs: land. Possibly Manuel Quezon has recognized this. One wonders whether he has also recognized that the same conditions would be in force if Filipinos replace Americans as the "exploiters and developers."

Nicholas Roosevelt, in studying conditions in the Philippines for THE NEW YORK TIMES in 1925-1926 wrote: ... "It is estimated that the Islands which now support 12,000,000 inhabitants could support 50,000,000. ... Besides the thousands of square miles of virgin forests rich in the most valuable of tropical hardwoods and gums, there are large undeveloped coal and iron deposits." A margin of error exists here because of preconceived notions of subsistence and population, but surely this statement indicates that the Philippines have natural advantages great enough to provide a fair standard of living to 13,000,000 Filipinos.

In addition to a thoroughly patriotic ideal, Manuel Quezon has nature's profligate abundance working on his side. His job is the enactment of just and sensible laws returning to the Filipinos the economic freedom their fathers' fathers enjoyed before the coming of the white man. Freeing their economic life from the whims and vagaries of monopoly wire pullers and "protectionist" log-rollers elsewhere in the world is just another one of the tasks he must accomplish. Perhaps that is what he had in mind when he said: "I am unutterably opposed to the prolongation of the present political setup." Perhaps he also had this in mind when he said: "The government we establish must have full powers not only over our political, but also our economic life. I want to say to the Filipinos who are desirous of continuing the Filipino-American relationship beyond 1946 on economic grounds that they are badly mistaken." Perhaps...for besides being a patriot Quezon is a politician.

Whatever the conjectures, it is hardly possible that this astute mind has overlooked the huge margin of economic safety represented by the 63,000,000 acres of the public domain—a margin which would act similarly to the margin once enjoyed by the thirteen American colonies as their people pushed westward across the Alleghanies in search of an economic safety based upon retaining the whole fruits of their labor.

Francis Bowes Sayre, U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippines, writing for the ATLANTIC MONTHLY in an article called "Shall We Part With the Philippines?" says of the Islands' present dependence on the American market: "The Philippines are our fifth best customer. We cannot afford to bankrupt such excellent customers." The sugar and dairy interests are not

concerned overmuch as to whether or not the Philippines rank fifth or fiftieth. As for bankruptcy, the answer is obvious.

Fortunately, Filipinos have the final word in bankruptcy and it can come about only by the shortsightedness of the Filipinos themselves in not better availing themselves of the paradise within their reach if they but stoop.

Not so fortunate for Philippine independence is the restlessness of the little brown brothers to the north of them who are now on the endless march of imperialistic expansion. Nipponese fleets are much too near for comfortable dreams of independent government. And 1946 must seem to many a premature date. Power and the grab for power in the Far East will have much to do with the completion of the political severance from the United States. Between now and July 4, 1946 President Quezon has much military protection to be thankful for. An American warship riding at anchor in Manila Bay may disturb him as a patriot, but as practical politician, its presence is reassuring. In this interim Manuel Quezon has time to think of ways and means to promote the economic freedom of his countrymen, who, like all other men, can measure government only by the ease with which it allows them to earn a living, that being the only measure common to all.

Manuel Quezon is on the brink of greatness or on the brink of failure. Only time will tell the size of the man.

Lard, Landlords, and Mutiny

By FRANK GREENSIDES

It is a calm, clear day of January, 1857, at the Dum-Dum Arsenal of the Bengal army in India. A low-caste lascar employed there has just demanded the use of his water vessel from a high-caste sepoy. The latter refuses in disgust. The lascar then taunts him with being already defiled by cartridges which, he declared, are greased with the fat of the sacred cow.

Those whose memory runs back to World War days may remember talk about dum-dum bullets. These took their name from the Bengal arsenal. A dum-dum bullet is made of soft lead, and has no steel jacket; the result is that when it strikes, instead of drilling a clean hole, it mushrooms and tears a frightful, irregular wound. This happy effect can be enhanced if, before the bullet is loaded into the rifle, the soft tip is cut off in such a way as to leave a somewhat flattened, jagged point; the teeth are tools admirably suited to the purpose. Cigar smokers will understand the technique. It was the custom at the Dum-Dum Arsenal to bite off the tips of the cartridges. A soft-nosed bullet so treated has great stopping power.

The rumor that animal fat was being used to grease their cartridges spread like wildfire through the army. Somewhere in its progress it acquired a new detail: the grease was said to contain lard, the fat of pigs. To the Mohammedan troops, this was an unbearable insult. It was the spark that touched off one of the bloodiest and most ferocious of conflagrations, known in history as the Indian Mutiny.

The history of the causes of the Mutiny is, in the main, the history of the Province of Oudh from 1767 up to the time of the outbreak. Oudh is a small principality to the immediate northwest of Bengal, and at present part of the United Provinces of Northern India. Its capital is Lucknow, a city which played a prominent role during the Mutiny. The population is now about 45 millions. The main industries are agriculture and jute production. Today, as in the days of the Mutiny, this little province has to pay enormous tariff tolls on its produce; it is completely land-locked by interior tariff walls, one of the chief curses of India.

In one commentary on the subject the sentence appears, "The British Government ought not to have been altogether unprepared for the Mutiny." In considering the history of Oudh this observation should be kept in mind.

Before the Mogul Empire, land in India was held, not by private owners, but by cultivators occupying it under the village corporation, and land revenue was collected from the head-man as representing the community. The State or monarch enjoyed a share in this rent. Under the Mohammedans new methods were introduced. The State claimed a sixth of the gross produce of the soil as its share, and entrusted collections to revenue farmers known as zamindars, each of whom agreed to pay a definite amount from the district assigned to him.

Very significantly, by the time the British took over, the zamindars had become landowners and the cultivators tenants, or ryots. This system was continued under the British. (How close a parallel can we draw to this in North America?) In the year 1767 some of the prominent landowners of Britain bought up blocks of stock in the East India Company. At the same time Charles Townshend, chancellor of the British exchequer, compounded with the Company for an annual payment of 400,000 pounds, on the understanding that parliament would give the Company a free hand.

This annual tribute could come from only one source, the already overburdened ryot, and it necessarily diminished his capacity to meet the exactions of the zamindar. The rivalry for plunder which ensued is probably unique in history, not because it is unusual for a native pop-

ulation to be exploited, but because of the utter, merciless rapacity of the Company's representatives. "In the one hand a gun, in the other a bottomless sack; so we see the East India Company in India."

