

The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

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Five Cents

GREAT PARLIAMENTARY CONSPIRACY

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Yet Another Great "Disillusionment"

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Labor's Capacity in War

Empires, monarchies, aristocracies — all forms of tyranny — are born of war and the war spirit. Democracy, on the other hand, is the child of peace, and can only grow and advance in times of peace. — Henry George in *The Standard*.

Yet Another Great 'Disillusionment'

ALMOST immediately after November 11, 1918, a period of national disillusionment set in. It lasted for about twenty years. During that time an avalanche of reportorial and analytical books, articles, lectures, plays, stories and moving pictures stressed the futility of war in general, the stupidity of the World War in particular. Researchers concluded that the war was not waged for the purpose of "saving democracy" but was caused by economic forces and was instigated by financial interests. Beginning with the senatorial debate on the League of Nations Covenant came a continuous torrent of logic based upon telling facts to prove that the "war to end all wars" was but a prelude to another, more destructive conflict.

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All these arguments, all those facts, all these appeals to reason have been completely wiped from our minds in recent months by a wave of emotionalism that is identical with that which swept us into the World War. The one who said that all we learn from history is that history teaches us nothing was a keen observer. So analogous are present appeals to fear and hate to such appeals made in 1916-1917 (later definitely proved to be purely propagandistic) that one is inclined, in spite of the seriousness of the situation, to cynicism. Even the same phraseology is being used.

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"After the Ball", a popular song of several decades ago, memorialized the heartaches that accompany the inevitable period of reflection that follows an emotional subsidence. Although we know how keen the heartaches will be, it is too early to indicate the line of thought that will prevail during the era of disillusionment. For the "Ball" has hardly started, the invitations are only now being mailed. The propaganda fiddlers are merely tuning up. The ball-room floor is yet to be lit up with the bright lights of hell. The dance of death may last for years. Only when the whirligig is over and the dancers have

gone home to rest will the investigators and the commentators reveal (again) why the whole affair was staged.

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But certain headlined events of the past few weeks may indicate the line of thought which future historians will take. For months now we have been whipped into a white heat on the menace of Hitlerism. Suddenly the force of events turns our attention to the Far East. A new bete noir, Japan, appears on the horizon. An embargo is put on scrap iron and steel by the United States; then an alliance is consummated between Japan, Germany and Italy, and something is said about the United States Navy using the British base at Singapore. And all through the news accounts ring the prosaic words "tin" and "rubber."

Can it be that we are going to war over these products—and not because of any world-wide "moral duty"? Is it possible that American "interests" in the British-controlled cartels which own the sources of these products are at the bottom of the recrudescence incentive to war? Cartels! That may be the magic word our future historians and economists will discover when they open the Pandora box of this war. Perhaps their books will tell how the struggle was not between totalitarianism and democracy, but between German, Japanese, Dutch, American and British groups seeking to retain or wrest control of these world monopolies.

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And perhaps if their investigations do not stop at superficialities, they may point out that no matter who controls these cartels the workers who use tin and rubber pay the same monopoly price. The cartel owners, of all nationalities, are not concerned with merely owning the sources of supply, but also with the profits derived from selling the products. And all cartel owners are alike in this: they exact all the traffic will bear. They cannot get more. That is why they will doubtless share in the next Great Disillusionment.

Come On In, Canada

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH GUESSWORK as to the relationship of Canada and the United States in the event of a successful invasion of England by the Germans. The appointment by President Roosevelt of a commission to consult with a Canadian commission on a plan for the common defense of the two countries has taken the problem out of the field of speculation. The necessity or possibility of annexation by the United States is now a matter of immediate concern.

As every American schoolboy knows, the idea that Canada should be part of our country is as old as our country. There have been advocates of annexation on the Canadian side (when England attempted to intervene in Dominion commerce or customs), and the War of 1812 was largely instigated by land-hungry expansionists in the States. With the raising of high tariff barriers by both countries talk of annexation subsided, for protectionism is synonymous with isolationism.

Whatever happens to the fortunes of the British Empire, there is absolutely no necessity for political union between Canada and the United States. If we think in terms of people, not in nationalistic terms, there are good reasons for political separation.

In Quebec, for instance, where eighty percent of the population is French Catholic, application of our legal provision for non-religious public schools would result in violent resentment; the bi-lingual practice in that province, which England has wisely recognized, would jar our sensitivities. Cultural habits and traditions are emotional possessions which become endeared to a people, and friction is bound to occur when they are transgressed.

But an economic union with Canada, without which political union is unthinkable, is possible without interfering with the *mores* of either people, without constitutional changes, without contention. Since annexation necessarily involves statehood for Canadian provinces, and since statehood under our Constitution implies free trade, why not establish free trade without involving ourselves, or Canadians, in a difficult cultural rearrangement?

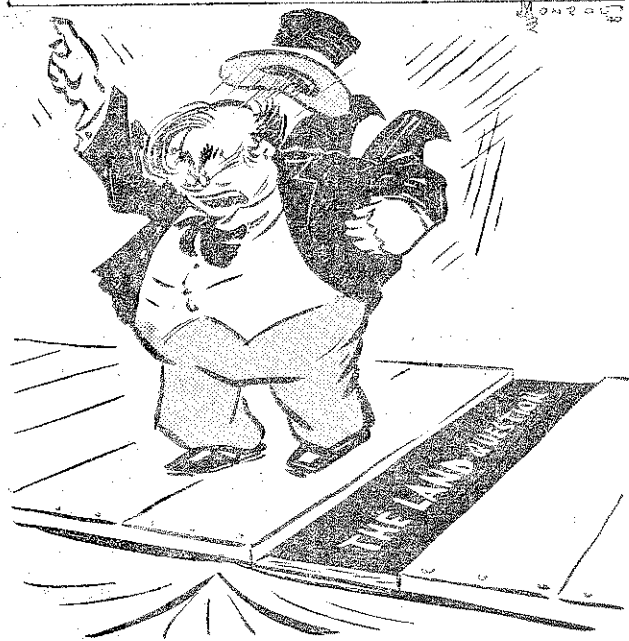
Why not? Because protectionists on both sides, very frequently the same persons or corporations, are opposed to an arrangement although it would help both countries. General Motors, for instance, would fight such a proposition. The corporation maintains factories on both sides of the border. Canadians pay a price for a car exactly equivalent to the price of the same car in the United States *plus*

the tariff. If the price were higher the car would be imported; if it were lower—but why should G. M. lose the gift profit?

American farmers who have to subsist on AAA gratuities would oppose it because they *think* competition from Canadian wheat would hurt them. Fifty percent of our farmers are tenants, and of the balance most are so heavily mortgaged that their condition is economically no better than that of tenants. Whatever advantage comes from protectionism accrues to the landowners and mortgage holders—banks and insurance companies. Farmers are laborers, and laborers always pay the tariff; they get no benefit from it. If Canadian land can produce better or cheaper wheat than ours can, not only will we as wheat eaters profit thereby, but Canadians will also be able to buy more of our products; and American farm boys, instead of being "surplus population," will produce things Canadians want.

The free exchange of goods and the free entry of salesmen and tourists will have the effect of breaking down false cultural barriers, will result in that free exchange of ideas which makes all people one. Eleven million Canadian customers mean eleven million friends. Friends have no difficulty in uniting for mutual defense when danger comes.

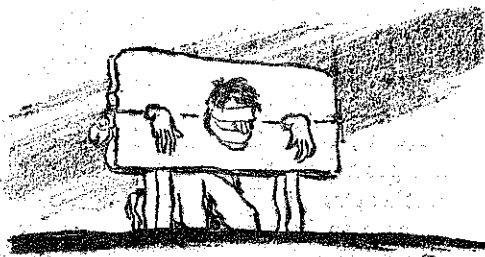
The Void in the Party Platforms



Let's Muzzle All of Them

THE HATCH ACT, acknowledging the inclination of bureaucracy to perpetuate its power and its emoluments, attempts to diminish this danger to democracy by barring Federal employees (below "policy making" grade) from participation in politics. Included in the proscription are those whose income is partially derived from Federal funds.

It is reported that one out of every six citizens in the United States either is on the payroll or re-



ceives support from government disposal of taxes. The new conscript army will increase the number of those who technically come under the spirit of the Hatch Act. If we include supply contractors and their employees, since they all derive their income from taxation rather than from production, it is obvious that the number of those whose interest in politics is pecuniary will soon embrace the larger part of the population.

This is inevitable. The unsolved problem of poverty necessarily results in a centralization of power. Economic maladjustment creates mass fear; the populace, completely ignorant of causes, rushes to its equally ignorant but more cunning politicians for help, and the politicians, whether maliciously or from a false sense of destiny, take advantage of such mass resignation to entrench themselves in the power thus thrust upon them. Taxation is the grinding stone and a large class of citizens, dependent for their livelihood on the grist, create the bureaucratic mill.

No Hatch Act can stop or even delay the process. The rise of a dominant ruling class and the consequent growth of a class of dependents can be obviated only by removing the cause of poverty; and that will be found in the field of political economy, not in politics. The failure to apply ourselves to this economic problem has not only resulted in the "dirty politics" which legislative acts have failed to clean up, but also in creating conditions which point to a greater centralization of power and a dependence of the people on the whim of bureaucracy.

Just how the cunning hand of Statism lays hold of our democratic idea of life is shown by a recent decision of the United States Civil Service Com-

mission, an enforcing agency for the Hatch Act, that this law applies to the faculties of land-grant colleges. So subsidized by the nation are sixty-eight educational institutions, like the University of California, which applied for a ruling on whether its teachers are permitted to engage in politics. The faculties of these institutions may vote, but they may not plump for any political party. Theoretically they may not express their political opinions in public nor in their classrooms. Since their salaries come from a public endowment it is assumed that their opinions may not be unbiased.

Now, when the government subsidizes a button factory, should not the same inhibition apply to the button-makers? Does not the remuneration of the button-makers come from the same source as that of the professors in these sixty-eight colleges? The janitor in the button factory should not suffer discrimination as compared with the university president. Both should be muzzled.

Our mail carriers—railroads, airplanes and steamships—are subsidized. All periodicals enjoying second class mail privileges are subsidized. Farmers and land owners (including banks and insurance companies) receiving AAA bounties are subsidized. Veterans are subsidized. Many hospitals and scientific institutions are subsidized. The millions of people who through direct or indirect subsidization derive all or part of their sustenance from the public larder should, if the decision in the University of California case is logically extended, be estopped from any political effort, save perhaps that of voting.

In time this will come about. It will not be brought about by the bureaucrats. A hungry people loses all sense of dignity; a fearful people becomes depraved. Clamoring for help from a decaying economy it will heap upon the politician all the power he demands as necessary for its relief; it will force him to become the master of a slave people.

No Hatch Act can save democracy.

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War Effort Discloses Labor's Capacity

THE COST OF THE WAR to England is reported to be about \$60,000,000 a day—approximately \$1.50 per person. Statisticians assert that the national budget has been tripled by the expenses of war.

Assuming that the purchasing power of the coinage unit is equivalent to that of pre-war times, this tremendous increase in expenditures indicates a corresponding increase in the productive capacity of the nation. True, the making of war materials has been accompanied by some curtailment of consumers' goods, partly because of rationing, partly because mounting taxes have diminished demand. On the other hand, the necessity of building up foreign credits for the purchase of war materials, as well as consumers' goods, has undoubtedly stimulated England's production. The accent on speeding up and on longer working days must bring results.

It would be impossible at the present time to make a statistical comparison between present and pre-war production in England, one that would take into consideration fluctuations of the measuring instrument (price), as well as the offset of a diminishing quantity of consumers' goods. Common sense and the meager available facts indicate, however, that production has been vastly accelerated. In all probability the consumption of necessities has not decreased at all; men who work and fight hard must eat in proportion. Only luxuries, or non-essentials, are being neglected.

