

last job a free man would take. Since there was no machine to relieve the drudgery of the job — and since no education or skill was required — it automatically fell to slaves.

Before Whitney's invention, slavery was rapidly becoming both unprofitable and immoral — in Alabama as well as in Massachusetts. But with the gin, slave labor became highly profitable in the hot areas of the country where cotton could be grown. In due course, most educators, legislators, and churchmen in the South were soon defending or tolerating the "peculiar institution" — or were remaining discreetly silent about it.

A modern cotton picking machine that now performs the labor

of more than 80 hand pickers would have been of vast help in abolishing slavery by again making it uneconomic and thus permitting the long-suppressed moral ideas against it to take effect. But, most unfortunately, such a machine was not invented for more than a hundred years after the gin. Thus the issue of slavery in the United States was settled by a fratricidal war. The side with the best machines won, and the slaves were set free. That was as it should have been. But it is to be hoped that a few of the victors stopped to ponder the probability that it was more a matter of climate and economics, rather than morality and government, that determined which side was which.

LET'S NOT CHOOSE SLAVERY

"SLAVERY was a good life, if you had a good master. Just eat and sleep and play and take care of a small part of the farm."

This was Dan Hughes speaking in Louisville at the age of 112. He knew his subject; he was a

slave in Crittenden County, Kentucky, when the Civil War ended. To a generation which has grown up with the bloodhounds-and-blacksnakes concept of the slavery era in America, his words have a strange sound. They shouldn't.

There are thousands of persons in this country today, of all races, who believe that slavery is a good life – if you have a good master.

When Dan Hughes was a slave with a good master, he had security. His parents had no worry for the future when he was born. Such training as he received in his youth – and it was equal to the education received in those days by many free men – was provided without cost to him by his benevolent “owner.” He looked forward to guaranteed full employment during his productive life, and to an old age free of economic worries.

Dan Hughes, the slave, had subsidized housing and guaranteed medical care. He had incentive, too; if things had gone on as they were he might have become a straw boss or even a butler up at the big house. And if he planted what he was told to plant on the small part of the farm he took care of, well – try planting wheat today without being told you can plant it.

The security Old Dan had in those days, he couldn't have had without slavery. We cannot have it today without slavery. Guaranteed food and housing and medical care, assured full employment and carefree old age, surety against economic depression and protec-

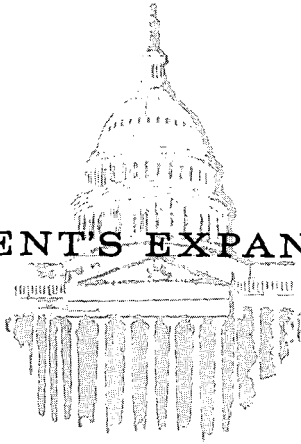
tion against price-cutting competition, these are the fruits of security – and the attributes of slavery. It makes little difference whether a person or a government is the master.

The more Americans call upon government for cradle-to-grave security, the more they ask politicians for guaranteed jobs, guaranteed profits, guaranteed living, the closer they come to placing themselves in slavery. Some say the difference is that we choose our masters; they forget that the more freedom we surrender elsewhere, the nearer we come to losing the right of choice. Others say government is a good master; they forget that when slavery is established, masters can change.

We think that for all the security of slavery, Dan Hughes must have preferred freedom with its risks. So do we. So, we believe, does a great majority of the American people. To “eat and sleep and play and take care of a small part of the farm” isn't enough for the human soul. Our task today is to see that we do not drift through complacency into a bondage we would not knowingly accept. When government promises security, let us look for the chains before we accept. • • •

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GOVERNMENT'S EXPANDED ROLE



THE EXPANDED ROLE of government has brought about significant changes in our economic system. Old-style, individual-enterprise capitalism has given way to what Professor Calvin Hoover of Duke University describes in his recent book, *The Economy, Liberty and the State*,¹ as "Welfare Capitalism, Progressive Capitalism, or simply the Organizational Economy."

Picking up the last descriptive phrase, it would seem that organization headquarters are gravitating more and more toward Washington — as President Eisenhower warned at the 1957 Governors' Conference.²

The federal government, in ways large and small, pervades our lives. Measuring its size and

scope, to get some indication of its vast and growing influence, can take many approaches. Perhaps the simplest is to cite a few statistics, single out a few programs that point up the wide range of government economic-financial activities and responsibilities today.

For example, some 25 million Americans (veterans, federal workers, armed forces, farmers, social security recipients) — one adult in every five — get regular checks from the government. Countless others receive occasional payments.

At the end of 1958, federal warehouses were giving out food to more than five million "needy persons." The food got in the warehouses in the first place because of federal farm programs which, while regimenting the farmer with acreage controls and marketing quotas, have priced commodities out of markets and

¹The Twentieth Century Fund, N. Y.
²Quotes in "The Progress of Socialism," page 71, of the June 1959 issue of the *First National City Bank Letter*.