

al, as were the buildings at the World's fair, should be treated in free renaissance, with column and entablature used for decorative and not for architectural effect. Instead of the glaring white of Chicago, there will be color everywhere at Buffalo. The flats will be colored, and color used on color to gain the picturesque detail decided upon.

The principal buildings will be those of manufactures and liberal arts, agriculture, machinery and transportation, electricity, electric tower, stadium, administration, propylaea, horticulture, forestry, graphic arts, temple of music, mines, ethnology, and dairy, beside the New York state building and the three United States buildings.—The Cosmopolitan for September.

#### CREATING MARKETS.

The appetite of the world-market grew with what it fed on; the countries within the ring of what was called "civilization" (that is, organized misery) were glutted with the abortions of the market, and force and fraud were used unsparingly to "open up" countries outside that pale. This process of opening up is a strange one to those who have read the professions of the men of that period and do not understand their practice; and perhaps shows us at its worst the great vice of the nineteenth century—the use of hypocrisy and cant to evade the responsibility of vicarious ferocity. When the civilized world-market coveted a country not yet in its clutches some transparent pretext was found—the suppression of a slavery different from and not so cruel as that of commerce; the "rescue" of some desperado or homicidal madman whose misdeeds had got him into trouble among the natives of the "barbarous" country—any stick, in short, which would beat the dog at all. Then some bold, unprincipled, ignorant adventurer was found (no difficult task in days of competition), and he was bribed to "create a market" by breaking up whatever traditional society there might be in the doomed country, and by destroying whatever leisure or pleasure he found there. He forced wares on the natives which they did not want, and took their natural products in "exchange," as this form of robbery was called, and thereby he "created new wants," to supply which (that is, to be allowed to live by their new masters) the hapless, helpless people had to sell themselves into the slavery of hopeless toil so that they might have something wherewith to purchase the

nullities of "civilization."—"News from Nowhere," by Wm. Morris, Chapter XV.

#### MODERN LIFE IS DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN.

"It was once the best of form for gentlemen to talk like stable boys and to be carried to bed drunk every evening. It was once in shocking taste to say that the Book of Genesis is a fairy tale. It was once the best of form for gentlemen to murder each other on the slightest provocation. It is still in shocking taste to criticise the spoliation of the poor by the rich," says Richard Le Gallienne in his latest volume, "The Sleeping Beauty, and other Prose Fancies." He goes on with some shrewd observations, worthy of reproduction, because England and America seem to be treading the same road as nearly as may be:

"Now, any time since the French Revolution there has been a steady warfare waging between two ethical ideas and two political ideas, between Christian asceticism and modern humanism—the gospel of the joy of life—on the one hand, and between the aristocratic and democratic ideas on the other.

"These ethical and political ideas have mutually interacted beneath the surface, so that what is valuable in Christianity has passed into democracy, and all that was good in aristocracy—those secrets of humanism which it had wealth and leisure to learn—have passed into the humanist gospel; but on the surface Christianity and aristocracy are still ranged together against democracy and humanism, the dead bodies against the life that once animated them.

"Once upon a time Christianity stood for most of the purity and pity that existed in the world, and aristocracy, perhaps, stood for most of the world's refinement and culture; but that time has passed, and at the present moment both goodness and good breeding, to state it gently, are quite as likely to be found elsewhere."

#### NATIONAL IDEALS.

What really determines a man is his ideal.

It is the same with a country.

Our American republic has in the past 30 years gradually been changing its ideal. The ideal of freedom, fraternity and equality was embodied in the Declaration. Our forefathers did not live up to the ideal; but they had the ideal, and this was much. They did not deride it. They at least acknowl-

edged it in words. Schoolboys declaimed it; orators proclaimed it. If they did not earnestly mean it all, they at least honored it.

The ideal of human freedom was held up throughout the struggle for the abolition of negro slavery. This got to be the embodiment of the ideal. Life-blood was at last poured out in its cause.

When this struggle ended, the nation entered upon an era of unprecedented money-making. We need not here speak of the causes. The fact is known. The world has never before seen such a race for wealth. Some held command of the natural opportunities of the country, and so have had a great start in the race. Others were endowed with the vulpine intellect for outwitting rivals. Thus there has come an ever-widening distinction of classes. We have land lords and monopoly lords wealthier than the lineal lords of the old countries.

These new aristocrats have not the ideal of their forefathers. Their ideal is embodied in an effort at imitation of the old regime of Europe. It savors of exclusion, privilege, and condescending patronage. The words of the Declaration are smiled at as the expression of a silly dream. Men whose fathers fought for the liberation of slaves are not ashamed to show contempt for the real freedom of labor.

These new aristocrats have command of the church, of education, of art, of literature. By their control of these influences they are poisoning the nation. The young men of the country and thousands of the masses are unconsciously affected. They are adopting the false ideal, which is now being presented to them under the guise of imperialism and glory.

Nothing can save the republic but the glow of a new ideal. No, not a new ideal, for the ideal of freedom and brotherhood has ever been the ideal of the prophets of all times and races. But this old ideal needs the fresh glow of a new birth and a new body.

What is to be the new form in which it is to be embodied? It can be none other than the crusade which is to complete the freedom of labor. This freedom can be attained only by the recognition of the fact that one man as much as another is lord of the earth on which he is called to live and work.

Reason and the course of history point to this as the next necessary step in human progress. Without this ideal the republic, which we have in times past been proud to call the hope of the nations, is sure to march on in the road of militarism and imperialism.