Which means that England has a capacity (as has every other country) far in excess of its known peace-time production. Privilege, which exacts a large share of the wealth produced by labor and capital, has not been abolished. But, when the community is faced with danger the tendency is to disregard law-given prerogatives; indeed, the privileged class, sharing the common fear, are prone to let up on their "rights" during an emergency. For instance, land which has been sacredly preserved for purposes of pleasure or ostentation is being put to use. The restrictions on production imposed by patent monopolies have been broken through for war materials. It must be remembered that imported war materials are free from tariffs, which means that a dollar's worth of such "free" imports represents more production than an amount of goods costing one dollar with duty included. The final proof that production is advancing is the fact that rent is advancing; this correlation of rent and production is the Q.E.D.

This increased production is going on now. Every item used for the war, for the maintenance of capi-

tal or the sustenance of the people, is the result of the day-to-day exertion of labor. From the past the government has accumulated claims on present production, but claims cannot be loaded into cannon. Future British citizens will have to pay to future British citizens on claims originating now. Yet, neither past nor future British citizens can contribute a single sandwich or bullet to the current event. Labor now being exerted is doing the whole thing.

British labor is daily producing all that it needs



for life in addition to the \$60,000,000 a day which the war is consuming. It will be called on to produce more as the war progresses, and it will meet the call. At the same time a goodly portion of the most capable labor is engaged in destroying what other workers are making. Furthermore, the increased output continues in spite of the interference from German bombers and submarines. How those British laborers can turn out products when they have an opportunity and a stimulant!

They could do it in peace-time too. But in peace-time the opportunity is refused to them, and the stimulant of property in the things they produce is denied to them, through monopoly exactions and taxation. Rid labor of the robbery of monopoly and of taxes, give it access to the land on which it must work, and the imagination is staggered by the picture of the productive capacity of labor which war suggests. And inevitably the thought arises that labor so freed would abhor war.

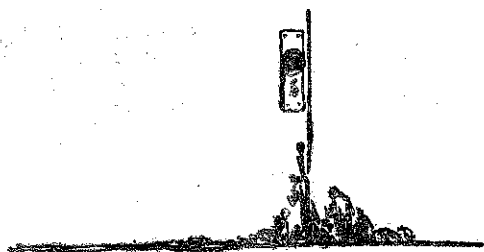
Who Collects Rent on Mars?

"LIFE ON OTHER WORLDS"—an astronomical book—says that colorings on the planet Mars suggest seasonal changes; green in summer, brown in winter. This would indicate the existence of vegetation and, therefore, life. Perhaps further investigation will reveal conflagrations such as accompany wars on Earth; this would be conclusive proof that Mars is divided among landowners.

The Landlords Heil Hitler

A FEW WEEKS AGO the news agencies wired a story out of Chicago about "real estate racketeering." According to this story, the unemployed have been paying a large portion of their relief income as rents and cutting down on their food. The administrators of the food stamp plan (\$1,000,000 a month for about 200,000 persons, or about \$5 a month for each) hope to stop this diversion of food money for rent, for the food stamps apparently cannot be redeemed in cash.

Maybe. But evictions follow non-payment of rent, and people must have a place to sleep as well as something to eat. The only solution the political experts can think of is a "thorough investigation of real estate shysters." Yet the law of rent un-



doubtedly works in lawless Chicago as well as in other parts of the world, and the suspicion remains that somehow the hand-outs from Washington will reach the landlords' pockets. They always do.

Now comes a story from London telling of the aid and comfort given to British landlords by their arch-enemy Hitler. It is the story of the "refugee rent racket" in which London's homeless in their flight to rural areas are being gouged by the landlords. Country hotels are putting four and five persons into a room suited for two, and doubling the rates. At Oxford, for instance, to which thousands of Londoners have migrated, the chief constable reported that one landlord was asking \$24 a week for two rooms. Owners of empty houses are attempting to force sales of their properties by refusing to rent.

Malcolm Macdonald, Minister of Health, follows the pattern of political thinking that prevails in Chicago and threatens the profiteering landlords with fines. But nothing he can do or say will prevent the law of rent from operating.

Any neophyte in economics might think of freeing the vast vacant areas of land and permitting the homeless in Chicago or in England to put up huts or other temporary quarters as a solution of the

"rent" problem. But there are no neophytes in London or in Washington; there are only experts.

* * *

Addendum: As we go to press, a significant item from the Liverpool Daily Post (England) comes to hand. The Liverpool municipal cemeteries, covering 668 acres, represent a cost of about \$900,000. With an acre of burial plots costing about \$1,350, some landowners have evidently been doing a good trade in death. They are cashing in on the war.

The Profiteers of Every War

THE FOLLOWING Associated Press dispatch needs no editorial interpretation:

"Estimating that land speculators had cost it nearly \$500,000 in two months, the War Department inaugurated a new purchasing policy today to enlist public opinion against profiteering on defense factory sites.

"The \$500,000 'take', an official said, was on the land for the only seven plants for which contracts thus far have been signed. The plants, valued at \$111,000,000, will be privately built and operated, but government-financed and owned.

"With more than \$500,000,000 yet to spend on increasing production facilities for munitions and planes, the department has feared continued operations of the speculators eventually would chisel a multi-million-dollar slice from the funds.

"In the future, a spokesman said, locations of army-financed factories will be announced as soon as selected, with the hope that public announcement will forestall scalpers.

"The first such announcement was that 13,000 acres would be purchased near Union Center, Ind., for an ammunition loading plant.

"In the past efforts were made to keep plant locations secret, but invariably the news has leaked out. Congressmen, officials and civic organizations, eager to report good business news for their communities, often disclosed locations prematurely.

"Department agents usually found that speculators, running before them, had taken options on likely plant sites and raised the price, an army official disclosed. Not only the government, but the actual property owners would lose on the deal."

We cannot refrain from harboring the thought that among the speculators are the self-same zealous government officials, and that the War Department's scheme to avoid looting of the public till by these speculators will fail.

A Hillman Knows His Freedom

"WE PAY NO TAXES. We never have, nor do we see why we should until the government is of use to us. We have supported ourselves for generations and can still do so. Nor will our men work on the roads."

This may sound strange to American ears of the present generation. It seems reminiscent of that America which prevailed at a time which is fast becoming ancient. But the quotation, for which we are indebted to *The Manchester Guardian*, is credited to an Albanian, a chieftain of the Catholic Mirditti, who voiced this simple affirmation of liberty at the time King Zog was trying to impose the Italian brand of Statism on the hillmen.

Light on this people, who "pay no taxes," is focused by the recent report, denied by Rome, that they had attacked Italians attempting to conscript their men for military service. Why these Albanians who offered no resistance to the Italian invasion on Good Friday, 1939, should now kill them is understandable when one remembers that King Zog's army was Italian officered and trained. The Albanian Army was an Italian Army. The Albanians recognized in King Zog's regime the same restrictions on their liberty which Mussolini exercised across the Adriatic. Neither government was of any use to them. A change of personnel or of flags did not portend greater freedom to *support themselves*.

The scuffle with the Italians was over military service. And yet these Albanians are far from being a pacifist people. In the eighteenth century an English traveller wrote thus of a military review: "The troops which struck us most in this assemblage were the Mirditti, the bravest of all the tribes settled in Albania, who wear the red shawl . . . and can arm 10,000 men against an invading enemy."

A free people will not be conscripted—but they will fight for their freedom.

Blocked Dollars To The Argentine

IN SEPTEMBER our newspapers headlined the startling news that Argentina, by suspending applications for outgoing dollar-exchange permits, had imposed a blockade on all United States products. Last month the embargo was lifted. Washington, so it is reported, was negotiating a reciprocal agreement with Buenos Aires on foreign exchange.

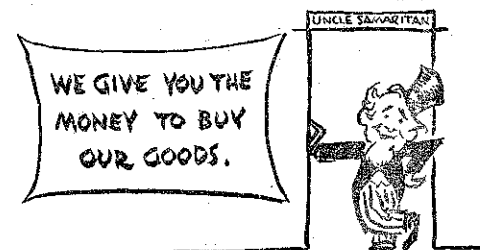
This seems to be what happened:

Its shipments to Europe having dwindled to the vanishing point, Argentina had no money (foreign exchange) to pay for its imports from the United States. Payment could be made with Argentina

products, but these were barred here on the theory that the United States would be more prosperous by shipping goods out of the country and poorer by bringing goods in.

Argentina needs our machinery, newsprint, oil and what-not, but because of our tariffs and her lack of dollars she found that the only way to get these things from us would be by depleting her gold reserve. Since that would weaken her financial structure she decided not to buy our goods.

But we want to sell to Argentina. So, we arrange to give her dollars with which to buy our goods. Not exactly a gift. The euphemism is that



a loan is made through Export-Import Bank (which last month received from our government a half billion dollars to lend to South American countries to build up their industries so that they won't have to buy from us). With our dollars on hand or in sight, Argentina gladly lifted the blockade against us.

Meanwhile, we meat and bread eaters here pay more for the "vittles" we buy from our protected beef and wheat farmers, who become richer by furnishing through taxation the dollars sent to Argentina.

The hand is quicker than the eye.

FTC - Works While You Sleep

THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION is one of the increasingly numerous governmental agencies for protecting us fools from our follies.

Among our major follies is eating such foods and living in such ways as to bring about constipation. A Texas entrepreneur comes to our rescue by bottling and selling crystals, taken from a well on his land, which have purgative qualities. To encourage us to buy his crystals, this well-owner and well-wisher claims for them therapeutic qualities which the F.T.C. disputes. In fact, the F.T.C. asserts that the entrepreneur lies when he says his crystals will cure about fifty diseases, and, to prevent our being hoodwinked, proceeds to restrain the deceiver.

Now the owner of the crystal business, Hall Collins by name, recently made an anti-New Deal, anti-Third Term keynote speech before the Texas Dem-

ocratic State Convention and also helped to defeat a pro-administration Congressman. Some people see a causal relationship between the protective activities of the F.T.C. and the political point of view of the purgative purveyor. Whether there is or not, there can be. That is, the power to do things for the people necessarily involves the power to do things to them.

Labor and the Brass Hats

THERE CANNOT BE a healthy society so long as those who produce, mentally and physically, are restrained from producing or are deprived of the fruits of their labor.

There cannot be a healthy society, that is to say, until all forms of privilege are abolished.

The fact that a privilege-seeking group is itself the victim of other privileged groups does not alter the principle. Despite our emotional bias for the "under dog" we must not forget that the cure is not in granting a new privilege, but in abolishing all privileges.

Organized labor—a small fraction of the total number of workers in the country—has obtained for itself special privilege in the Wagner labor legislation and in the enforcing bureaucracy, the National Labor Relations Board.

Last month this special privilege came into conflict with national defense plans. Among companies which had armament contracts in hand or in prospect were some which the NLRB had adjudged violators of fair labor practice under the Wagner Act. Sidney Hillman, labor member of the Defense Commission, asked Attorney General Robert Jackson for an informal opinion on the status of such concerns. Mr. Jackson held that companies should await action of the courts on the NLRB decisions.

But the facilities of the companies were essential to the defense program and spokesmen for the Army, the Navy and the Defense Commission declared that defense was the first consideration in awarding contracts. Both Mr. Jackson and Mr. Hillman acceded to this point of view and the pressure from union labor was restrained. Privilege here confronted the power of government—the source of all privilege—and the greater force won.

But the danger to privileged labor is obvious. The present issue has not been resolved, probably because any decision adverse to labor might affect

the outcome of the presidential election. But, how will such issues be handled when we are at war?