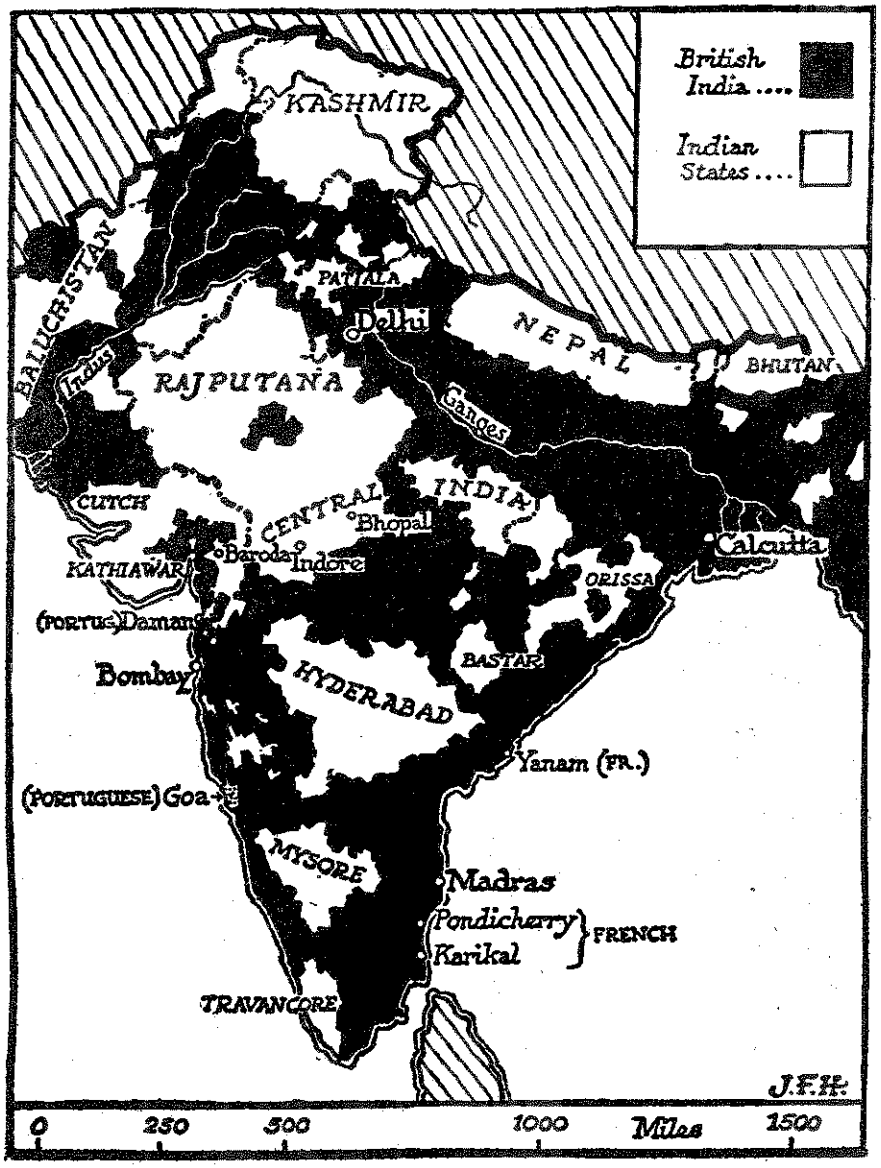
Oudh served as an excellent buffer state between Bengal and the warlike Maratha tribes. An eminent statesman of the time, Francis by name, denounced the Rohilla War which ensued with these tribes as "the conquest of all the little states about us, who were our friends, who were our barriers." The nawab-wazir of Oudh, Asaf-ud-daula, was forced to cede the city of Benares to the Company and to make increased payments in return for military assistance given him against the Marathas; thus his charges were increased while his revenue sources were diminished. By 1775 the state was so weakened by the excessive demands made upon it that the landholders refused to pay the revenue until coerced by actual force.

Thus, through double landlordism, was hastened the decay of the Indian States. Many of the Indian princes made ready bargains with the invader, hoping thus to turn the power of the Company to their own advantage. It was at this time that the governor, Warren Hastings of infamous memory, contended that India's capacity for paying tribute was unlimited. Concerning Hastings the Irishman Burke said in Parliament, "(He) makes the corrupt practices of mankind the principles of his government; he collects together the vicious examples of all the robbers and plunderers of Asia, forms the mass of their abuses into a code, and calls it the duty of a British governor."

In 1781 many of the Begums (chiefs) of Oudh were imprisoned and held to ransom until they promised to pay a large sum of money. They agreed and were released. There was still no possible source for the tribute except from the already despoiled ryots. These had been pushed to the margin of subsistence and beyond, and the tribute was not forthcoming. Accordingly, districts were assigned to the administration of "creditors" which meant that revenues would be managed in the worst possible way by men who had no interest beyond their own immediate advancement.

The result was that the Nawab of Oudh was immediately threatened by a rising of his unpaid troops and by his turbulent landholders. He called in the British troops. Thus Company relations "with the nawab were perpetuated over a wide field." Things went from bad to worse, especially in the taxation departments, and the Province of Oudh was finally annexed to the British possessions in the year 1856.

Of course, foreign dominion meant nothing to a people with no national consciousness. But the province of Oudh was a country of great "talukdars" who corresponded in theoretical position with the great zamindars of Bengal, but were much stronger, for they commanded the services of an ignorant, turbulent, and warlike peasantry. One of these talukdars, Nana Sahib by name, had just been deprived by the East India Company of a princely pension which the Company had settled upon his foster-father. Nana Sahib, a high caste Brahmin, dreamed of re-



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storing the Brahmin rule over India. Other talukdari estates had been materially cut down, and he knew that resentment was increasing, approaching the bursting point. A muttering against the white man's rule, growing like distant thunder, might have warned any but the most heedless, the most predacious.

The sepoys of the Bengal army, largely recruited from Oudh, were directly affected by the annexation. They were drawn from the high-caste, priestly, Brahmin, landowning class. The annexation reduced them and their families to the common level. Their "sacred cow" had been prostituted by the British bull. They were the army in which the revolt took deepest root; it was they who most strongly opposed the British. The remaining two sepoy armies of India played but an insignificant part in the Mutiny.

When the time was ripe and a plausible pretext offered, the blow was struck. On May 9, 1857, a Company court-martial condemned 85 soldiers to 10 years hard labor for refusing to bite off the tips of their cartridges. The men were publicly degraded, chained, and taken to prison. Three regiments mutinied, broke open the jail, and began a systematic slaughter of every Englishman in sight. The British retorted in kind. Much has been said of the barbarities and atrocities practised by the mutineers, leaving the impression that the East India Company instructed its soldiers to use only humane methods; in this connection it does no harm to recall to what extent Christian charity has restrained police, soldiery, and company thugs in labor disputes in the United States. How many of us recall Bruno Mussolini's poetic metaphor in which he describes the sight of a bomb bursting in the midst of a crowd of men—like the unfolding of a red, red rosebud?

The mutiny was put down, and the rule of the Company gave place to that of the British Crown. In one sense this was a change for the better, for the ryot, instead of being pressed beyond the limit of his endurance, was pressed barely to that limit. Administration has been more skillful; there has been no more revolution, although there have been many attempts to oppose the British in other ways. It may be that when the Western world has fulfilled its destiny of suicide, India will throw off foreign rule; but more probably they will change masters. Either Japan will step in and assume control, or India will return to the overlordship of native landlords. There is no immediate prospect of any change which will benefit the low-caste Hindu and untouchable.

Buddha believed neither in caste nor in class distinctions. He taught that all men were brothers, entitled equally to share in the bounty of Nature. He is sometimes honored from the lips of Hindus, if not from their hearts. Through the ebb and flow of war and breathing spells between wars (not to be miscalled peace) the eyes of his wooden image smile gently upon the little ways of men who could be gods—if they so willed it!

When the War Ends

By RICHARD R. STOKES, M.P.

The Hon. R. R. Stokes is a member of the British Parliament. He sends this draft of a plan for reconstruction after the war. We hope to report more on this important development in British politics in a subsequent issue.—Ed.

The 50 M. P.'s comprising the Parliamentary Land Values Group have a plan to meet post-war problems. This is set out in seven articles as follows:—

1. When the war ends concerted efforts will need to be made to absorb both munition workers and demobilized soldiers into productive work. This will mean embarking upon vast schemes of public works which will lead to a rise in land values in the immediate vicinity. This value, unless otherwise provided, will go to the benefit of local landlords and not to the community whose efforts will have gone to create the value. A tax on site values will meet this point.

2. Each one of these schemes will entail the purchase by the Government of greater or lesser areas of land. A tax on site values will keep the purchase price down.

3. In addition to public works, private owners of land should be made to help by putting all land to its best use. A tax on site values of all land whether used or idle will make it unprofitable to the landlord to put any land to its wrong use or to keep it idle.

4. Vast credits will be needed to finance schemes of development. From a business point of view there will be no difficulty about obtaining such credits provided it can be shown that the benefits are going to the borrower thereby providing the means of repayment. A tax on site values of land will ensure that the borrower (i.e., the community) gets the benefit.

5. Slums must be removed and Garden Cities built. A tax on site values will make it impossible for slum landlords to keep filthy dwellings in the midst of towns on valuable sites; they themselves will be forced to put up modern up-to-date buildings. Equally, such a tax will keep down the purchase price of land needed for Garden Cities.

6. There need be no unemployment and no enforced poverty arising therefrom if the natural resources are used in the common interest. Until those resources are exhausted it should be possible to create a state of society wherein there are more jobs than people—and wherein the laborer will get his fair hire. This can be brought about by freeing natural resources by the one just, quick and efficacious way: taxing site values of all land used or unused.