The power of monopoly and special privilege will increase. The concentration of wealth will continue. Philosophy, art, and the finer sides of life will be subjected more and more to the ideals of an upper class founded on money and controlling the means of livelihood. More and more the logic of the schools will be employed to discredit the rights of man. More and more our politics and international relations will conform to the commercial greed and the doctrine of the right of might.

There are awful signs of danger in the new issues which have lately come. But it is not too late, if only the heart of the nation can be turned once more to enthusiasm for the great ideal of justice and equal rights. He who first saw our new dangers and their remedy never lost faith in the future.—J. H. Dillard, in *National Single Taxer*.

#### THE CLASSES AND THE MASSES.

Class hatred was the theme of a sermon delivered Sunday morning at the Vine Street Congregational church by the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow chose for his text a report of a sermon on the same subject by Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis. He said in part:

While it serves the purpose of some demagogues to play the role of reformers it does not follow that all reformers are demagogues. Appeals to class prejudice should be discountenanced, but not in so sweeping and indiscriminate a way as to create on the other hand a prejudice against the progress of true reform.

Here is a preacher who says that the increase of property means the increase of happiness of all classes.

That depends. The property which a man produces cannot add to his happiness if it is stolen from him. The labor of the slave may increase the property of the master, but the slave must be content with his bed of straw and slave's rations.

The preacher says:

Much of the wealth of field and factory has been produced, not by land, not by labor, not by capital applied to both, but by ability.

He says:

Anarchism and socialism propose to run a mowing machine over the tops of men's heads until all are equal.

Yet there is hardly an anarchist or socialist in New York who could not have told the preacher that when the political economist says that labor produces all wealth, he means the labor of brain as well as brawn. In political economy the term "labor" includes the ability of the brain worker with the skill of the hand worker.

The preacher says:

Among many men the impression

prevails that labor alone has produced the wealth, that the large fortunes of the rich have been created by and belong to the poor. The logical result of this idea is class hatred and class warfare.

That is only half the truth. A large part of many fortunes do belong to the poor. There are two ways of getting wealth. Either you must earn it or steal it. He who accumulates a fortune by performing for society some valuable service must enrich others as well as himself. Such a fortune is the measure of a man's worth to the world, and can harm no one. But if a man gets a fortune without performing any useful labor either of brain or brawn he grows rich, not by enriching others, but by impoverishing others. Such a fortune is the measure of a man's legal power of robbing his fellow men. The poor ought not to covet what the rich have earned by any form of useful labor. But they are miserable slaves if they do not covet their own. They ought to be jealous of that wealth which is not earned, but which becomes concentrated in the hands of the few, not by virtue of service rendered, but by virtue of unjust laws which make hard times for the many and unearned prosperity for the few. Every great fortune is composite in its character, but there are millions which represent little else but the legal power of their possessors to grow rich by increasing the poverty and the misery of their fellow beings. Millions are diverted from the pockets of producers for the support of idleness and the encouragement of snobbery.

If I said this with the purpose of inciting some enraged mob to raid the palaces of these commercial conspirators I would be guilty of appealing to class hatred. But if I stand in my pulpit and condemn as demagogues those who point to existing evils, am I not guilty of treason to humanity?

Grant that class hatred is a menace. Who is to blame for it? Is it the man who calls himself a socialist, or something else, and who stands on the street corner and makes indiscriminate attacks upon all those who have more of this world's goods than he? Is it the anarchist who throws a bomb or assassinates a king? These men are merely the symptoms of a social disease.

Read Mr. Riis' book, "A Ten Years' War," if you would know why men imagine they have a grievance. Consider how the other half of New York lives. One man in ten ends his life in a pauper's grave. While we are

worrying about the savagery of remote islands, 47 in every 100 of the denizens of our slums can neither read nor write. Infant death rate in these sections of the metropolis is over 80 per cent. The homes of these people have been called "infant slaughter houses," where children are "damned" not born into the world. Men and women crowded together sometimes at the rate of 1,500 and more to the acre! This crowding is steadily increasing. In 1880 there were 16 persons to a dwelling. In 1890 there were 18. In 1895 there were over 21. Three thousand people packed into a single block! God's sunshine sold at auction! From one-fourth to one-third of the income of these people required to pay for hovels where the elders of Plymouth church would not keep their dogs. In 1894 5,000 of them slept in rooms without windows. Think of it—tenants paying a dollar a week for the privilege of herding with the rats in rooms made of odd boards and roof tin! In the Astor tenements Mr. Riis found women finishing pants at 30 cents a day.

I tell you it was these people who equipped the Astor battery that was sent to Cuba. It is the wealth of these people that is represented in the private yachts that go lolling about the summer resorts with their idle crew. It is the wealth of these people that is paraded on Fifth avenue, where ladies give dinner parties to their lap dogs. The wine that flows at their banquet halls is crimson with the blood of these oppressed people who pay the rich man's taxes, build his palace, make its furnishings, supply his table, nurse his children, dig his grave, and for what? For the privilege of living upon land which before God is theirs no less than his. The baby that is born in a windowless room has a right to feel outraged. Society has no right to expect good citizens of boys that can never know the song of the meadowlark or the smell of fresh-blown clover.

The preacher says there is no occasion for social discontent here where the loftiest positions of the nation are open to the boys of the workshop and the factory. I think it is a reckless kind of optimism that indulges in that sort of rhetoric. Mr. Riis is nearer the truth when he says for half the population of New York the struggle for existence has been "growing ever harder and the issue more doubtful." Tennyson was nearer the truth when he said:

"Every door is barred with gold, and opens but to golden keys."