Boom in the District of Calamity

THE POPULATION of the United States shows a 7% increase during the last ten years. But Washington, D. C., reports 36% more residents in its metropolitan area in 1940 than in 1930.

There is a causal relationship of deep social significance in these figures. While such production centers as Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Boston, San Francisco and Cleveland shrunk, while Buffalo remained fixed, and the great industrial city of Detroit rose a mere 2%, the one city in which wealth in no form is produced, which is neither a mart of exchange nor a center of culture, the destruction of which would affect the wealth of the country only to the extent of the intrinsic value of its bricks and mortar, the one city in which all the inhabitants live directly or indirectly on tax exactions grew very much fatter.

This phenomenon took place during ten years of depression. The trek to the vicinity of public treasury synchronized with the exodus from factories and offices. The District of Columbia itself is merely a symbol of a social movement. To its increasing army of non-producers must be added other millions throughout the nation who have become public wards, either as dole receivers or dole dispensers, in order that the meaning of Washington may become clear.

As the struggle for existence becomes too one-sided in favor of defeat, the frustrated and hopeless masses seek sustenance at any price, even that of human degradation. Lest their desperation result in a violent uprooting of the social order which has brought about their abject poverty as well as the opulence of those who benefit by its continuance, a system of public charity (since freedom is unthought of) must be provided. And an army of officials, in no way productive of either goods or services, merely glorified charity receivers, is the mechanism for shoring up this crumbling social order.

But a social order based on a continuing condition of poverty must disintegrate. Its cancerous condition cannot be denied. A nation of beggars is a nation without virility; the hand of death is upon it. There is no surer sign of its decline than the very growth of Washington.

To Abolish War Make Peace Profitable.

The Great Parliamentary Conspiracy

By FRANCIS NEILSON

There was no such thing as a poor law in England until the people were driven away from the lands to make room for the sheep. A commission of the year 1517 reports wholesale depopulation, owing to the break-up of the villages and the spread of sheep-farming. An act of Parliament of the time refers to "greedy and covetous people who accumulate in their hands such great portions of the lands of the realm from the occupying of the poor husbandman, because of the great profit that cometh from sheep". Poor law legislation was enacted in the days of Elizabeth as a means of coping with the evils of poverty. Is it a mere coincidence that legislation against "cutthroats, thieves, and vagrants" was enacted about the time it was found necessary to introduce palliative measures dealing with the poor?

Though there were short periods after the time of Elizabeth when the people enjoyed comparative abundance, economic principles saw their best days before the time of the Tudors. In what has been called the Golden Age, a peasant could earn enough in fifteen weeks' work to keep himself, wife and children in food for a year. We do know that even the serfs under the feudal system held from twenty to twenty-four acres of land and a hut for which they paid little or nothing in rent: a half-penny per annum or a day's service in spring or at harvest. We know from the records of an Oxford College that in the Middle Ages seven men and horses had food and lodging for twenty-seven cents a day. A glance at Thorold Rogers' "Six Centuries of Work and Wages" will convince anybody that with all our boasted civilization we do not begin to compare with the long ago for high wage and short hours.

In 1351 the first Statute of Laborers was imposed upon the people. Under the provisions of this detestable act unemployment was made a penal offence; every employer was given the right to demand the labor

"There are two fundamentally opposed means whereby man, requiring sustenance, is impelled to obtain the necessary means for satisfying his desires. These are work and robbery, one's own labor and the forcible appropriation of the labor of others . . . I propose in the following discussion to call one's own labor and the equivalent exchange of one's own labor for the labor of others, the 'economic means' for the satisfaction of needs, while the unrequited appropriation of the labor of others will be called the 'political means.'—Franz Oppenheimer, THE STATE

of any unemployed man. For the first time in Britain an act of Parliament fixed wages and hours. The laborer was forbidden to leave his parish in search of better paid employment, on pain of imprisonment and outlawry. The peasantry rose in revolt.

Then in 1360 there came one who preached what seemed, to the ruling class, to be a new doctrine. John Ball, "a mad priest of Kent," as Froissart calls him, preached his strange sermons on equal rights and opportunities for twenty years in the Kentish churchyards, where the stout yeomen gathered to hear him, in defiance of interdict and imprisonment. The peasant revolt of Ball's day is one of the most interesting uprisings of labor that is recorded.

The conflict went on for centuries. One hundred years later Hugh Latimer, one of the noblest characters in English history, tells us in one of his sermons that his "father was a yeoman and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds a year at the utmost, and hereupon he tilled as much as kept half a dozen men. He had walked for one hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He kept me to school; or else I had not been able to preach before the King's Majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds, or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and the fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neigh-

bors, and some alms he gave to the poor." That is how it was when Bishop Latimer was a boy. When he became a man the old farm had passed to a new tenant and so great was the economic change in that short time that Latimer tells us the new tenant "is not able to do anything for his prince, nor for his children, nor give a cup of drink to the poor."

The reign of Henry VIII yields us information which is indispensable to an understanding of economic change. The spoliation of the abbeys is undoubtedly the first chapter of the story of the monopolization of natural resources in England. Some of the greatest land-owning families rose from obscurity through the enormous grants of church lands made by Henry VIII. It was in his reign that a commission was appointed, in 1517, to inquire into the question of enclosing land by force, but it was not until the time of Queen Anne that enclosure of land was legalized by Parliament. From that time on until this day the economic woe of the people has dogged the heels of every British statesman.

According to the estimate of Froude, the historian, Ministers of the Crown and their friends had appropriated estates worth in modern currency about five million sterling, and divided them among themselves; yet it was about this time an act was passed by Parliament against "idleness and vagabondrie." The Act states that "idleness and vagabondrie is the mother and root of all thefts, robberies, and all evil acts and other mischiefs." In this phrase we notice how far Parliament had departed from its tradition and procedure.

I wish to point out the way this act is worded and drawn up, because it marks the beginning of the great conspiracy of the ruling class against the English people, by legislation. For a long period before this enactment many attempts had been made to use the political

means—legislation—to the full in the landlord's interest to enslave the people; but, despite the Statute of Laborers, and the revolts of the peasants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was not shown until now to be a full-fledged political conspiracy of a Parliament of landlords determined to wrest all common land from the people and enclose and add it to their estates. They saw that so long as the serfs were free to use the common fields and wastes, wages must be high and prices low. So long as peasants had an alternative they would not enter the labor market and compete with one another for jobs and depress wages. This consciousness of the economic power of labor over landlords, so long as the peasants were free to use the land, is most noticeable in the uprisings of the middle of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1549 we see the nobles in strife with the Lord Protector, Somerset. The King and Somerset had striven to avert the dangers of rebellion. Green says:

"The agrarian discontent, now heightened by economic changes, woke again in the general disorder. Twenty thousand men gathered round the 'oak of Reformation' near Norwich and, repulsing the royal troops in a desperate engagement renewed the old cries for the removal of evil counsellors, a prohibition of enclosures, and redress for the grievances of the poor. Revolt was stamped out in blood; but the weakness which the Protector had shown in presence of the danger, his tampering with popular demands, and the anger of the nobles at his resolve to enforce the laws against enclosures and evictions, ended in his fall."

Although Sir Thomas More, Gilpin and others realized there was a conspiracy afoot to deprive the peasant of his natural rights, it is, however, to Thorold Rogers, Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, that we owe a great debt for clearly indicating the conspiracy in his minute and masterly work, entitled, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages." He says:

"I contend that from 1563 to 1824 a conspiracy, concocted by the law and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty. For more than two centuries and a half the English law, and those who

administered the law, were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping down every oppression or act which indicated any organized discontent, and in multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural rights."

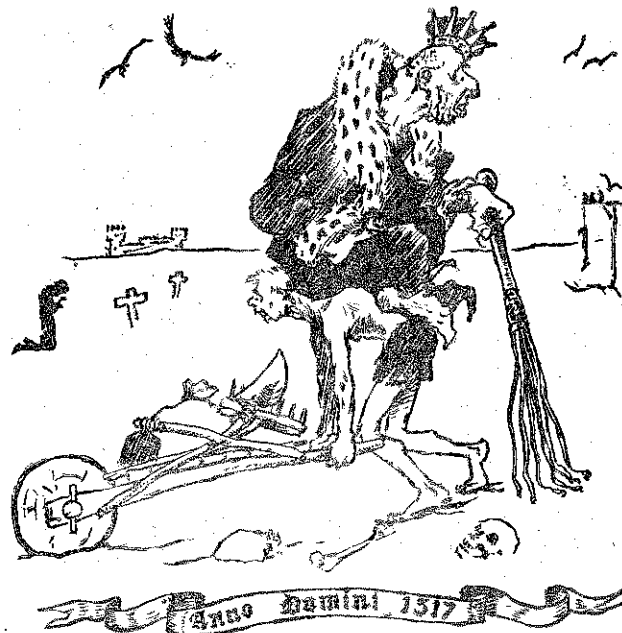
Here Rogers has put the case clearly. He leaves no doubt as to methods the political means used to exploit the economic means. It was the use of force and restrictive legislation which reduced the English laborer to "irremediable poverty." The legislative and administrative departments worked together to do this wrong. The Act against "idleness and vagabondrie" shows how desperately the political means were used to disinherit and degrade the peasants. The Act states "that if any man or woman, able to work, should refuse to labor, and live idly for three days, that he or she should be branded with a red hot iron on the breast with the letter V and be adjudged a slave for two years, of any person who should inform against such idler." Then it goes on to direct the master to feed his slave with bread and water and such refuse meat as he should think proper, "and to cause his slave to work by beating, chaining or otherwise, in such work, however vile it be, as he should put him unto."

Employers were empowered to sell, bequeath or let out on hire the ser-

vices of their slaves. Furthermore, the act permitted employers, "to put a ring of iron about the neck, arm or leg of the slaves." If a slave ran away from his master for fourteen days, he was to be branded on the cheek, and became a slave for life. Magistrates had power given them "to look out for persons who had been idle for three days, brand them with a V on the breast, and to send them to the place of their birth, there to be kept in chains or otherwise, in amending highways or other service."

During Elizabeth's reign there was some reform and a slight attempt to force landlords back to tillage and employ more laborers upon the land. An act was passed ordering those in rural districts not "to build any manner of cottage or dwelling unless the same person do assign and lay to the same cottage or building four acres of ground at the least. Any one building a cottage without this provision shall be fined forty shillings for every month the cottage is so continued."

In Elizabeth's time many of the people of the European countries sought in England a refuge from religious tyranny, and introduced arts and crafts to the people of their new home. This industrial change marks the beginning of a new epoch



By Charles Johnson Post

in production. During this reign vast improvements were made in agriculture, and the foundations of England's maritime power were securely laid in a sea-faring class which has an unbroken record of building and manning the greatest fleets for war and commerce.

These changes were bound to affect and better the conditions of labor, but it would be unwise to lose sight for a moment of the principle which had been at work affecting the economic condition of the people since the days of the land-free men. It was not the sudden change from agricultural to manufacturing pursuits which caused the economic woe. It was the use of the political means by a ruling class to exploit labor; hundreds of years before an act of Parliament legalized enclosure of

land the political means acted through restrictive legislation while enclosure was carried on by force. It is so necessary to understand this if we are sincere in our desire to grasp the fundamentals of this problem which we call labor-and-capital.

I emphasize this point especially, for we have reached the period in our history when so many historians and economists lose sight of the great principle of English liberty—equal opportunity. Long before the introduction of the factory system, long before Boulton and Watt perfected their invention and mill-owners "went steam engine mad," as Boulton said, the people had been driven from the land and vast hordes of them roamed the highways utterly destitute. During the Commonwealth we read in the Moderate In-

telligencer "that hundreds of thousands in England have a livelihood which gives them food in the summer and little or none in the winter; that a third part of the people in most of the parishes stand in need of relief, that thousands of families have no work, and those who have, can earn bread only. There are many thousands near to this city of London who have no other sustenance but beer meals—neither roots or other necessities are they able to buy, and of meal not sufficient."