7. The Exchequer would ultimately receive at least £500,000,000 a year which now goes tax free to individual owners. Unemployment and the evils arising therefrom would disappear.

The First American Railroad

By PAUL PEACH

One evening, a dozen years before the Civil War, the city of Washington was on fire with enthusiasm for freedom. The French monarchy had been overthrown, and a long overdue republic established in its place. There were torchlight processions and speeches, and a Mississippi senator proclaimed the imminence of an age of "universal emancipation" in which all nations should recognize as clearly as (for example) the United States "the great principles of popular sovereignty, equality and brotherhood. . ."

The same mob which had shouted for French democracy was on hand a few days later, when a procession of captured fugitive slaves was whipped through the streets of the city. They shouted again—jeers and insults at the Negroes. Liberty? Yes, of course; they'd die for it; but slavery was God's holy institution. Nobody was going to insult God in Washington and get away with it.

In 1835 an Abolitionist writer was escorted through the streets—of Atlanta? no, of Boston—at the end of a rope. The police rescued him from the mob and clapped him in jail. He left an inscription on the wall of his cell: "William Lloyd Garrison was put into this cell on Monday afternoon, October 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a respectable and influential mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that all men are created equal, and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God."

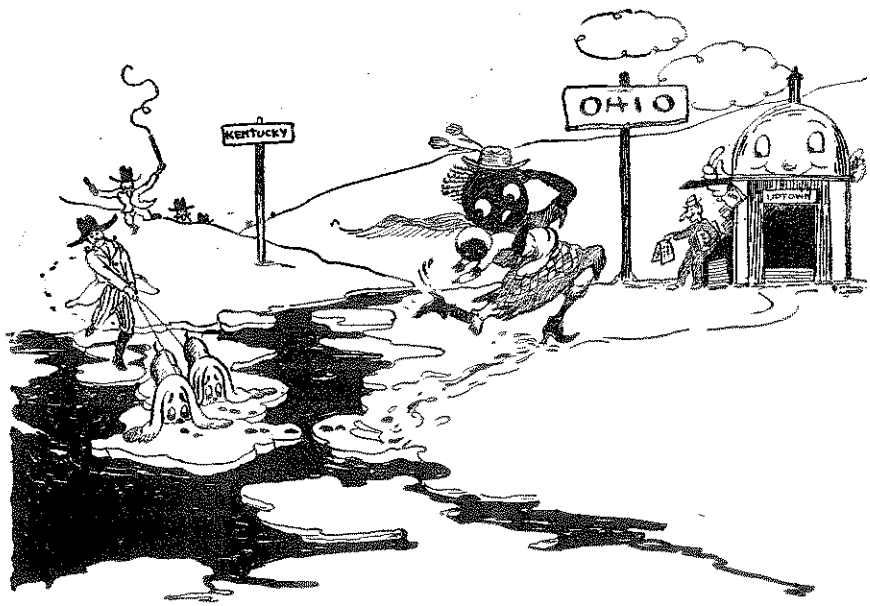
In New York a mob gutted a church and broke up an anti-slavery meeting. In New Hampshire a school was destroyed for admitting Negro students. In Illinois the printer Lovejoy had three presses dumped into the Mississippi River, and was murdered while he attempted to defend a fourth.

Henrietta Buckmaster has written a book which should be studied by all thoughtful Americans. "Let My People Go" (Harper and Brothers, $3.50) deals primarily with the growth of the Underground Railroad, the group of Quakers and others who defied the law in order to snatch Negroes from slavery and send them to free Canada. In addition, however, it throws much light upon two questions of the greatest present interest. The first has to do with the influence of economic institutions upon law and morals; the second with the efficacy of political means in attempts at economic reform.

The figure of Garrison dominates the work. Garrison was editor of "The Liberator" and earned the hatred, not merely of the South, but of northern "reform" groups as well. Two words lay deep in the cesspool of Garrison's uttermost contempt: "politics" and "compromise." He lived to see the reenslavement of the Negro, with a new dress hiding the old reality. It is doubtful that, for all his volcanic zeal, he ever understood the true nature of slavery.

The Negroes knew more about fundamental economics than did their friends. After the war they clamored for land, feeling that "landed security was the only guarantee of freedom. . ." When southern landlords refused, the freedmen began to flock to the new lands of Kansas and Nebraska—a tactic which soon frightened their former masters and induced them to offer terms. The offer was unnecessary; the new lands were soon taken up, and the emigrations ceased. Southern economy was once more on a stable foundation.

Garrison was right; no political means could bring freedom to the Negro. Our problem is to bring freedom to the white man; shall we succeed? The failure of emancipation was due to the superficiality of its economic analysis: slavery in name was not distinguished from slavery in fact. Reformers today fall into the same error; they denounce what they call "capitalist exploitation" and propose political remedies, without asking how it happens that one group should have the power to exploit another. Can we ever escape the curse of the obvious? We shall have to, if we are to achieve more in the way of success than did the Abolitionists.



Stage Money for El Gaucho

By P. B. LOUIS

The countries of Latin America are suffering currently from a critical shortage of free foreign exchange. Because of this situation their own economic difficulties are becoming considerably increased, and they find themselves more and more dependent for markets upon the dictator nations. At the same time, our own "good neighbor" policy is running into snags, and if the progress of events follows the same course in the future as in the past, it must mean eventually more unemployment in the United States, higher taxes, and misgovernment on a Brobdingnagian scale.

In order to understand fully what has been happening to our Southern neighbors, we may well review the elements of international trade. Suppose Jones in the United States sends goods to Bull in England. Bull may offer in payment either dollars or pounds. The pounds are handier for Bull, but Jones is an American and cannot use English money.

There are three ways out of the difficulty. If Bull has goods which Jones wants, he can send the goods in payment of the bill. On the books of the traders the transaction will appear in money terms, but actually it is simple barter.

Again, though Jones himself may not want Bull's goods, there may be another American, Smith, who does. In such a case Bull ships the goods to Smith. Smith now owes Bull, and Bull owes Jones. Smith pays Jones, and everybody is satisfied; the payment is made in dollars, and Bull has solved two problems—that of paying one bill in dollars and that of collecting a second bill in pounds.

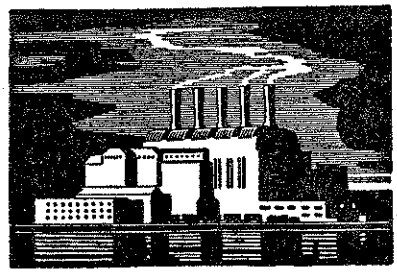
Finally, if there is no Smith available and if Jones does not want to swap goods for goods, Bull can offer to deposit pounds to Jones' account in a British bank. Jones can then write sterling checks and with them pay bills which he may owe in England. Or he may find somebody else who, for some reason, wants a British bank account; in such a case Jones sells his pounds and retires from the transaction content. This third procedure is the usual one.

Now, suppose Jones is also trading with El Gaucho in Argentina. Jones may offer El Gaucho dollars, or he may offer Argentine pesos if he has them or can get them. But it may be that El Gaucho is buying in the British market. In such a case he may be very willing to take Jones' British bank account. Jones takes Gaucho's goods, makes over his English credits, and, as before, retires content.

Here we have in its simplest form the triangle of trade — American goods from New York to London; British goods from London to Buenos Aires; Argentine goods from Buenos Aires to New York. The matter of payment becomes a mere bookkeeping transaction, in which dollars, pounds and pesos figure only as numbers in a ledger.

In practice, the triangle of trade is really an intricate latticework, in which foreign currencies are bought and sold in the marketplace. Unrestricted trading in foreign exchange is the essence of the market process. A man can send goods to any country and obtain payment, not necessarily in the money of that country, but in any kind of money he wants, so that in return he may buy goods in whatever market he prefers.

