

in 1682, and the solution adopted in our federal constitution, to protect the citizen against usurpation and abuse of power in matters of religion, and to establish religious freedom. Its terms are available to establish a similar economic freedom. We should again demonstrate what liberty is, this time in the economic field; and show how to limit our own politicians before we undertake to police the balance of the world.

Why should we have financial groups or labor groups and tradesmen constantly lobbying, pressing and pulling our politicians and legislators, to finance their business interests, necessarily at the expense or handicap of conflicting interests, when we scrupulously forbid churchmen such financing in behalf of religious interests? Is the proper purpose of government to promote business, and whose business; or is it to establish and maintain equal justice under law, and to secure equal opportunity to everyone in his employment and prosecution of his business, and to preserve liberty? I cannot see that the profiteering carnivora are a bit less dangerous or avaricious or entitled to more legal privileges than the preaching militants, who are debarred from the halls of congress and legislature in soliciting subsidies, and not allowed to lay their hands on a farthing of the public till. Most leaders of the church, at least the high minded ones, would surely fight harder than anyone else against being put back on the dole, and made Caesar's dependents and servitors. Having withdrawn from the state's subventions, the mystery is that churchmen stand quietly back and allow the spoilsmen to take command, to revel in the loot, and to beat the war drums for its protection. The rulers and leaders of the nations have not simply been getting away with an occasional murder, but they have been getting away with wholesale murder, regularly, everywhere and every so often, from the beginning of history; and they are now spending billions and bankrupting civilization, preparing for bigger and better butcherings. Their limits should be much more plainly set.

True religion must be voluntary. It is not advanced by bayonets, shot nor shell. The same is just as true of fair dealing. Labor, investment, production, trade all should be voluntary; and never coerced. Aside from maintaining equal rights and opportunities for all, government and legislation for business interests employ the gun power of government in unjust and liberty destroying coercion. It has no more real justification, no more actual benefit for deserving business, than the use of force for promoting religion has. It was said of the act for religious freedom, that "it was destructive of all religious and social order." The same would be said of the provisos for industrial freedom, though freedom of industry would mean no more anarchy, than freedom of conscience meant atheism. Correct rules of justice and economics always concur.

Instead of fierce zeal to climb into control, churchmen

of all people should be most anxious to restore to a free people the usurped power of the state. The state is force. It is Caesar's and Mars' machinery. It is not the proper agency of the church. But the church can participate without limit in organizing and conducting a free society assigning to Caesar or Mars the minimum police and protective function: and reserving to voluntary association and cooperation, to labor, to production, and to trade, full liberty and equal justice, which are primary, human and inalienable rights—economic freedom as complete as religious freedom.

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## The Negro Problem A White Problem Also

THERE was a time when the problem of tenancy was regarded and promptly dismissed as a Negro problem. If it had been so discussed at this Conference it would have lost much of its significance for the South. Although most of the Negroes in southern agriculture are tenants and sharecroppers, most of the tenants and sharecroppers in the South are now white. Relief of the Negro situation is involved in relief of the general situation now so disastrously defective. The Conference gave its attention to the renovation of the ancient landlord-tenant statutes, to the extension of credit, to provisions for tenant farm purchase, and to essential rehabilitation. Implicit in all of this was the fact that the rationalization of southern agriculture could not proceed without including all farmers impersonally in the schemes.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON in the *Crisis*.

It is impossible in the consequences that ensue from social injustice to separate populations according to color. Such injustices as exist must inevitably visit themselves upon Black and White. A system that denies access to natural opportunities must be universal in its application. White and Black tenant farmers and White and Black sharecroppers are in the same position.

The land injustice plays no favorites. As Mr. Charles S. Johnson says, "The rationalization of Southern agriculture could not proceed without including all farmers impersonally in the scheme." Which is another way of saying that the solution of the question, the establishment of a just system of land distribution, must include both Black and White. We are glad to see that this leading organ of Negro thought recognizes this and when the White farmers recognize it also the solution of the question is near.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

UNTIL there be correct thought, there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought, right action will follow.

"Social Problems," by HENRY GEORGE.