After the time of Cromwell the ruling class began to speed up the political means and for the next hundred years the work of destroying every vestige of economic liberty was carried on without much protest.

It Is at Work in California

By J. RUPERT MASON

A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country. So runs the old adage. And yet the aphorism is disproved—or perhaps the exception which proves the rule is provided—by the homage accorded Henry George by his adopted state.

George elaborated his earlier ideas on the subject of land and its basic relationship to human welfare in *Progress and Poverty*, published in California early in 1879. Scarcely was the ink dry on that monumental work when the people of that state, assembled at the polls, adopted their state constitution. Article XVII, Section 2 of that document, states that:

"The holding of large tracts of land, uncultivated and unimproved, by individuals or corporations is against the public interest and should be discouraged by all means not inconsistent with the rights of private property."

The establishment of Irrigation Districts in California, made possible by a legislative act of 1887, has accounted in large measure for the growth and importance of California since the climate, like that of 17 other western states, is arid, or semi-arid. These Irrigation Districts, of

which there are now some one hundred, are set up in response to the vote of the people of the area to be included therein, much as are school districts, sewer districts, and other functional areas, and are governmental agencies of the state.

Their purpose is the pooling of the water resources of a given valley for the common good of the inhabitants. In order to accomplish that purpose they may vote and issue bonds to finance the construction of dams, canals, wells, power plants, drainage systems, etc. Such bonds are protected not only by the right and duty of the District to levy unlimited ad valorem taxes against the land lying therein, but also by water and power revenues and by the full rental value of any land which has been forfeited to the District for unpaid taxes.

Tremendous areas are included within the various irrigation districts of the state. The total, of approximately four million acres, represents an area half again as large as the aggregate covered by the more widely publicized Federal Reclamation Bureau projects financed by the United States government in all of the 17 western arid and semi-arid

states since 1902. The property in these California districts was valued in 1929 at approximately one billion dollars, a sizeable total even in these billion dollar days, and especially so when it is realized that the development and growth of the areas from sagebrush to their present large population, was accomplished by local community co-operation and without so much as one dollar of subsidy, or even credit aid, from the state or the federal treasuries.

A substantial part of the development of these areas may be attributed to the 1909 amendment, exempting improvements from taxation. Regarding this move, the Oakdale Board of Trade said five years later:

"The Single Tax has made a great difference for the betterment of the Oakdale Irrigation District. . . Many say they can now afford to borrow money and make improvements which they could not do under the old system. We invite farmers to come and settle among us. Their industry will not be taxed. Our Single Tax system encourages industry. We make the man who keeps his land idle pay the same tax as the man

who improves. Those who build up our community and create its wealth will not be penalized."

At about the same time, the Modesto Chamber of Commerce declared that:

"The new system of taxation in collecting all of the tax from the value of the land has brought great prosperity to our Irrigation District. Farmers are now encouraged to improve their property. Industry and thrift are not punished by an increase in taxes."

It must not be supposed that the California Irrigation District Act was adopted and has survived without a struggle. So it has been and is with all attempts, from the time of California's earliest settlement under its present constitution, to break up the vast concentrated land grants and holdings. Among the first and most notable legal battles along these lines was the case of *Bradley vs. the Fallbrook Irrigation District*, 164 U.S. 112, which was decided by the United States Supreme Court more than fifty years ago in favor of the District.

This historic test case was brought by representatives of certain wealthy

British citizens, who held large tracts of land in San Diego County and who realized that, if their land were not excluded from the taxable boundaries of the District, they would be subject to taxation for the cost of supplying the community with water whether or not their land used any water. This decision should be read and studied by all Georgists, since it would aid them greatly in understanding the rights and obligations of those California landholders, who are still subject to the same law and constitution. Incidentally, it is of interest to note that counsel for the English group, a Mr. Maxwell, warned the Court that if it upheld the constitutionality of the California Irrigation District Act, it would be guilty of introducing Communism. Dies Committee please note.

In some California Irrigation Districts all the land is now the absolute property of the District and none of it is being offered for sale. Home, orchard, and farm seekers are discovering that they can lease land direct from these Districts and enjoy as complete security of tenure as under a fee simple title deed, without being compelled to surrender all, or even any, of their cash savings in order to get possession of

the land. Likewise, the Districts have found that land users are much more willing to pay a reasonable charge to the District for the use of the land if that charge be labelled rent rather than taxes. The right of the Districts to lease their lands to homeseekers and to collect the rental value of the land, in order to meet the cost of furnishing water has been definitely established by the California Supreme Court.

There are thousands of acres of splendid land, with water, electricity, and good roads, and near towns available for lease from these districts today. For obvious reasons, the big absentee landlord and mortgage holding groups are most anxious that the so-called "migrants" and other land seekers learn nothing of such opportunities, at least until the high cost lands they now hold, acquired under boom price conditions or mortgage foreclosures, can be unloaded.

Here we have a very sizeable "Guinea Pig" that Henry George, if he were living today would be defending vigorously, knowing that if those so long determined to sabotage this law succeed, it would be held up to the world as a "horrible example," etc.

Has the Black Cloud a Silver Lining?

By HARRY GUNNISON BROWN

Dorothy Thompson, in one of her recent syndicated columns, asserts that Germany's plan, in case of victory, is to establish a single customs union for Europe, thereby making the largest free trade area in the world. The planners of this system, she says, contemplate bringing the American countries into it by economic pressure. For example, they claim that there will be no market for the raw materials and the agricultural products of the United States other than the one they control, since these materials and products certainly cannot be sold in the Americas. The trade proposed to the United States will be based on barter. The countries of the new European customs union

will want raw materials and will pay for them in manufactured goods. Similar barter arrangements will be made with the countries of South America.

It would be a most interesting phenomenon, surely, if the economic pressure of a totalitarian Europe were to bring, for us and for them, a degree of freedom of trade and of specialization, with resulting increase of the standard of living, which democratic processes have never been able to bring.

One of the great difficulties in the way of establishing free trade by democratic means is the fact that men are much more conscious of their interests as producers than as consumers. In the case of the aver-

age consumer, buying shoes, clothing or other goods from a dealer, the idea that he is paying a higher price because of the protective tariff never enters his head. There is no mark on the goods to indicate that they are raised in price by the tariff or how much and, indeed, no one really knows just how much they are raised. The purchaser may read in some magazine article or newspaper editorial that the prices of various goods are enhanced by the system of protection or he may have been taught it during his school days in some course in economics. But certainly he isn't acutely conscious of the fact when buying goods and it is probable that the appeals of tariff-reduction political leaders arouse,

therefore, relatively little enthusiasm.

But in his position as producer and seller of goods his interest in the tariff is really acute, and his eagerness to maintain the full degree of "protection" to which his industry is accustomed is often a frantic one. The Congressman from the local district is urged, regardless of the party he may belong to, to use his influence for maintaining or increasing this protection. To accomplish this purpose the Congressman must probably vote for protection to other industries as well, industries the products of which his constituents will therefore have to buy at higher prices than otherwise. But since most persons are so eagerly interested in their position as producers and so uninterested in, even unconscious of, their position as consumers, the Congressman finds it often politically profitable to him and, even, necessary if he would hold his office—at any rate, so most of them seem to believe—to support and vote for bills by which the majority of his constituents are made poorer. For in this, as in other policies, it is too often through their own prejudices and lack of understanding that the masses of common folk in democratic countries are laid under tribute to those who seek to exploit them.

But what if a great foreign country—say a Europe under German hegemony—on which American producers in many lines are dependent

for the sale of their goods, is in a position to say: "We shall trade with you only by barter"! Suppose they thus say, in effect: "You must take from us in trade certain goods you are now shutting away by tariffs or we shall no longer purchase from you various goods which many thousands of your producers depend on us to buy"! This would at once make thousands of persons here, conscious as producers and, therefore, acutely conscious, of the importance to them of accepting these foreign goods in trade instead of excluding them by tariffs. Thus, the sharp objection to importation of these goods, from the home producers of goods of the same kind, would be met by more than the feeble and scarcely conscious desire of consumers to admit them. It would be met, also, by the clear insistence of comprehending producers that such goods be admitted.

Thereby a totalitarian domination of Europe might, and, too, through the instrumentality of totalitarian barter bargaining, bring about, for democratic countries like the United States, a freedom of trade never previously enjoyed.

These remarks are not at all intended as an encomium on dictatorial governments of the modern totalitarian variety—which, however, are not altogether dictatorial since they depend on, though they propagandize in order to get it, popular support for their major policies. The democratic way has, many of us believe,

an advantage in the long run and on the average, in the freedom of expression for divergent views and a consequent greater likelihood that all important considerations bearing on choice of public policy will be taken into account. Yet we cannot but admit that the totalitarian spirit shows itself in our democracy as well as in the professedly totalitarian states, that in parts of our country the expression of certain views has at various times not been safe and has, therefore, not been free. We must admit, too, that while totalitarian governments control mass sentiment by propaganda, dominant economic groups in the democracies have the financial means to control and do, to a considerable extent, control mass sentiment by the propaganda that their less pecuniarily prejudiced and more socially minded opponents too commonly lack the financial means to meet.

The fact is that totalitarianism, in practice, has aspects of democracy and that democracy has, in practice and much to the regret of its friends, certain aspects of intolerance that we think of as characteristic of totalitarianism.

But the point I am especially emphasizing here is that, in the particular matter of free trade, there is at least a possibility that totalitarian policy will operate to extend it, and even to force it upon foolishly reluctant democracies to the very considerable economic benefit of their people.

For the Benefit of the Few

By FRANK Q. CROWDER

The table reproduced herewith is from one of a series of studies in zoning published by Harvard University. This particular study, by Harland Bartholomew, entitled "Urban Land Uses," was issued in 1932. Its purpose was to establish and support a basis for city zoning; but the data reveals facts pointing to more important economic and social interpretation.

The study covers sixteen American cities, ranging in area from 1,374

acres to 28,736 acres, in population from 8,697 to 307,808—a rather representative selection. While the figures are nearly ten years old, the changes in population or in the other data are not likely to be so great as to affect the validity of the conclusion derived from them.

The most developed city—that is, the city with the greatest land area bearing improvements—is Louisville, Ky., with a percentage of 77.9. The least developed city, Cedar Rapids,

Ia., shows a percentage of 33.2. The average is 60.2 per cent. That means that forty percent of the areas of all these cities is held out of use.

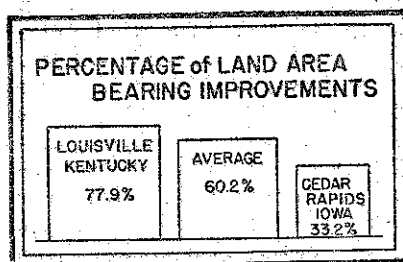
Just what constitutes "developments" is not quite clear. On city assessment rolls land which bears any taxable improvements is considered improved. Thus, a parking lot with a repair station would be improved land; a one-story "taxpayer" on the most valuable land in the city would be a "development." Such

land is not being used to its full economic value, and to that extent must be considered economically vacant.

Even so, forty percent of the land in these cities is entirely unused. The services which the authorities render to the communities are borne by the sixty percent of the land which has been put to productive use, as well as by the buildings on them. The burden of taxation is on the industrious, while a premium is put on the holding of land out of use.