Now, suppose Bull buys goods from Jones and offers pounds in payment, subject to the condition that those pounds are not convertible into foreign (non-sterling) exchange. Jones now has pounds to his credit in London, which he can use to buy British manufactures. But if Jones wants, not British textiles, but Brazilian coffee, he is stuck. He cannot sell his London bank account for a draft on Rio unless he can find a Brazilian importer who wants British goods, in other words unless he is willing to become a salesman for Britain. He has foreign exchange of sorts but it is not free exchange; he is not free to spend it where he likes. His London account consists of **blocked sterling.**



We have in the United States a practice which corresponds closely to the blocked currency schemes. In general, if I work for an employer, I am entitled to my wages in the form of money. My money is my own, and I can spend it where I please. I do not allow people to dictate to me what store I shall patronize, except in the case of a gratuity such as a cigar coupon.

But there are places in the United States where an employee has no freedom of choice in spending his money; these are the places where the "company store" and the "company house" dominate the local market. Harmless in themselves, the company store and house become unmitigated evils when, as so often happens, the power of the company is exerted to exclude the competition of independent storekeepers and builders. In such cases the employees may indeed be paid money wages, but the effect is as if they were paid in company scrip, because the money can be spent in only one place.

South America finds herself today swamped with company scrip and painfully short of real money. It all started years ago, when most of South America was a wilderness. Capital was needed to develop her resources, and floods of it came; much of it from England. Now, this foreign capital did not originally bring with it political domination; exporting countries still retained the freedom to make their purchases from whatever country they pleased.

The development of South America would have been much slower without the assistance of these foreign loans.

But long before 1929 social and political unheavals threatened the economic stability of one Latin American country after another, due in large measure to the propaganda of Soviet Russia. Rumblings were heard against domination by foreign investors. When the depression of 1929 followed South America was hard put to it, not only to service her foreign investments, but to pay for her imports. Foreign investors sought to protect themselves. In the United States they seemed to have no recourse against the repeated defaults. English investors, however, found a way out of the difficulty.

England had a so-called "unfavorable" trade balance; she was the greatest importing nation in the world. Her purchases of Latin American products were far in excess of her sales to those countries. This trade balance became the means by which English investors insured themselves against loss. In effect, England said to Latin America, "Before we pay your bill you must first service the debts you owe us." In other words, part of the merchandise sold by Latin America to England went to pay interest and rent to British capitalists and landlords. Only after these deduction was the balance made available to South America in the form of free sterling.

This policy was embodied in the Roca-Runciman agreement of 1933. It served primarily to protect English investors; but it also set a precedent for other countries. Germany began to withhold payments due on excess imports. She used these withheld payments to force other countries to buy German goods. The leaders of English destiny, feeling satisfied that they had protected their own interest, did not seem to mind. What was far more serious and even tragic was that they failed to realize that this coupon trading made it possible for impoverished Germany to secure raw materials from other countries with only stage money to pay for them.

Immediately the question arises:

Why should South America accept cigar coupons and stage money? The answer is simple: she couldn't get anything better. She had large surpluses of goods—coffee, meat, copper, wool—and had to sell them where she could, and for what she could get. Uncle Sam would take some of the coffee, not all of it; he erected tariff barriers against most of her other products, wouldn't allow them in his markets. England and Germany, on the other hand, would accept considerable quantities of her goods. Coupons were not the best thing, but they were better than nothing. She took the coupons.

Before 1933 lack of funds was the principal impediment to German industrial and military expansions, because without funds Germany could not possibly obtain the great stores of resources she needed. Even though the German people were willing to sacrifice all of their liberties, and work hard to the point of enslavement, living just on the margin of starvation, they could have accomplished nothing if this means of obtaining raw materials from beyond had not been dumped into their lap.

Not only did Germany copy the blocked currency technique; she improved upon it by allowing blocked-mark credits to be used only for a limited type of German goods. For such goods as Germany had always sold to Latin America, that is, for such monopoly products as certain dyes and chemicals, Germany insisted upon being paid, not with the blocked marks of which South America had ample stores, but only with dollars or sterling. In other words, she paid in coupons, but when she collected demanded money.

This last touch counteracted almost entirely any benefit which might have accrued to the United States through the reciprocal trade program. Because of this program we were able to buy more goods from the treaty countries, which meant more dollars for them. Ordinarily El Gaucho would have spent these dollars for American radios and refrigerators. Instead, he was compelled to render up these extra dollars to Hitler, who spent them, not for American manufactured articles, but for American raw materials. Italy, of course, was quick to imitate the example of her axis partner.

England still failed to take cognizance of the tremendous acceleration to German industry and armament which this method of exploiting weaker nations gave German totalitarianism. In their eagerness to protect their investments, the British overlooked the tremendous advantage which their scheme gave

to their potential enemy. England could have crippled Nazi militarism by abandoning block-currency trading and reverting to her traditional freedom of trade, under which all the nations of the earth gladly sent their goods to her. If she had offered free sterling in exchange, the pressure upon Latin America to accept coupons would have been much less and might have been successfully opposed. If both the United States and England had opened their markets to South America, totalitarianism would have died for lack of war materials to feed upon.

With the start of the present war, Germany and Italy were eliminated from trade in Latin America. England, however, continues to expand and intensify those methods of purchase by which she offers only company scrip in payment for El Gaucho's products. As a result, El Gaucho becomes poorer and poorer. He has plenty of coupons, but less real money which he can spend where he likes. Because of the volume of British purchases, he is becoming more dependent upon the British market. In the meantime, his surpluses increase like the guinea pigs in the fable, and his eagerness to dispose of them drives him still further into the economic quagmire.

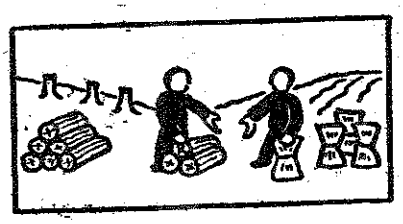
Never behindhand, Japan too has adopted the blocked-currency method of trading with South America. With Japan so serious a menace to British interests in the Far East, Britain's continued adherence to coupon trading assumes the stature of a colossal blunder. But for the ability to acquire resources and exchange by offering blocked yen, Japan, poor and exhausted from the China war, would have been unable to replenish her losses, as she now does, by acquiring for a pittance the resources of other countries. In other words, England is permitting the building up of a menace to her empire in the East, just as she permitted and even encouraged the building up of her chief rival in Europe.

Latin America faces the gloomy prospect of becoming an economic and political victim of both England and Japan, and being bled white between the two. Is it to the best interests of the English people to keep permanently impoverished the people of Latin America? Are the English people really fighting for freedom and democratic ideals, or are they fighting merely to maintain the power of special interests within their own borders—interests which are striving to maintain their power by keeping the people of Latin America, as well as their own, in permanent poverty and abasement?

In all this process, of course, the United States has been a partner. It has not wielded the dagger, but it has held the candle. Latin America's primary need is for markets. Uncle Sam has closed his gates. This has left El Gaucho at the mercy of the rest of the world—left him under the compulsion of poverty, forced to accept the terms of economic Shylocks, to submit to the depredations of commercial vampires. Such hope for the future as we can find in the dismal outlook shines dimly through the pall of American protectionism.

The good-neighbor policy promised much, but sooner or later Latin America must realize that it has been a ghastly sham. It would be unfair to lay all the blame for this at the door of the Administration in Washington; it is not through them, but rather through short-sighted and provincial legislators, that protectionism works. But while El Gaucho suffers, Uncle Sam suffers likewise. He too loses in the foreign market. The commercial war which British coupon trading is waging in South America is directed principally against him. The economic shackles which Britain seeks to bend around the ankles of El Gaucho must inevitably enclose the limbs of Uncle Sam as well, and eventually those of John Bull himself.

We can break the deadlock. We can open our gates to Latin American exporters and provide them with ample free dollar credits. With these honest dollars available, they will do what we would do—scornfully reject the cigar coupons. If El Gaucho were as big as we are, he might be able to force such a policy upon us. As it is, the responsibility is ours, the opportunity also. Between North and South America, there are potentialities for mutually profitable trade which have as yet been scarcely dreamed of. No hollow pretense at good neighborliness will realize them. But a true good neighborliness, which will serve them and ourselves as well, can break the deadlock and rescue El Gaucho from the domination of the cigar coupon.



"That Agrarian Philosophy"

In a paper read at the Ecological Section of the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1940, Bruce L. Melvin of the Works Projects Administration said in part:

". . . Cities hold a direct spatial relation to the land upon which they are built, and a direct economic relation to the hinterland from which they draw their men, women and raw resources. With respect to the first of these, the relation of the population of a city to the land on which the city is built, Henry George made the following poignant statement many years ago: 'Wherever you find land relatively low will you not find wages relatively high? And wherever land is high will you not find wages low? As land increases in value, poverty deepens and pauperism appears.'

"The accuracy of this generalization can undoubtedly be proved by recourse to the history of most any city in the United States. . .

"Perhaps Henry George was correct in insisting that many of the maladjustments in the cities, such as slums, poor housing, crime, poor health, etc., are a direct result of a wrong relation to the land. After all the cities have grown through the exploitation of land values; land in the city is considered only a commodity to be manipulated for profit. . ."

This paper appears in full in the April, 1941 issue of "School Science and Mathematics."

The Book Trail

STUDIES IN ECONOMIC WARFARE
By D. T. Jack
Chemical Publishing Co., $4.00

This book presents a compact array of data and figures on European countries which have been involved in war during the past 150 years. Dr. Jack emphasizes the importance to Britain of control of the seas, as a means both of attack and of defense.

One point, of particular interest at this time, is that Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia export in normal times more rye, barley and oats than Germany and Austria normally import. It would seem, then, that with her conquest of these countries Germany's condition is much improved. But Dr. Jack rejects the supposition that Germany can survive indefinitely without imports.

The book is rather dry reading, as indeed anything so crammed with facts is likely to be. More readable, however, is the earlier portion, which describes economic warfare in Napoleon's day. There is a motto in front—"Per bellum ad pacem" (through war to peace). We sincerely hope so.

GEORGE HANSEN

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JAPAN SINCE 1931
By Hugh Borton
Institute of Pacific Relations, $1.25
and
THE STRUGGLE FOR NORTH CHINA
By George E. Taylor
Institute of Pacific Relations, $2.00

These two books together make it somewhat easier to understand the events which led up to the present war. In order to grasp them fully, it is necessary to know something about the psychological factors which contribute to the make-up of the Oriental.

Professor Borton attempts to explain those factors which characterize the Japanese, factors which are almost as difficult to describe as to understand. He tells us that never before has Japan been so firmly united. In the present China campaign, he tells us, "all factions in Japan's political life have now come to realize that a war victory must be achieved, **at any cost.**"

The trend toward totalitarianism in Japan continues almost unchecked. Mr. Takao Saito, the only member of the Cabinet to voice his objections to the 1940-41 budget, was forced to resign. It does not seem probable that there will be any revival of even the forms of free government.

Professor Taylor bases his book on personal experiences in the course of his travels through China, and quotes conversations with leaders in both Japanese and Chinese governments. He deals mainly with the effect upon the Chinese of the Japanese occupying army, and with the social and political techniques used by the invaders.

LAURA BREST

* * *

HOW AMERICA LIVES

By J. C. Furnas
Henry Holt & Co., $3.00

This book might be subtitled "America's Sixteen Families." In it Mr. Furnas and the collaborating staff of the Ladies' Home Journal offer a record of contemporary American family life, as illustrated by sixteen specimens.

The specimens themselves are fairly diversified. There are the Wilsons, whose income is "over the edge of six figures" and the McMillins, with $7,000 a year; and there are families from the relief rolls and WPA. At the end of the scale opposite to the Wilsons are the Braceys of Mississippi, of whom Mr. Furnas says: "The Braceys remember wistfully the boom years of 1927 and 1928 when a sharecropper could make something out of his crop. 'Something' was $100 a year, the best to be hoped for working on half-shares, and it sounds like a fortune to them now. In 1939 Henry cleared $26 in cash. In view of his greatly increased family, the plantation owner is allotting him ten acres of cotton this year, which might double that figure—a staggering dollar a week."

"How America Lives" is well worth reading, but a word of caution: the 16 families it describes are not a random sample. They are not intended to be. Rather, each family is representative of its particular income bracket. Unless the reader keeps this in mind, he is likely to form an opinion about American economic life which errs on the rosy side.

Budgets are given for many of the families, and there is an appendix in which the findings are discussed and analyzed.

* * *

CONSTITUTIONAL CHAFF
By Jane Butzner (comp.)
Columbia University Press, $2.25

An exceedingly valuable work of reference. It gives the proposals which were made at the Convention of 1787 which drafted the United States Constitution, but which the delegates rejected. With each rejected suggestion is given some of the debate upon it. Most interesting to Georgist readers is the continual outcropping in the debates of the sentiment that only landowners should be allowed to govern.

* * *

THE FLOW OF BUSINESS FUNDS AND CONSUMER PURCHASING POWER
By Ruth Prince Mack
Columbia University Press, $3.75

A statistical study of the workings of the price system. Unquestionably a sincere effort to arrive at some sort of valid economic conclusion, it leaves unanswered the great question of modern economics: does any known method of statistical analysis, when applied to economic data, give results which have a meaning? and if so, what do they mean? Dr. Mack is skeptical about laissez-faire, and inclines rather to pump-priming theories.

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New Books Received

DOLLARS AND SENSE, by Edwin Trent. Kensington Press, $2.00.

AMERICA'S FACTORIES, by Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, 10c.

DEFENSE AND THE CONSUMER, by The Institute for Consumer Education. Public Affairs Committee, 10c.

FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC ISSUES IN NATIONAL DEFENSE, by Harold G. Moulton. The Brookings Institution, 25c.

MEN AND POLITICS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, by Louis Fischer. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $3.50.

THE MORNING OF AMERICA, by Frank J. Klingberg. D. Appleton-Century Co., $3.00.

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

Edited by LAURA BREST

Committee Announces Convention Plans Completed First International Conference This Summer

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Except for a few minor details, all the plans for the first international conference of the Henry George School of Social Science are now complete. The Convention Committee has arranged a comprehensive program which promises to justify the most optimistic hopes of its sponsors. At the present time a number of prominent authorities on sociological and economic subjects are being pledged to address the delegates.

No one interested in the success of the Georgist movement can afford to miss this meeting. It will probably be by far the biggest Georgist event of the year. Make your reservations NOW. Address all communications to Burt Levey, in care of the New York School, 30 East 29th Street. If you cannot attend in person, but can submit a paper to be read before the conference, get your manuscript in early. Even if you are tied down and can't come to New York, don't fail to take some part in this important meeting. Remember the dates—July 9, 10, 11 and 12.

The Committee members have asked for an opportunity to express their gratitude to all those who have helped them. Success has crowned their afforts to prepare an entertaining and instructive program, but they do not pretend that they alone should receive credit. Without encouragement they might have found their task only a weary round of dull conferences, disheartening interviews, and empty mailboxes. But encouragement has been forthcoming on all sides—volunteers for routine work, the promise of many papers by Georgists specializing in various economic and sociological fields, and, just as important, enthusiastic messages from all parts of the world expressing interest and promising cooperation. Such whole-hearted support as this could not fail to assure a successful program, and will with equal sureness make the July meeting an inspiring experience.

If you have not joined the ranks of cooperators with the Committee, don't delay doing so. No support is equal to 100 per cent support. Remember that the rising tide of Georgism is the only force that can lift humanity's freight of destiny off the rocks upon which it threatens to pound to pieces. You have a part in the job to be done; do it.

Movies at School

NEW YORK, N. Y.—On several evenings during April students at the Headquarters School were invited into the auditorium to see outstanding documentary films, including "The River," "The City," and "The Plough that Broke the Plains." The showings were arranged by William Newcomb to illustrate the use of motion pictures as a propaganda medium.

Mr. Newcomb is offering a short course in motion picture theory to prepare advanced students in the School for the task of aiding in research, writing, editing, and other tasks which may arise if the Georgist movement should ever decide upon motion picture promotion. The course, which started April 24, will follow the plan of a similar course taught by Mr. Newcomb in the public schools of Rochester, N. Y.

Newark Speaker at Belleville

NEWARK, N. J.—George C. Winne will address a meeting of the Rotary Club of Belleville, N. J., at luncheon on Wednesday, May 7, on the subject of international trade, according to Donald N. Richardson, Secretary of the Newark Speakers' Bureau.