Notice that within the limits of these municipalities there are on the average 11.7 acres for every 100 inhabitants, but that they work and live on only 7.4 acres—that is, the area developed. For students who fret about the overcrowding in our cities these figures should be revealing. In smaller cities overcrowding is not obvious. But this disproportion between used and unused land nevertheless indicates a premature expansion of the city limits, with a consequent increase of the tax burden, for the benefit of speculators.

More than half of the developed land is occupied by public and semi-public improvements. Our investigator has included streets and parks, as well as public and semi-public build-



ings, also railroads, in the category of developed land. This is a rather unusual use of the term "developed area." But, it further indicates the extent to which land is held out of use in our cities. Of the 60.2 percent of the land "developed" more than half is used for streets, parks, play-grounds and public and semi-public buildings. Without these "developments"—which are really social services—the 28.89% of the land privately developed and the 39.8% of the land held vacant would be practically valueless. To a large extent the 68% of the privately-owned land (of which two thirds is entirely vacant) is made valuable by these municipal services paid for out of general taxation, most of which falls on labor products, very little on the land values.

Interesting, too, is that of the 28.89% of the area developed over four-fifths is devoted to homes or

living quarters. Since buildings for dwelling purposes are on the whole located on the outskirts of a city, where land values are low, the ratio of their value to the value of the land they rest on is high: homes are assessed for taxation purposes at from five to ten times the land assessments. It will readily be seen, therefore, that the real burden for taxation in municipalities rests on the non-productive home. The beneficiaries are the owners of land in the centers of population, where building values are low as compared to land values, to say nothing of the owners of vacant land. The many are taxed for the benefit of the few.

Yachts, Elections and The Land Problem

Candidate Wendell Willkie is reported resting on a yacht trip in publisher Roy Howard's floating palace. The Scripps-Howard papers, once published in 26 leading cities, have reduced in number under Mr. Howard's conservative management. However, they can still do worth while work in publicity build-up of Willkie for President.

We are reminded that Pres. Roosevelt's joy-rides include trips in Vincent Astor's yacht. In case readers don't know who this guy Vincent Astor is let them inquire from Al Smith whose Empire State Building is erected on land for which the Astor family received some sixteen million dollars—a value made by the people of New York, the U. S., and such mechanical developments as electric railways, automobiles, electric elevators, etc.—a value to which the Astor family contributed no service, except the service of educating the public to the fact that such a system is completely idiotic and automatically self-destructive. In Britain and Germany folks are reaping the ripe fruit of Land Monopoly.

—GEORGE CARTWRIGHT

Centuries of Rent Lost

"It is a marvelous sight, isn't it?" said the charming tourist as she gazed on the majestic pyramids.

"Aye," sighed Sandy. "What a lot of mason work to be bringin' in no rent."

From "Urban Land Uses" by Harland Bartholomew (Harvard University Studies in Zoning)

RATIO OF TOTAL POPULATION AND TOTAL CITY AREA

City	Pop. at Date of Survey	Total City Area in Acres	Total Developed Area in Acres	Total City Area: Acres per 100 Persons	Developed Area: Acres per 100 Persons	% Total City Area Develop.
KNOXVILLE, TENN.	100,201	15,774	8,275.0	15.7	8.3	52.6
VANCOUVER, B. C.	143,560	10,560	7,450.0	7.4	5.2	70.5
SAN ANGELO, TEX.	22,711	3,776	2,635.4	19.6	11.8	71.1
FORT WORTH, TEX.	152,730	28,736	15,393.6	18.8	10.4	55.3
CAPE GIRARDEAU, MO.	15,323	4,992	1,913.1	32.6	12.5	38.3
SACRAMENTO, CALIF.	90,352	8,896	5,201.0	9.8	5.8	58.5
SAN JOSE, CALIF.	55,687	6,080	3,720.0	10.9	6.7	61.2
SPRINGFIELD, MO.	57,248	8,768	5,537.3	15.3	9.8	63.7
CEDAR RAPIDS, IA.	55,731	17,934	5,966.1	32.3	10.7	33.2
TULSA, OKLA.	141,231	13,760	8,342.5	9.7	5.9	60.6
LOUISVILLE, KY.	307,308	24,192	18,843.8	7.9	6.1	77.9
PEORIA, ILL.	105,135	7,808	5,851.9	7.4	5.6	74.9
JEFFERSON CITY, MO.	17,572	3,718	1,900.6	21.2	9.1	43.1
SAN ANTONIO, TEX.	231,542	23,040	15,335.9	10.9	6.8	63.7
TROY, OHIO	8,697	1,374	958.2	15.8	11.0	69.7
BINGHAMTON, N. Y.	77,609	6,445	4,099.1	8.3	5.3	63.6
TOTALS:	1,583,137	135,903	112,239.5			
AVERAGES:				11.7	7.4	60.2

Neilson and the Runnymede Tradition

By WILL LISSNER

What a man believes with all the fervor of his being is an excellent guide, I think, for an estimate of the sort of man he is. On this account it is altogether fitting that the credo of Francis Neilson should be that one which, in other phrasing, perhaps, was the credo of the great Christian humanists: "It is not governments or political parties which hold men in chains; it is their own benighted minds which enslave them."

In a certain sense this is what Mr. Neilson has had to do for himself, although he did it very clearly, much earlier than most of us attain to the stature of freemen. He was born in Birkenhead in Cheshire, England, in 1867, and, as was customary in the Victorian era for one who was not destined for the Church, the Army or the service of the State, he was nurtured under private tutors.

His education really began when he struck out for himself, something which was no more customary in his youthful environment than it is in our own day. He came to America, where he was to spend half a long life-time at eighteen. It was not a soft snap he was seeking but rather a wide range of experience, no matter how much it demanded of him; and this the country afforded. He worked at various jobs, on the wharves and as store clerk, writing articles and acting as a "super" on the New York stage.

During these early years he studied assiduously, immersing himself in the great issues of his time and developing a sprightly curiosity about their backgrounds in the history of ideas. He was an inveterate attendant at labor meetings. And it was at one of them, in Union Square in about 1888 or 1889, that he first heard about "Progress and Poverty." The speaker's remarks set Neilson to obtaining a copy of Henry George's masterpiece and the young Englishman read it carefully. "It was this book that gave me the

zeal to go after knowledge," he recalls. "No matter where I went, for years, I studied it conscientiously. Here was the reply to Marx; here was the reply to the protectionists."

It was around this time that he first devoted himself to journalism, becoming first the critic of a theatrical magazine and then serving as a reporter for *The Sun* and *The Recorder*. The theatre interested him and he sought to acquire mastery of the dramatic art, working as an actor with the Gillette and Frohman companies, and then serving as stage director for Daniel Frohman at London from 1897 to 1901 and for the Royal Opera, Covent Garden, from 1900 to 1903. Meanwhile he began writing the stream of plays that have come from his pen.

As a publicist he has had at least an equally notable career. In England, where he had been since 1897, he took an active part in the political movements of his time and he was finally persuaded to go into politics. He formed the League of Young Liberals and in a day when the Liberalism of the great English Radicals of the Nineteenth Century was making its last stand he achieved an influence held by few men in English political life.

In the Budget of 1909, the British Government called for a valuation of the land of England and levied sundry taxes upon the value. Mr. Neilson played an important part in drawing up the Land Values Manifesto and a key rôle in the innumerable debates of the Radical Liberals.

Persuaded in 1910 to take a seat in the House of Commons he carried on the good fight there and in 1912 he returned to the United States to extend it. When he went back to England he accepted the presidency of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, which was at the point of making history when the war intervened.

As a colleague in Parliament of Winston Churchill, Sir Edward Grey,

Lloyd George and Sir John Simon, he saw from behind-the-scenes how politicians, through secret treaties and crafty negotiations, involve their peoples in war. In 1914 he wrote his sensational expose, "How Diplomats Make War." The merit of the book can be seen in its history; a fifth printing has just been issued and there have been editions in Swedish, German and French.

Returning to America in 1915, he settled down for good, starting the stream of serious works that have been of incalculable aid toward helping men free themselves of their chains. Among them, such works as "The Old Freedom," "The Eleventh Commandment," and "Man at the Crossroads," must be accounted powerful weapons in the struggle against the oppression of ignorance. More important still there was his collaboration in the old *Freeman*, that weekly journal of opinion which rallied into a cohesive force all thinking men and meanwhile set standards for weekly journalism to which our present-day journals, vainly for the most part, still aspire.

And now, in the midst of literary assignments, he has found time to join the general staff of the movement for the liberation of the free spirit of man, the board of trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science in New York, that self-sacrificing group of men and women who are responsible for the policies of the significant adult educational movement that the school has launched throughout the country. It is no new association for the group of thinking men and women who comprise the School, of course; Neilson's "Control from the Top," and his "Sociocratic Escapades" appeared during its first years and profoundly stimulated their efforts. That they should now be more closely linked by the bonds of trusteeship is, I think, the natural outcome of that guiding principle, that credo, which has determined the course of the career of Francis Neilson.

\$50 FOR A LETTER

This heading means simply this: For the best letter on the School, the Course, Henry George, Progress and Poverty—sent in by a student who has completed the course in "Fundamental Economics" between September 1, 1940 and February 1, 1941.

A Prize of \$50

is offered by Francis Neilson, recently elected Trustee of the Henry George School. \$25 goes to the second best letter; and \$5 each to the next 10 best letters. Twelve prize winning letters.

Terms:

1. All letters must be submitted on or before February 15, 1941.
2. State in a covering letter that you studied "Progress and Poverty" between September 15, 1940, and February 1, 1941. Also give name of instructor, place where class was held. Correspondence course students are eligible.
3. Letters must not be over 1000 words in length.
4. Subject matter may be on any phase of student's experience in connection with the course. For instance: What the Course Meant to Me; Henry George and My College Economics; How Progress and Poverty Ruined My Home Life; The Henry George School of Social Science as a—; My Enlistment in Economic Reform. And so on. Unlimited latitude.
5. Originality of subject matter, freshness of expression, literary treatment—these will influence the judges, whose decision must be final.

\$25 FOR ANOTHER

On Principles of International Trade

To qualify for this contest you must have studied "Protection or Free Trade" in class or through correspondence course between February 1, 1940, and February 1, 1941. State so, and where, also instructor's name, when you submit your letter—(not over 1000 words)—before February 15, 1941.

\$25 FOR ONE MORE

On "Science of Political Economy"

When you send your contest letter, state under whom you took this course, where the class was held, and when. As for the kind of letter that will win, see terms 3-4-5 above. Have it in by February 15, 1941. (1000 words or less.)

\$25 FOR THE BEST

On "Democracy Versus Socialism"

To qualify you must have taken this course between February 1, 1940, and February 1, 1941. State so in your covering letter. You can agree or disagree, praise, condemn or comment. But, write an interesting or convincing—a printable—letter. The time limit is February 15, 1941. (1000 words is the limit.)

Francis Neilson Letter Contest
HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Columbia's Concentration Campus

The illustrious president of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, recently cautioned his faculty in extraordinary session assembled that, in view of the international situation, a free expression of their views concerning it might be indiscreet, especially if their views failed to coincide with those of their illustrious president, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler.

Academic freedom, observed Dr. Butler, is after all more or less ideal rather than actual. For students—or, as Dr. Butler puts it, for those "in statu pupillari" (Latin)—academic freedom doesn't exist, and those persons who enjoy a higher academic standing ought to remember that they ought not to take liberties. Dr. Butler further reminds us that there is such a thing as "University freedom." Columbia has enlisted in the war on the side of men against beasts; the ideals and affections of the University must not be trifled with by disaffected employees. Accordingly, those who find their souls out of tune with that of Columbia University are invited to resign.