Wisconsin Joins the Ranks

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—A new class in fundamental economics was organized in Milwaukee on April 21. The class meets at the Milwaukee School of Engineering, 1020 N. Broadway. Henry L. T. Tideman, director of the Chicago School, is the instructor, and makes the trip from Chicago and back each Monday evening.

Arrangements for the class were made by Miss Alice Momsen, Chicago graduate now living in Mukwonagom, Wis., with the cooperation of Oscar Werwath, president of the Milwaukee School of Engineering, and Klaus L. Hansen, pioneer Milwaukee Georgist.

Chicago Plans Lab Tour

CHICAGO, Ill.—An economist's bus tour of Chicago—Laboratory Lesson IX-A—is scheduled for Sunday afternoon, June 15. Bus fare will be 50c, with a Chinatown supper optional for an additional 50c.

Many opportunities exist in Chicago to point out the operation of economic laws. The "economist's tour" idea, which was tried out for the first time last fall, proved an excellent method for driving home basic truths by concrete illustration.

Speakers' Bureau Reports

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

April 14: Jacob Schwartzman in debate with August Claussens, American Labor Party, Washington Heights, N. Y.

April 18: Jacob Schwartzman at Friday Night Forum, 94 Greenwich Ave., New York City.

April 19: Emanuel Choper at Corn's Saturday Group, West 87th Street, New York City.

May 7: Henry A. Lowenberg at Continental Club Bibliotheque, West End Ave., New York City.

May 15: C. O. Steele at luncheon meeting of the Bronx Kiwanis Club, New York City.

New Boston Classes

BOSTON, Mass.—Three new advanced classes were opened during April. The first of these, in "Practical Economics and Teacher Training," met for the first time on the evening of April 4, with John S. Codman as instructor. These Friday evening classes are becoming very popular for the thorough review they afford of "Progress and Poverty."

The second new class convened on April 15 to study International Trade with Francis G. Goodale. The third, in "Science of Political Economy," was scheduled to begin on April 20. The class will meet at the office of Dr. Charles B. Morgan, and the instructor will be Reginald Zalles, formerly of the New York faculty.

There have been three new appointments to the Boston faculty: Ernest A. Calabro, Edward B. Fleming, and Herbert S. Good.

This makes a total of seven new advanced classes this season. Mrs. Grace M. Dahl has a course for training teacher-secretaries, Miss Vera Gough a class in Public Speaking, and there are two other classes on International Trade, led by Mr. Zalles and Mr. Bashian.

Credit for organizing the new Science class goes to Dr. Morgan and Aram Bashian.

First Vermont Graduates

ALSTEAD, N. H.—The first class of the Henry George School ever to be held in the State of Vermont has just completed the elementary course. This is the class which received a belated recognition in the April Freeman.

The class met in the Springfield, Vt. Community House, and the instructor was Heman Chase of Alstead, N. H.

Hartford Spring Session

HARTFORD, Conn.—The spring semester of the Hartford extension of the Henry George School was inaugurated during the week of April 14. Three new classes were organized.

This is the fourth year of classes in Hartford, and there are now over 400 graduates in the city.

The commencement exercises for students of the winter term were held on April 7. James McNally, president of the Hartford Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship, was master of ceremonies, and C. O. Steele of the New York faculty was guest speaker. Student speakers were Martin Roser, Henry Pawlicki, and Lewis O. Kinne. Mr. Kinne is a member of the Connecticut Legislature.

Certificates were awarded by Director Nathan Hillman.

Hillman Addresses Odd Fellows

HARTFORD, Conn.—Nathan Hillman, Director of the Hartford Extension of the Henry George School, addressed members of the Washington Lodge, I. O. O. F., at Weathersfield, Conn., at their meeting on April 4. The audience responded to Mr. Hillman's speech with great cordiality, and several enrolled in the new classes.

This address was arranged by Joseph Stannard, secretary of the Hartford Speakers' Bureau.

Mr. Hillman is scheduled to address the Hartford Chamber of Commerce on May 24, and will discuss the subject "How We Can Establish Prosperity After the Present War Boom."

Wallis at Kew Gardens

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Louis Wallis addressed the Town Hall Forum of Kew Gardens, Long Island, at a meeting held at the Jamaica Y. M. C. A. on April 6. The address was followed by a round-table discussion.

After the discussion, a vote was taken to determine the reaction of the audience to the proposals of Mr. Wallis. The vote was 3 to 1 in agreement. Mr. Wallis suggests that taking a vote after such meetings may have both educational and psychological value, and thus assist materially in the spread of Georgist ideas.

Mich. Homesteads Exhausted

LANSING, Mich.—The last free land in Michigan available for homesteading has been awarded to Theodore Wigren. The final deed, which was for 80 acres, was granted on February 8.

The homestead certificate was awarded in 1935. Mr. Wigren went upon the land with his wife and children, built a house and barn, dug a well, and cleared seven acres. He lost a thumb and two fingers during the five years of "proving up" but assured questioners that his land title was worth it.

New Classes in New Jersey

Elementary Classes

1. WEST NEW YORK, Memorial High School, Tuesdays
2. METUCHEN, Y.M.C.A., Wednesdays
3. MONTCLAIR, Y.M.C.A., Thursdays
4. ORANGE, Y.M.C.A., Mondays
5. IRVINGTON, Irvington High School, Mondays
6. NEWARK, Y.M.H.A., Tuesdays

Classes in International Trade

1. BLOOMFIELD, Public Library, Fridays (8)
2. DOVER, Y.M.C.A., Wednesdays
3. HACKENSACK, Y.M.C.A., Mondays (8)
4. KEARNY, Public Library, Tuesdays
5. MONTCLAIR, Y.M.C.A., Mondays (8)
6. NEW BRUNSWICK, Y.M.C.A., Thursdays (8)
7. NEWARK, 1 Clinton St., Mondays
8. PATERSON, Y.M.C.A., Tuesdays (8)
9. PINES LAKE, Home of Mr. Smith, Thursdays (8)
10. SUMMIT, Y.M.C.A., Mondays (8)
11. WESTWOOD, Public Library, Mondays

These classes were all started during April. They meet at 7:30 P.M., except those marked (8) which meet at 8 o'clock P.M.

Jersey Commencement News

NEWARK, N. J.—Plans for the forthcoming graduation dinner for Jersey students are now complete, according to Mrs. William Hildebrand, Jr., Chairman of the Graduation Committee.

Graduates of the winter term will gather at the Hamilton Restaurant, 760 Broad Street, Newark, at 7:00 P.M., Friday, April 25. They will be joined by members of previous classes, who will take the opportunity for a reunion and get-together. The charge for the dinner will be $1.00.

C. O. Steele, investment analyst, associate editor of **The Freeman**, and member of the New York faculty, will be the principal speaker. Mrs. Anna George de Mille will deliver the address of welcome, and George L. Rusby, dean of the New Jersey Extension, will discuss his method for inducing people to attend the School's classes. (Judging by results, the method is a good one.)

George C. Winne will be master of ceremonies.

Detroit Speakers' Bureau

DETROIT, Mich.—The High Schools of Detroit will be canvassed this spring by speakers from the Henry George School, according to Extension Secretary Palmer. Several High Schools have already been addressed.

Allan Brett recently addressed a meeting of the Property Management Division of the Detroit Real Estate Board.

By invitation of Dr. Jay J. Sherman, head of the Department of Government of Wayne University, Mr. Palmer addressed his special class in political economy.

Other speaking engagements were with the Highland Park Rotary Club, the Southeastern Exchange Club, and the Institute of Oakland County Teachers.

Chicago Club News

CHICAGO, Ill.—Mrs. Albert Enders was elected president of the Henry George Woman's Club of Chicago at the April meeting. Other officers elected were Mrs. Clyde Bassler, and Mrs. George Olcott, Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Amy Lewis, Recording Secretary; Miss Eileen Campbell, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Edward Goedde, Treasurer; and the Mmes. Siebenman, Watson, Ortis, and Brownell, Directors.

Preceding the election, interesting reports of the year's work were given by the officers and department chairmen. The business meeting was followed by a social hour, and refreshments were served; of these, the chef d'oeuvre was a birthday cake, made in honor of the Club's second anniversary.

Mrs. Edith Siebenman, the retiring president, has been elected Corresponding Secretary of the Ninth District Federation of Women's Clubs.

The members of the Chicago Club, in order to testify to their appreciation of the untiring services of Mrs. Siebenman during her two years as president, have undertaken the reforestation of an acre of state-owned land in her name. The success of the club was greatly aided by her services as president.

There will be two meetings of the Club during May. The business meeting, which will take place in the clubroom on the second Tuesday in May, is to be in the nature of an Institute, as it will be devoted to a discussion of program and policy during the coming year. A social meeting will be held on the evening of Saturday, May 17, at the home of one of the members; a program of entertainment is being arranged.

The Club will be represented at the State Convention of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, scheduled for the second week of May at the Sherman Hotel in Chicago.

Contest Winners Announced

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Jacob Rosen, of New York City, N. Y., has been awarded first prize of $50.00 for his entry in the Francis Neilson Letter Contest. Edward J. Marchese of Brooklyn was awarded second prize of $25.00.

Prizes of $5.00 each went to Miss Christine Kruse of Forest Hills, Mrs. Patricia G. Smith of Hartford, Conn., Miss Rita M. Swayne of Brooklyn, Mr. Harold Lebe of New York City, Mr. Edmund Ross Casey of College Point, Long Island, Miss Elsie Ballard of Astoria, Long Island, Mrs. Walter S. Koller of Dover, New Jersey, Mr. E. W. Penton of Fort Lee, New Jersey, Mrs. George R. Smith of Paterson, New Jersey, and Mr. Joseph R. Saunders of Chicago.

The prize of $25.00 for students of "Protection or Free Trade" was awarded to Mrs. Ada E. Shafer of Omaha, Nebraska.

The prize of $25.00 for students of "Democracy Versus Socialism" was awarded to Mr. Norman Ghinger of New York City.

No entries were received in the "Science of Political Economy" classification, and the prize was accordingly not awarded.

The judges were Lancaster Greene, Clyde Dart, Herbert Kanon, Gaston Haxo and Paul Peach; none of the judges except Mr. Peach was aware of the identity of the entrants, and Mr. Peach did not vote. Balloting was by a system similar to that used in P. R. elections.

New York Classes

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Following the new plan of starting classes each month, the Headquarters School opened a group of classes in Fundamental Economics and International Trade the week of April 7. This was the second monthly registration since the opening of the midyear term late in January.

The April enrollment of 200 brings the total figure for 1941 to 1800 and revives the School's most welcome problem—the shortage of classroom space. The students who began the 15-week course in January will finish in time to make room for the group beginning the week of May 19.

The May classes will meet on the summer schedule—just one session, from 7:30 to 9:30 P.M., Monday through Thursday.

Class At City College

NEW YORK, N. Y.—A class for the study of Henry George has been formed among the students of City College of New York, according to Leo Satz, a member of the sophomore class. Mr. Satz is founder of the Henry George Society at City College.

The class held its first meeting at 3:00 P. M. on Friday, March 28. Marshall de Angelis is the instructor. Professor Hastings is acting as Faculty Adviser.

Magazine Article Reprinted

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Considerable interest has been expressed in the article by Mr. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J., of St. Mary's College, which appeared in the February, 1941 issue of "The Catholic World." Mr. Fichter wrote under the title, "The Revival of Georgism."

In order that this article may have the widest possible circulation, the Henry George School has reprinted it in pamphlet form. Copies may be obtained by writing to the New York School; price, 5c for a single copy, postpaid; three copies for 10c.

Instructors, graduates and students are urged to assist in circulating this article, particularly among their friends of the Roman Catholic faith.

Freeman Artists' Club

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The fair sex crashes the Artists' Club this month. The illustration for Miss Kryder's article on Philippine independence is by Mildred Baldwin of Chicago. She wants part of the credit to go to her husband, who helped her by posing.

The article on Miss Buckmaster's book is illustrated by Sylvia Wiren of New York. Mrs. Wiren joined unofficially a month ago, as announced in the April Freeman.

The other illustrations are by John Monroe and Hubbell McBride. The present issue is the fourth in which Mr. McBride's work appears, and he may now be considered as an old timer.

The Freeman owes a debt of gratitude to those artists who contribute their drawings in order to make the magazine more attracive. Thety should be an inspiration and stimulus to all Georgist workers. In the meantime, we can use more artists. If you can draw, you can help us realize our goal of a new picture on every page.

Campaign in Boston

BOSTON, Mass.—As a reflection of the great enthusiasm which prevails in the Boston area can be cited the phenomenal accomplishment of our group of loyal volunteer workers. They put nine thousand pieces of direct-mail literature into the Post Office in two days. The necessity for doing this arose from a delay on the part of the printer. For an inexperienced group of workers, not geared up to a high rate of production, such an achievement is certain proof that the "impossible" can be done when the spirit wills it.

Registrations for the Spring classes are apparently lighter than for last winter, but final figures are not yet available. However, reports continue to come in from all around that the "quality" of the classes is far ahead of any in the past.

A call for funds for additional advertising and mailing met a generous response, and made it possible to balance the campaign budget.

New York Spring Commencement

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Students enrolled in February and March of the winter term will "commence" on the evening of Thursday, May 8 at the Engineering Auditorium (29 West 39 St.) at 8:15 p.m. A capacity crowd is expected for this double event as the occasion is to be a "home-coming" for previous graduates.

The School is fortunate in having secured as the principal speaker Rabbi Ira Eisenstein of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, whose topic will be "Education as Means and End." Anna George de Mille will address a welcome to the new graduates and Leon Arpin of the New York faculty will preside. Four students will give two minute speeches. This regular feature of the program has become a real drawing card with the addition of several advanced courses to the curriculum.

The Musical Arts Chorus, under the baton of Dr. John Warren Erb, will entertain with a few selections, after which all will adjourn to the recreation room where refreshments will be served. Reservations should be made as early as possible.

Chicago Teachers Meet

CHICAGO, Ill.—The spring term teachers' meeting of the Chicago Extension was held at headquarters, 64 W. Randolph Street, on April 12.

Plans were made for bringing the term successfully to a close with a series of regional re-unions throughout the Chicago area. A conference of regional leaders is set for April 26. Representatives of the current classes will meet June 7.

New additions to the teaching staff this term include Carl V. Baldwin, John A. De Vos, Ella Freeman, William C. Jerome, Helene Skorupa, and Mrs. E. L. Wilson.

The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

Editor: FRANK CHODOROV
Assistant Editor: PAUL PEACH
Associate Editors
C. O. Steele John Lawrence Monroe
Harry Gunnison Brown Laura Brest
Hubbell McBride Ami Mali Hicks
George Bringmann

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The Freeman does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed in signed or initialed contributions or statements in news reports, assuring the widest freedom of expression to its writers. Contributions consistent with the policy of The Freeman are welcomed; no payment is made, for the writers contribute their services as a living endowment to the cause for which The Freeman stands.

Objections Overruled

The following questions and answers on Georgist doctrines are selected from Louis F. Post's "The Taxation of Land Values," and edited to bring them up-to-date:

Q. If the value of land be destroyed by the Single Tax, would not justice require that land-owners be compensated?

A. No. Land is for the use of all, and rent is caused by the community. To legally vest land-ownership in less than the whole, excluding those to come as well as any that are here, is a moral crime against all the excluded. Therefore no government can make a perpetual title to land which is or can become morally binding. Neither can one generation vest the communal earnings of future generations in the heirs or assigns of particular persons by any morally valid title. This they attempt to do when they make grants of land. There is both divine justice and economic wisdom in the command that "the land shall not be sold in perpetuity." All titles to land are subject in the forum of morals to absolute divestment as soon as the people decide upon the change.