Dr. Butler professes devotion to "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite" (French), but he has taken at least one leaf from the Fascist-Communist album; he has caught Hobbes' Leviathan with a hook and dragged him into the academic grove. If a State can have a mystical, transcendental existence apart from its officials and citizens, so no doubt can a School have an incorporeal self which is quite independent of its faculty and student body. This seems to be the case at Columbia, and by a strange coincidence the views and wishes of the ineffable Columbian Logos (Greek) coincide almost exactly with those of Dr. Butler. Sir Joseph Porter assures us that "a British tar is any man's equal, excepting mine," and the academic freedom at Columbia, like Ralph Rackstraw's equality, seems to be with reservations, or in a Pickwickian sense.

Democracy is a great thing, but many people feel that it can be car-

ried to the point where it ceases to be a joke. However, there need be no anxiety if we trust Columbia. A chair in which the King of England sat is preserved in that institution as a highly prized possession. Democracy is still under control as long as a piece of furniture can acquire an odor of sanctity from contact with a royal ers (Anglo-Saxon).
PAUL PEACH

When Churchill Was an MP

Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M. P., when a member of the Liberal administration was foremost in the campaign for Taxation of Land Values. He said, "There are only two ways in which people can acquire wealth. There is production and there is plunder. Production is beneficial. Plunder is pernicious, and its proceeds are either monopolized by a few or consumed in the struggle for possession."

"Roads are made, streets are made, railway services are improved, electric light turns night into day, electric trams glide swiftly to and fro, water is brought from a hundred miles off in the mountains—all the while the landlord sits still."

"To not one of these improvements does the land monopolist contribute, yet by every one of them the value of his land is enhanced."

Had Britain taken taxes out of prices and collected Land Rent as Revenue, increased workers' buying power would have made a Home Market so that British and German manufacturers would not have had World War No. I—a fight to secure outside markets.

—GEORGE CARTWRIGHT
In "Our Groundhog World"

Duty Forever

An English woman in America wished to send a bunting to a woman in England for her baby niece. It might keep the baby warm, in case the family were bombed out of their house. However, she learned that the parents would have to pay a very high duty, almost a prohibitive one, upon receipt of this American bunting in England. So, she has not sent it. War or no war, privilege profits must be maintained.—
W. B. Thompson

He Never Would Be Missed

By GEORGE W. RUSBY

The Lord looked down on the earth He'd made
And, Oh, what a sight He saw!
The young and the old had forgot His rules
While the knaves were astride on the backs of the fools
And imposed their will as law.

"Give us this day our daily bread"—
So ran the people's prayer;
The prayer was heard; the bread was given;
And still the poor couldn't scratch a livin';
There was something wrong, somewhere.

"Too many cooks! Too little broth!"
Cried the Lord in a righteous rage;
"This world is run at too big expense
And the cook with whose services I can dispense,
That cook will I disengage!"

Then He called before Him the man with the hoe
And said, "Man, what do you do?"
"I work in the field from morn to night."
"That'll do," said the Lord, "'tis evident, quite,
That I can't dispense with you."

The man with the rent-book next He called,
And He said, "Man, what do you do?"
"I lend him the field that he's working at."
"You lie," said the Lord, "for I do that—
And the job won't hold us two."

Reduced to Security

I knew a local mechanic on the W. P. A. We had some repairs to be made by his trade. I thought I would do him a good turn to give him the job. He said his labor would come to \$84. He worked two days with a young nephew. Then he let the boy finish the work, which was not so good. But we put up with it and paid him. Later I asked the boy's father for the cause of the absence. He told me that the mechanic was employed part time by the W. P. A. and drew between \$80 and \$90 a month. The W. P. A. called him and he could not afford to leave it for private work, not even at \$9 a day.—H. W. Noren, Pitts, Pa.

The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

Editor: FRANK CHODOROV

Associate Editor: PAUL PEACH

C. O. Steele John Lawrence Monroe
Harry Gunnison Brown Virginia M. Lewis
Jessie T. Matteson A. C. Matteson, Jr.

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.

The Book Trail

SIDNEY J. ABELSON

By HARRY SCHERMAN

The Real Danger in Our Gold

Simon and Schuster—\$1.00

The next-to-impossible is achieved in these pages—a brief, readable and, for every layman's purposes, practicable explanation of the role gold plays in modern economic society. Whoever does not read this book deprives himself of one of the outstanding opportunities contemporary publishing has offered in the way of simplifying vital knowledge.

Totalitarian doctrinaires, of both the Right and the Left, have struggled heroically to gild gold with the stigmatic hues of an evil power exercised by "finance capitalists," but Mr. Scherman neatly debunks their impressionistic artistry. He reveals the purely functional and wholly practical services which gold renders in facilitating international exchanges and assisting domestic monetary stability. He proceeds further to expose—and I use the word advisedly—the tremendous possibilities for political misuse which are inherent in America's huge governmental store of gold, possibilities which exist precisely because such a store of gold, far from being potentially valueless, actually grows increasingly more powerful with its increasing accumulation.

By all means read Mr. Scherman's "The Real Danger in Our Gold." But when you do so, bear in mind that an understanding of the gold situation does not provide the clue to basic economic maladjustments. Pay attention particularly to the author's conclusion on Page 81 that "Government fiscal mismanagement for seven years has been one of the principal factors that have kept our enormous bank deposits to so large an extent unused in employing the population." (Mr. Scherman's emphasis—and mine!)

Mr. Scherman apparently be-

lieves that employment begins as a result of proper fiscal management, that "bank deposits," which he himself reveals in his text as consisting largely of debts and promises, can put men to work. His concentration of the importance of finance in the problem of employment is emphasized further on page 47 where he attributes "the rise of totalitarianism" to an "attempt of governments to control the economic consequences of their own financial jugglery." But such analysis fails to trace to its source the cause of financial jugglery; and further it tortures the simple historic truth that Germany, Italy and Russia, the totalitarian countries referred to, had no problems of financial management as such at the time they were swooped down upon by political totalitarian ideologies.

The rub of the employment problem everywhere is not what to work with, but the availability of a place on which to work. To paraphrase Jefferson's famous precept, "Give land and the people will make their own capital."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933.

Of The Freeman, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1940. State of New York, N. Y. County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Frank Chodorov, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of The Freeman and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Freeman Corporation, 30 East 29th St., N.Y.C., Editor, Frank Chodorov, 30 East 29th St., N.Y.C., Managing Editor, Frank Chodorov, 30 East 29th St., N.Y.C., Business Managers, Frank Chodorov, 30 East 29th St., N.Y.C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name

Racial Superiority

Making her title do double duty Ruth Benedict in *Race: Science and Politics*, (Modern Age \$2.50) once more tears the last vestige of validity from the claims of those who assert racial superiority.

With restraint and precision Dr. Benedict demonstrates quite beyond question that there are no scientific criteria whatsoever on which to base such claims.

"Why then," she asks, "is there race prejudice?" And she finds the answer in the unequal distribution of civil rights.

Having gone this far, her field as a scientist ends. Unfortunately she prefers to continue out of her field into that of the economist and suggests as a remedy a mild, pink socialistic-New Dealism embodied in the phrase, "Make Democracy Work." It does not seem to occur to her that we need only "Let" democracy work.

Nevertheless Dr. Benedict's book is well worth reading by those who still maintain a lingering suspicion that the white race, or the so-called Aryans, or the Jews are after all just a little better. —EDWIN ROSS

The Economics of Corporate Enterprise. By Norman S. Buchanan. Henry Holt and Co. \$3.25.

The corporation has been called the greatest invention of modern times. Here is a study of the general principles underlying corporate enterprise, with emphasis on economic aspects.

and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

The Freeman Corporation, 30 East 29th St., N.Y.C., N. Y. (no stockholders), Anna George de Mille, President; Otto K. Dorn, Secretary-Treasurer.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Frank Chodorov.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of Sept., 1940.

Leo Weitzman, Notary Public.

Leo Weitzman

(My commission expires March 30, 1942.)

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

Edited by VIRGINIA M. LEWIS

First Annual International Conference Of The Henry George School of Social Science

NEW YORK—The Board of Trustees of the Henry George School has been discussing the advisability of inaugurating annual conferences of instructors, extension secretaries and others interested in advancing the work of the School. It was tentatively agreed to hold the first one in New York during the last week of August or the first week of September, 1941. A definite date, and other details, will be arrived at as a result of further discussion; suggestions from schoolmen throughout the country are solicited. Address Burt Levey, who is in charge of preliminary preparations, at the School.

The facilities of the School building make it particularly desirable to hold the first conference in New York. An auditorium accommodating 250, classrooms for panel discussions, a library, a Students' Room for informal get-togethers, the Schalkenbach Foundation office—altogether an ideal conference place. The many visiting delegates will be in-

spired by this physical indication of progress.

Subjects for discussion will embrace pedagogical methods, promotional plans, curricula, correspondence course, the problem of getting students and so on. A list, now being prepared, will be submitted by mail and through *The Freeman* to instructors and secretaries. Ideas on what should be discussed are requested. Every address must be prepared in advance and submitted to the committee. Those selected for the conference will be published.

Arrangements will be made for housing facilities in the neighborhood of the School, and lighter entertainment is also on the agenda.

In the next six weeks the entire enterprise will be developed to the point where a concrete program can be offered. Therefore, reactions and suggestions that might influence the program or the plan should be submitted promptly.

Sioux Falls Reports

SIoux FALLS, S. D.—The class in Fundamental Economics which opened September 25 has met with great success, it is reported. This group is under the direction of A. G. Linahan, local merchant.

Classes at Bellerose

BELLEROSE, L. I.—Three classes have been organized in Bellerose by enterprising Georgists. David Hiller is conducting a class which meets at the home of Mr. and Mrs. B. T. Conrad, 248-01 87th St., each Thursday night at 8. Nicholas A. Weiss Jr., teaches a Wednesday class at his residence 87-48 251st St. Another class taught by Harry Haase is in progress at the home of Wm. J. Chamberlaine, 83-06 247th St., Bellerose Manor.

Dr. Hayes Teaches

WATERBURY, Conn.—A class in political economy has been organized by Dr. Royal E. S. Hayes at 314 Main Street. Dr. Hayes is a frequent contributor to *The Freeman* and to *Land and Freedom* and a veteran in the movement.

Edward B. Swinney Bequest

NEW YORK—The Henry George School of Social Science is in receipt of a bequest of \$1000 from the estate of the late Edward B. Swinney of Los Angeles, California. Mable V. Swinney is the executrix.

North of New York

NEW YORK—Due mainly to the efforts of R. M. Connor, of White Plains, one class in Greenwich, Conn., and six classes in Westchester County, N. Y., were inaugurated last month. In Greenwich, Mount Vernon, Tarrytown, White Plains, Yonkers and New Rochelle the classes are held in Y.M.C.A. buildings, while in Pleasantville a room in the high school was secured.

Canadian Activities

CANADA—An unusual class in Progress and Poverty, organized by Miss Margaret Bateman is now in progress at the Toronto School, Miss Edith C. Thompson, Secretary of the School, reports. This group composed of women include among others four doctors, a Y.W.C.A. worker, an associate of one of the colleges, a foreign missionary home on sick leave, a member of the staff of the Children's Shelter and a director of the Board of Social Service.

A course in Democracy versus Socialism is planned to follow the present course in International Trade, the Hamilton School announces.

Detroit School Opens

DETROIT, Michigan—The registration meeting of the Michigan Extension School held at Cass Church House, Selden and Cass Avenues, Detroit, was attended by a large group of students, William J. Palmer, Secretary of the Extension School, reports.

Sunday Forums in November

NEW YORK—The present series of free Lecture-Forums held each Sunday at 4 P.M. in the Assembly Room of the School for students and their friends, are proving even more popular than they were last year. A number of visitors have become interested through these lectures in the work of the School and have enrolled in the classes.

Isidore Platin will speak on "An Economist Views the Tax Problem," October 27. Mr. Platin's work as an accountant has given him an usually clear understanding of this problem.

Erna L. Nash is scheduled for November 3. Mrs. Nash, whose subject will be "Does Your Child Belong to the State," has lived some time in Germany where children do "belong to the State."

On November 10, Sidney J. Abelson will speak on "An Economist Views the Election," and the following week, November 17, "Economic Causes of Religious Discrimination" will be handled by M. B. Thomson.

All of these speakers are instructors at the School and their interpretations, therefore, can be relied upon to express definitely the Georgist viewpoint.

Bainbridge Added

BAINBRIDGE, N. Y.—A class in Fundamental Economics is being held in this city under the direction of George Cummings.

More Classes Start Oct. 28

NEW YORK, N. Y.—New classes in Fundamental Economics start on October 28 at the School. This extra session was suggested by the large enrollment on September 23, by the availability of space and by the willingness of additional teachers. At the present writing it is expected that about 300 students will enroll in this 10 weeks course, which will terminate at the same time as the 15 weeks course now in progress.

How They Come

NEW YORK—Forty-five percent of the students who registered in the September 23 classes advise that they came because "a friend" recommended the School. Newspaper announcements account for 26%, while 24% came as a result of having received invitations by mail. From posters we trace 4%, from cards handed out at the Public Library 1%. There may be duplications, and what the students record on registration cards is as dependable as their memories. But some guide as to the effectiveness of the various methods of getting students is indicated in these figures.

St. Louis Forum

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—On Oct. 14 at the Central Library, reports Wm. Hoefflin, acting secretary of the Henry George Fellowship, "Monopoly Price vs. Competition Price" was the topic of discussion. The "Questions and Answers" in *The Freeman* provided further food for thought.

Interesting Figures

NEW YORK—Eighty-seven thousand announcements mailed to telephone book addresses brought an enrollment of 950 students (1.1%) in the classes opening on September 23rd. One hundred and nine students resulted from a mailing of 6,000 to names recommended by students (1.8%). From the 5000 cards distributed by graduates in front of the Public Library 90 enrollments (1.8%) were received. This last result is, in point of expense, the most gratifying. It is planned to distribute upwards of 30,000 cards at selected public places during the month of January, depending on the numbers who volunteer to do this valuable work.

Advertising brought in 273 students, posters 69, cards distributed by students among friends 43, miscellaneous 11. Total 1548. Enrollments in advanced courses, 256.

John S. Codman in Church

DORCHESTER, Mass.—Under the leadership of John S. Codman, Dean of the Boston Extension, the Codman Men's Class of the Second Church, Dorchester, met for the opening session of the fundamental economics course, October 2, in the Dabney Room of the Parish House. Mr. Codman, who conducted a similar class last year, is the great nephew of the Rev. John Codman, former pastor of the Church, an active business executive in Boston and a long-time student of economic questions.

The committee in charge include Gordon R. Spidle, President of the Codman Men's Class; John W. Gardner, Vice-President; Harry S. White, Secretary and Harry B. Decker, Treasurer.

C.C.N.Y. Henry George Society

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Leo Satz, Henry George School graduate and a student at the College of The City of New York, has organized a Henry George Society at the college. Cooperating with him are five fellow students who are also graduates of the Henry George School. Professor Hastings, of the City College Department of Economics, is faculty advisor.

The Society held its first meeting on September 26. It will meet hereafter regularly once a week to discuss current events in light of Henry George's doctrines. A member of the faculty of the Henry George School will attend each week to help lead the discussion.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES (Fundamental Economics)

Fall Term 1940—Philadelphia Extension

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

PHILADELPHIA

Tues., Oct. 1, 8:00 P.M.—North Branch Y.M.C.A., 1013 W. Lehigh Ave.
Thurs., Oct. 3, 8:00 P.M.—West Branch Y.M.C.A., 52nd & Sansom Sts.
Mon., Oct. 14, 8:00 P.M.—Germantown Y.M.C.A., 5722 Greene St.

FRANKFORD

Tues., Oct. 1, 8:00 P.M.—Friends Meeting House, Walnut & Wain Sts.
Wed., Oct. 2, 7:30 P.M.—4681 Griscom St.

ROSLYN

Thurs., Oct. 3, 8:00 P.M.—Administration Bldg., Hillside Cemetery
Susquehanna & Bradford Roads

ARDMORE

Mon., Oct. 7, 8:00 P.M.—Main Line Branch Y.M.C.A.

A few more classes are expected in this area. They will be announced in a later issue.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES (Fundamental Economics)

Fall Term 1940 — New Jersey Extension

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

BLOOMFIELD

Wed., Sept. 25, 7:30 P. M.—Public Library, 90 Broad St.

DOVER

Wed., Oct. 2, 7:15 P. M.—Public Library, 32 E. Clinton St.
Thurs., Oct. 3, 7:30 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 26 Legion Place

ELIZABETH

Wed., Sept. 25, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 135 Madison Ave.

GARFIELD

Thurs., Oct. 10, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., Outwater Lane

HACKENSACK

Wed., Sept. 25, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 360 Main St.

HAWTHORNE

Thurs., Sept. 26, 8:00 P. M.—Hawthorne High School, Parmelee Ave.

IRVINGTON

Tues., Sept. 24, 7:30 P. M.—Morrell High School, 1253 Clinton Ave.

JERSEY CITY

Wed., Oct. 9, 8:00 P. M.—Y.W.C.A., 270 Fairmont Ave.

KEARNEY

Tues., Sept. 24, 7:30 P. M.—Public Library, Kearny & Garfield Aves.

MONTCLAIR

Mon., Sept. 23, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 25 Park St.

MOUNTAIN LAKES

Mon., Oct. 7, 8:00 P. M.—Mt. Lakes High School

NEWARK

Mon., Oct. 7, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.H.A., 652 High St.
Tues., Oct. 8, 8:00 P. M.—Weequahic High School, 279 Chancellor Ave.

ORANGE

Mon., Sept. 23, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 125 Main St.
Wed., Oct. 9, 8:00 P. M.—Orange High School, Central & Lincoln

PATERSON

Wed., Sept. 25, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 125 Ward St.

PERTH AMBOY

Mon., Sept. 23, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 182 Jefferson St.

SUMMIT

Mon., Sept. 23, 8:00 P. M.—Y.M.C.A., 67 Maple St.

TENAFLY

Mon., Oct. 7, 8:00 P. M.—Tenafly High School, West Clinton Ave.

WEST NEW YORK

Mon., Oct. 7, 8:00 P. M.—Tenafly High School.
Newark also announces a class in Science of Political Economy.
Wed., Oct. 2, 7:30 P. M.—1 Clinton St.

The Freeman—A Fortnightly? It's Up to You, Not Us;

Last month The Freeman proposed a referendum of its readers on this question: shall the publication be continued as a 24-page monthly, or shall it be changed to a 16-page fortnightly?

The change, if made, will mean an increase in work for its volunteer editorial staff, better paper, a new annual subscription price of One Dollar.

But, there is no desire to make this change unless there is a popular demand for it. Although a larger number of readers have expressed themselves verbally on this question, only about one hundred ballots have been received. A decision based on a minute fraction of the subscribers could hardly be called the "will of the people."

Therefore, it is urgently requested that you send a postcard or a letter saying whether or not you want The Freeman once or twice a month. Typical replies follow.

George Moyland, Chicago, writes: "Twice a month would give a faster tempo to the work we have to do."

Adolph Schwartz, Phoenix, Ariz.: "There is too much food for thought in The Freeman. It needs careful digestion. Keep it as it."

David Asch, Brooklyn: "I would like to see it four times a month."

Burton N. Jones, Philadelphia, Pa.: "I have time to read it once a month."

O. B. Collier, Chicago: "Multiply by two the good work you are doing."

Olive Maguire, Berkeley, Calif.: "Increase in price curtails circulation. I want it to reach a wider and wider circle."

Joseph L. Richards, Boston: "I certainly favor speeding up the service which The Freeman is performing for the fundamental liberals of America. May I suggest a brief chronological summary of the daily news each fortnight?"

Noah Alper, St. Louis: "Fifty cents fits in with your book extension plan to students nicely."

Herbert Thomson, Brooklyn: "Its present unpretentious appearance makes it doubly beloved. The comparatively long intervals between appearances makes it doubly beloved."

A. F. Lubbering, Cleveland: "It should become a semi-monthly provided it did not lose the touch that it has shown thus far."

And so they record their preference. But, how do you vote?

Lissner Lectures

NEW YORK—Following the four Albert Jay Nock lectures on The State, on Tuesday evenings beginning October 29, will come a series of three lectures by Will Lissner, first editor of The Freeman, on the Origins of the Capitalist Crisis. In these lectures Mr. Lissner will show the historical development of the socio-economic movement from feudalism to the present era, with emphasis on the course of exploitative methods. Early church influence on economic trends, in which Mr. Lissner has made extensive study, will make the talks particularly informative.

The lectures will be given on successive Tuesday evenings, beginning November 28th. Tickets for the series will be one dollar each, the proceeds going to the work of the School.

Speakers Bureau Reaching Out

CHICAGO—Mrs. Edith Siebenmann, director of the speakers bureau of the Chicago Extension of the Henry George School, reports that announcements of lecture topics are being mailed to 500 organizations this month.

Among scheduled appointments is a talk before the Young People's Group of La Grange on Sunday, November 3; a talk to the Forest Kiwanis Club on Tuesday evening, November 5; and a debate on the Townsend Plan before the Townsend Club of Des Plaines on Wednesday, November 13.

Cornucopia Or Calamity?

CHICAGO—Clifford C. O'Neal, traffic manager of Horder's Stationary Company and Henry George School instructor, addressed the Henry George Fellowship on October 2 on "Cornucopia or Calamity?" He looked back at the riches of his home state of Alabama and contrasted them with the poverty of most of its people.

Annual election of officers will be held at the next meeting of the Fellowship on November 5.

MARS vs. H. G.

CHICAGO—"Kindly take my name off the mailing list, as I am leaving this week for Texas, for at least a year's active duty with my National Guard Unit. I shall therefore be unable to participate in any of the Georgist activities for quite some time." (Quotation from a graduate's letter to the Chicago headquarters of the HGSSS, September 16, 1940.)

Farris Talks to Women

CHICAGO—P. C. Farris, sales manager of the National Gas and Oil Sales Corporation and graduate of the Henry George School, spoke on "The Future of Youth in Industry" at the forum of the Ninth District of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, at the Peoples Church, October 23.

Mrs. Clyde Bassler, Henry George School instructor, heads the committee in charge of the Forum.

Speakers' Bureau

NEW YORK—The 1940-1941 season of popular lectures under the auspices of the Henry George School opened last month, again handled by the able Miss Dorothy Sara. Most of the speakers are instructors. The talks are designed to provoke intellectual curiosity, so as to encourage listeners to read Henry George or to attend classes. No attempt at complete answers is made, and the reform measure essential to Georgist philosophy is assiduously avoided.

The lectures booked at the time this issue goes to press:

Oct. 8—Mrs. Erna L. Nash at Ivy Club for Girls, 55 W. 44th St. on "Preserving Our Democracy."

Oct. 22—Marshall De Angelis at Girls Commercial High School, Economics Dept., Brooklyn, N. Y., to students and faculty members, on "How Much Government in Business Do We Americans Need?"

Oct. 25—Mrs. Erna L. Nash at The Economics Society of the College of the City of New York, on "International Trade Relations and Boycotts."