Q. Yes; but when the home place is parted with now, the home owner is compensated by the high price he gets.

A. Then your question does not turn upon the home sentiment but upon the dollar sentiment. As a matter of sentiment, the condition would be no worse in any case than now, and in many cases far better; as a matter of dollars, the question is one of justice and not of the home. Under the Single Tax any one who wanted a home could have it, and never be obliged to abandon one home for another unless such changes took place in the neighborhood as to make the place inappropriate for homes. He could not then, as he does now, play dog in the manger, saying to the community, "I will not use this place for appropriate purposes, nor will I allow any one else to do so." If the community felt that special hardship were involved, it could relieve it generously out of the land value fund.

Q. Under the Single Tax could employers cut wages to the starvation point?

A. No. Under the Single Tax employers would be constantly bidding for workmen, instead of workmen constantly bidding for employers as is the case now. It is the "oversupply" of labor that makes starvation wages possible, and the Single Tax would abolish that; not by reducing the supply of labor, the Malthusian idea, but by allowing effective demand for labor to increase freely

On the Margin

H. W. Noren of Pittsburgh writes to confirm and amplify some of the information presented in the April **Freeman.** This sort of thing is always welcome. If you know of a specific example of something mentioned in our columns, and can give us the facts, please do so. They will be useful for future articles.

Dorothy Sara and **Beatrice Singer** were in Washington (D.C.) Palm Sunday week end, and visited a meeting of the Women's Single Tax Club. They made speeches to the members about how to organize classes.

Every New York Georgist should remember Alaska Mac—**Donald McDonald,** civil engineer, who builds railroads and highways in the Arctic wilderness. He left New York for the frozen tundras last summer. But he is back south again, and is at present in the national capital on a mission from the Territorial Legislature.

Each month we lose a teacher in one way or another to the defense program. This time it is **Sandy Wise.** But Sandy had a break; he wasn't drafted. He got a job in an a-rcr-ft f-ct-ry. (Sorry we can't be more specific; the precise nature of Sandy's new occupation is a military secret.)

Old timers will miss **Jenny Myers** from the registrar's desk. Jenny was everybody's favorite, and we are all sorry that illness in her family made it necessary for her to leave. Her place has been taken by **Jessie Matteson.** Jessie and her husband, **A. C. Matteson, Jr.,** used to read all the proofs for **The Freeman** until they became commuters and started to organize classes in Jersey.

Another defection in the ranks of the New York School is **Virginia Lewis,** lately news editor of **The Freeman.** She got a job in Washington. We offered to double her salary if she'd stay, but she says she has to have money to live on. **The Freeman's** news pages will now be edited by the Bayonne Bonfire, **Laura Brest.**

Letters to The Editor

I was much interested to see in the April issue that someone asks, "If it is so good," etc. This is the question I asked in our little group last year. It was printed in the December number of our paper, **Our Common Wealth.**

There must be many reasons why George's philosophy has not been more widely accepted, but to the present time the only answers we have received have not been answered to the question, but rather statements telling us what the single tax is.

You are putting out a wonderful paper in **The Freeman;** the only objection I have is that there is too much good stuff in it every month!

R. S. Huntington, San Francisco

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Referring to the April **Freeman,** I take very strong issue with the reader who threw the "brickbat," as I feel that the articles are of absorbing interest and of high literary value. The artists who are cooperating with you are doing an excellent job.

Congratulations on the fight you are making to stem the totalitarian tide.

W. E. Clement
New Orleans

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I am altogether sold on the work of the School. I think you are doing the best work for the teaching of the philosophy that has ever been done. It cannot be explained in a speech, nor indeed in several speeches. It can only be learned by students who will actually work on the job. While the progress made by the schools may appear to be slow, still it is progress, real progress, and I know from long experience that while preaching has its uses the effects are very doubtful.

A. W. Roebuck
Member of Parliament
Ottawa

Who's Who in Georgism

Grace I. Colbron

Grace Isabel Colbron was born in New York City of old Knickerbocker stock, but lived for many years in Europe. Thoroughly American in spirit, her knowledge of several other languages and her experiences of life in other countries have broadened her sympathies and understanding of human nature, and added authority to her spoken or written words.

In her professional life Miss Colbron has had practical experience on the stage both in America and in Europe, and many years of literary work as critic of books or plays, translator, and writer of general articles and short stories for magazines. She was editor and chief translator for the German and Scandinavian section of the "World's Best Mystery and Detective Stories," published by the American Review of Reviews.

Miss Colbron is a member of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures. Before the war took her into other activities she lectured extensively on economic and literary subjects.

She became a convert to the Georgist movement many years ago, when Lawson Purdy opened her eyes to the injustice of economic conditions and pointed out the remedy in the teachings of Henry George. Until the war made it impossible, she retained contact with Georgists all over the world.

She says herself, "Having seen the light, the truth as taught by Henry George, I at once offered to serve in the way I could do best—that is, as a practised speaker, with a trained voice and the ability to face and hold an audience." She was for many years one of the leading speakers on the list of those sent out by the Henry George Lecture Association, founded and managed by the late F. H. Monroe. She was also a frequent contributor to Georgist literature.

No description of Grace Isabel Colbron would be complete if it did not mention her hobby: animals, especially cats. Her poem on "The Cat" has been highly admired. She is president of the Short Hair Cat Club.

Our picture is from a sketch by Miss Charlotte Schetter.

Miss Colbron is living at present in New York City.

Boston School Graduates

BOSTON, Mass.—Commencement exercises for students of the winter term were held on March 31, and were extremely successful. The attendance was nearly 300, which is better than double the number ever before attending a graduation. Graduates numbered 127, a new record for the Boston area.

Students Write Essays

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Members of the class of Herbert von Henningsen, at the Headquarters School, were given a test by their instructor at an April meeting. Each student was asked to write a short essay answering the question, "In what respects would a Georgist society differ from that of the present day?" Students were invited to discuss trade, monopoly, capitalism, labor unions, and so on, but were not required to confine their attention to these topics.

All the members of the class responded with well written and thoughtful essays. It may well be that Mr. von Henningsen has hit upon a device which will be of great teaching value. If any other teacher makes the experiment, he is requested to communicate his results to headquarters.

Chicago Speakers' Bureau

CHICAGO, Ill.—Mrs. Edith Siebenman, director of the Speakers' Bureau of the Henry George School in Chicago, reports the following engagements:

March 27: Frank Chodorov at the Civic Forum.

April 7: Henry L. T. Tideman at home forum of Sam Berg.

April 15: Edith Siebenman at the meeting of the Welfare Department of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs.

April 15 and 17: H. L. T. Tideman at the economics class of Central Y.M.C.A. College.

April 16 and 18: John Lawrence Monroe at the economics class of Central Y.M.C.A. College.

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

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

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P & P 2:5—"The First American Railroad" (158). The movement to abolish slavery was opposed on the ground that it was an attempt to destroy the sacred right of private property.

P & P 2:15—"Lard, Landlords, and Mutiny" (155). Show how in India, both before and after the Mutiny, rent was exacted from the ryot, to his impoverishment, and to the enrichment of non-producers. In order to point out that rent is not necessarily agricultural, refer back to "Fences in the Ocean" (132), and "Climax" (85).

P & P 3:22—"Lard, Landlords, and Mutiny" (155).

P & P 5:24—"That Agrarian Philosophy" (161).

P & P 6:29—"Lard, Landlords, and Mutiny" esp. bottom of first column, page 156.

P & P 6:28—"Wagner Theory Pays Off" (148).

P & P 6:33—News item, "Michigan Homesteads Exhausted" (164). The Homestead Acts in the United States mitigated the evils of poverty, but only to a degree.

P & P 8:18—"China Solves Assessment Problem" (147). It is frequently urged that the single tax would make it impossible to assess land, as it would have no selling value.

P & P 10:28—"Quezon's Quandary" (153). How much will the daily life of the average Filipino be changed when the Islands become independent?

P & F T: Any Lesson "Stage Money for El Gaucho" (159). There is hardly a question in the entire course on International Trade but can be profitably illustrated by reference to this article. Every teacher and student of the course should read it carefully.

P & F T 4:32—"Why Our Merchant Marine Vanished" (15).

P & F T 6:38—"Stage Money for El Gaucho" esp. last few paragraphs. This question, the last of the course, gives an excellent opportunity to discuss current events in the light of Georgist philosophy.