Oct. 27—William H. Quasha at Chambers Memorial Baptist Church, 215 E. 123rd St., N. Y., on "Is Religious Freedom Doomed?"

Nov. 14—Robert Clancy at Jewish Center Forum, 131 W. 86th St. on "Is Religious Freedom Doomed?"

Nov. 24—R. Joseph Manfrini at The Sunday Evening Forum, Flatbush Congregational Church, Brooklyn, on "Is Religious Freedom Doomed?"

Nov. 26—Mr. M. B. Thomson at Rotary Club of Queens Borough, Long Island City, on "Is Religious Freedom Doomed?"

Dec. 1—A. P. Christianson at Warburton Ave. Baptist Church, Yonkers, N. Y., on "Idle Men—Idle Money."

Religion Considered at Forum

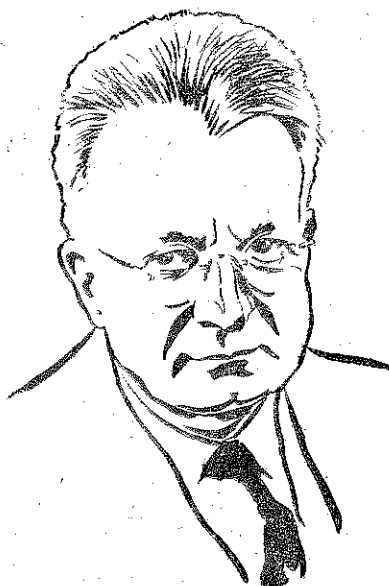
NEW YORK—Those who attended the October 7 meeting of the Sunday Lecture Forum heard Andrew P. Christianson discuss "The Future of Religious Freedom." Mr. Christianson, an instructor in the machine shop of the Brooklyn Technical High School, teaches a Sunday School class in the Swedish Evangelical Church, Bronx. Teachers in the public schools during the past year have been faced with the question of religious education and Mr. Christianson's discussion was particularly timely.

Leon T. Arpin chose "Fundamental Economics and Catholic Action" as the subject of his address given October 13. Since economic conditions seem to have put religion on the defensive in many parts of the world, Mr. Arpin's talk was especially interesting.

Student and their friends are invited to attend the forums and lectures which are held free of charge in the Assembly Room of the School each Sunday at 4.

Who's Who in Georgism

David Gibson



David Gibson saw the economic picture painted by Henry George long before reading a book on the subject.

As an 18-year old clerk of work for an Indianapolis building contractor young Gibson saw the contractor build, and the land speculator reap. He got to know one Simon Yancy who had come into town on a mule while stumps were still in the streets. He learned how Yancy

bought land, how the land increased in value, and how this made Yancy the third richest man in Indiana—and never a payroll to meet.

"Something's wrong!" said the young clerk of work to his French contractor-employer. How wrong he was to know more fully when, just fifty years ago, a dog-eared copy of Henry George's "Social Problems" came into his hands, supplemented later by "Progress and Poverty."

David Gibson was born in Indianapolis in 1871. After his clerkship he began financing and promoting building schemes. In preparing many a prospectus he found he could write and become fired with an ambition to do so.

In 1904 Gibson went to Cleveland as a special editorial writer for the Cleveland Press. He has been syndicating articles and editorials, publishing newspapers and magazines, and doctoring sick publications ever since. Last September he acquired The Erie Press, one of the largest printing plants in northern Ohio.

Upon going to Cleveland Gibson fell in with Jim Vining, A. B. DuPont and other first-line Georgists of that day. In 1913 he launched the "Ground Hog" which built up a weekly circulation of 20,000 before it suspended in 1917. But "Ground Hog" was a failure, says Mr. Gibson. "In showing how much money was made out of land speculation, all it did was make a bunch of land speculators. My picketing of vacant lots did the same—even though my signs told of the unsocial effects of land grabbing." The Site Tax League of Ohio, which he organized about the same time, had much the same defect, in his opinion.

Out of his years of experience, he says today that the Henry George School is the "greatest thing that has come into the movement since the passing of Henry George."

understand it high ground rent is an urban phenomenon. Of course farm lands vary in their productivity; and therefore in their value; and part of this variation is locational. . . . By and large, however, according to the agrobiologists, land is land; and its productivity—with certain sharp exceptions—is uniform, given optimal cultivation, optimal supply of plant nutrients. Indeed as the new agrobiologists have established, land is not even necessary, save as a situs; water, sunlight, chemicals will support plant growth without soil. . . . (4)—G. R. Garrett, New York.

The Editor Answers

1. To which Henry George replied that the single tax is no panacea, but economic freedom is. The abolition of poverty will give man a chance to prove his capabilities.

2. These figures are not available. Governments do not require corporations or individuals to separate their rent income from other incomes.

3. This is the only reform that can be instituted without violent upheaval. We collect some rent now; when popular opinion demands it, our laws will permit the public collection of all rent.—It has been estimated that five per cent of the people own all the land in the U.S.; if going to work is a hardship, these people will suffer.

4. Rent is not only an urban phenomenon. There are no two pieces of land of equal desirability, urban, mineral or agricultural. The difference in desirability is a value expressed in rent. Science has not yet been able to make two farm sites equally desirable.

Seek Safety, Carry on

I am enclosing a list of names and addresses of members of the Henry George Fellowship which I shall be very grateful if you will keep in a safe place. It is very difficult to maintain a voluntary organization at any time but under present conditions it is doubly difficult. Particularly as it is always possible but by no means probable that the members who are doing the organizing will be scattered and much of our valuable information lost. We have already taken the liberty of telling our members that should they lose touch with us they may write to you and you will forward their letters to us. We shall from time to time keep you informed of any change in our address so that you may forward any such correspondence to us.

Despite the war we have since January last run two successful terms and are now planning our Autumn term in London and we are expected to be running classes in the Midlands and East Anglia if conditions permit.—Leon MacLaren, London, England.

A Great Book

The evolution of a people is wonderfully shown in Louis Wallis's book, "God and the Social Process." It is indeed "a Study in Hebrew History." But what a learned study and with what clarity presented! We can now, as never before, read our Bible with understanding and appreciation, and thus with even greater profit. That profit will be wide and deep and uplifting. It will enable us to know our own times at the same time. It makes error of so many kinds stand out sharply. It points, insidiously, to their correction. The book should be very widely read. Right reading cannot fail to bring enlightenment and stimulation of best kind, to bring about real education and active impulse.—But my praise falls short—as everyone would find on reading the great book. By its enlightenment they would see how history does indeed repeat itself, according to the character of its human beings, and that God's Law does indeed prevail. In line with His Providence, or out of it, the issue is at last determined, for good or ill. How man needs to be turned to God, to stand in His Light, so as to be rightly directed and guided!—Mary Fels.

Letters to The Editor

A Reader Queries

Would adoption of the single tax, in your judgment, cure the major ills of society? (1)

Why do you not publish figures showing how much land rent is collected yearly in the United States by private persons, natural and corporate? . . . (2)

Could single tax be adopted without revolution or expropriation? If so, how? Would not the general dislocation resulting be productive of enormous hardships for some time? Finally, under the present order what percentage of persons are now advantaged by the present order in this respect? . . . (3)

One other point occurs to me. As I

Get Behind The Freeman

(Editorial in November, 1937, Freeman)

The purpose of **The Freeman** is to interpret the social and economic events of the day from the viewpoint of a Free Economy.

In a world permeated with monopolistic thought—which finds expression politically in various forms of centralized power, socially in the subjugation of the individual, and economically in the tendency of wages and interest to the minimum of a mere existence—there is need for a publication that assays the news with the touchstone of freedom.

But **The Freeman** has no political ideology, no propagandist purpose. Its object is education—education in the philosophy of Henry George, which has been aptly described as the philosophy of a free exchange of goods, services and ideas.

From the writings of this greatest of socio-economic thinkers we have learned that the persistence of poverty in the midst of plenty arises from privilege, and that the greatest and most pernicious privilege is the private ownership of the earth. The simple, just and efficient way to destroy this privilege is to collect the rent of land for the needs of society. This will make unnecessary our system of iniquitous taxation.

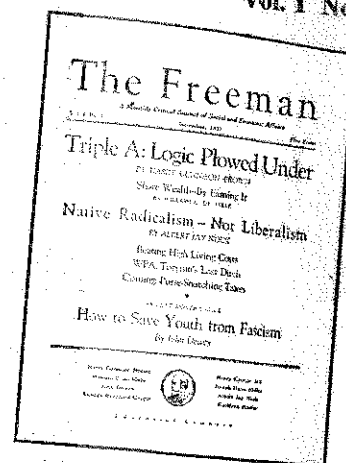
This reform, readily suggesting itself from the study of the laws governing the distribution of wealth, is

not offered as a panacea. It is offered as the only means of destroying involuntary poverty and the fear of poverty. With man freed of these shackles such other reforms as are found necessary for the improvement of social conditions will be found easier to accomplish. While poverty persists no reform in our social or political order can have any lasting effect, and the longer poverty does persist the greater will become the danger of the collapse of our civilization.

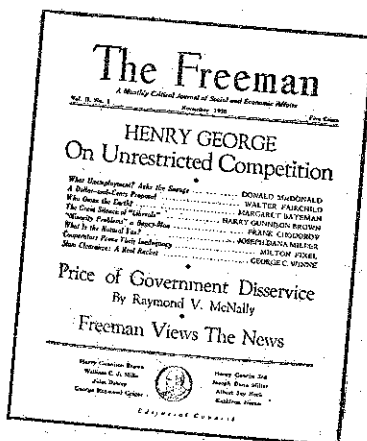
Our daily history is replete with instances demonstrating the soundness of Georgist philosophy and the fundamental errors in the prevailing

Thus, **The Freeman**, a product of the Henry George School of Social Science, takes its place in the movement for mass education for economic justice. In order to reach a greater number of people its price has been set as low as production

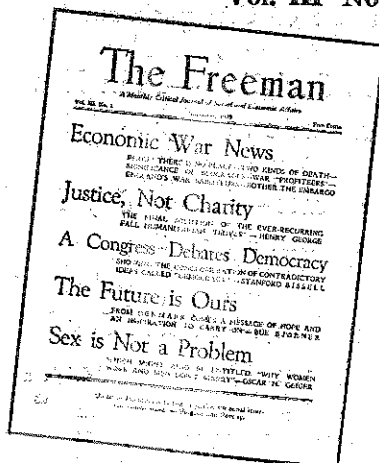
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monopolistic political economy. The analysis of these instances will therefore be the policy of this publication. In these analyses wrong thinking, rather than personages or political parties, shall be attacked. The purpose of **The Freeman** will be to direct correct thought, because:

Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting; by complaints and denunciation; by the formation of parties, or the making of revolutions; but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought, there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought, right action will follow.—Henry George.

costs permit. All of its editors and contributors freely volunteer their services for this worthy cause, and a considerable amount of clerical work is done without remuneration.

The publishers intend that these columns shall be the media for the public expression of the best thought of the Georgist movement. Therefore, they cannot be the forum of any one individual, no matter how brilliant; or any small group, no matter how devoted. **The Freeman** is a serious student of the social sciences whose name is legion and whose locale is our whole sub-continent. The ranks of **The Freeman's** makers are still open to recruits—and ever will be.

But to make the paper self-supporting, which it must be, a minimum of six thousand subscriptions is necessary. Each graduate, each friend of the school is therefore urged to solicit subscriptions—not only to make **The Freeman** possible, but also to widen the scope of its influence. Get behind **The Freeman**.

VOLUME IV - NUMBER 1

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BECAUSE the Freeman is dedicated to the spreading of the Philosophy of Freedom, a most appropriate birthday celebration is the offering to its readers of essential literature on the subject, at reduced rates.

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