The Public

**A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making**

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ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

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EDITORIAL

Let's Think.

"It hurts the head to think; try it!" and if you don't like the experiment, hold Dan Beard responsible for the advice. But let's think.

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"After the corn crop in Kansas is harvested this year," says Life, "there will be more dollars to the pocket in the State of Kansas," etc., etc. Whose pocket? Let's think.

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There are two general kinds of socialism, democratic and plutocratic, with particular varieties in abundance. Professor Sumner defines one kind. "Socialism," he writes, "is any device or doctrine whose aim is to make some people fight the struggle for existence for others." This is plutocratic socialism, and isn't Protection one of its varieties? Let's think.

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If manufacturers have tariff protection in order to pay high wages, why shouldn't their workingmen have arbitration when they get low wages? Think it out.

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The tariff committee of the National Association of Employing Lithographers congratulates the trade on having secured an upward tariff revision for their products. Are such congratulations quite respectful to President Taft? Isn't it

unpatriotic, maybe, to contradict the President of our country even with the best intentions and on the firmest foundations of fact? Think it over.

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"I have come to the conclusion that there have been only two kinds of government in the world so far—namely, thief rule and mob rule." Emma Go———No, not this time. The idea may be Emma Goldman's, but the words are the words of Franklin H. Giddings, one of the leaders in university sociology and a professor at Columbia University. Now, the puzzle—it's a double puzzle—is to find Professor Giddings's error; and, when you give that up, to choose from the two the category of the government at Washington. Thinking may do it.

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What about this story that William Winter has been compelled to leave the New York Tribune, where he has been dramatic critic since far back into the days of Horace Greeley? They do say that the theatrical trust put it up to the Tribune to get along without Mr. Winter's judgment on their productions, or else to worry through without their advertising, and that the Tribune was Barabbian in its choice. But think! If a mere theater trust can control a great metropolitan daily's dramatic column, what might not be done with its editorial and news columns by Big Business! The mind shrinks from the thought—most minds.

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It "hurts the head to think—try it."

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"Water."

Charles Ferguson hits the nail on the head when, in his article on "Overcapitalization" in one of the Hearst papers, he explains that the worst kind of overcapitalization is any capitalization at all of public franchises. "It is absurd," he says, "to suppose that the law of a free state intends that its franchises, granted to private persons, shall have any money value in and of themselves—any value over and above the value of the investments made under them. That is to say, a public franchise cannot be regarded as a private asset. It is merely the legal definition of an opportunity—reserved to a particular concern because that is the only way the public can get it attended to. That franchises should in themselves have money value is preposterous, because it amounts to nothing less than the putting of a public taxing power into private hands."

Social Sin and Individual Purity.

In defense of his father's memory, the surviving son of Stephen A. Douglas—Judge Douglas of North Carolina—has explained that although Lincoln's great political adversary stood as a statesman for leaving the slavery question to the States, he was "personally opposed to slavery," and showed his sincerity "by refusing a gift of slave property offered by his father-in-law in the contingency of a failure of heirs to his wife, which would have been worth from $100,000 to $125,000. He never owned or accepted a slave or the proceeds of a slave, directly or indirectly; nor would he permit himself to be placed in a position where the ownership of slave property might be cast upon him by operation of law." We have no disposition to make a personal criticism, and if the essential questions of pro-slavery days were not reviving in the economic questions of our own time, we should let the dead past bury its dead. But under the circumstances it is well to reflect that men cannot escape responsibility for social wrongs, by refusing to profit by them. Better profit by a social wrong and use the profit to destroy it, than to refuse the profit while using one's influence to perpetuate the wrong. Nobody can free himself of responsibility for social sin otherwise than by promoting social repentance. Wasn't it Pontius Pilate that contented himself with washing his own hands?

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Theoretical Love and Personal Affection.

To love one's fellow men with personal affection rather than theoretically, has been commended as the right kind of brotherly love. And it seems so, at first blush; for "theoretical love" suggests some of the unsatisfying connotations of "theoretical food." But is it really true that personal affection is the deeper love? Without intending at all to depreciate personal affections, we should ask if they are not as likely to spring from self-centered amiability as from love? Very often, at any rate, personal affection is but a subtle form of self-love. The amiable slave owner had this love for his Negroes. He loved them with personal affection "a little better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse." But he did not love them theoretically, for he joined in denying them the rights he claimed for himself. He loved them personally to look down upon with generosity as his inferiors; he hated them theoretically to look in the eye on a level. So it is of the amiable millionaire of these industrial days. He loves his fellow men per-

sonally. Even the lowest among them he loves so well that he graciously contributes out of his abundance to the relief of their wants, and enjoys it. But he does not love his fellow men theoretically; for, like the amiable slave owner, he clings tenaciously to the unfair social institutions which foster his wealth by blighting their opportunities. Personal affection without theoretical love, is merely emotional and usually selfish; but theoretical love, the intellectual counterpart of emotional affection, rounds out that brotherly love without which personal love is only a slightly expanded form of easy-going self gratification.

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An Official Editorial.

We adopt as an editorial the following extract from the fourteenth annual report of the New York State Prison Commission, dated February 23, 1909: "A boy had recently been discharged on parole from the Rochester Industrial School and had been employed during the fall and early winter by a farmer, who did not need his services for the balance of the winter and let him go. The boy started out to find other work, which is not always easy to do in the dead of winter in the country. He was picked up by an overzealous constable, who took him before a rural Justice who adjudged him a vagrant and sent him to the county jail for six months, which would keep him in prison the entire spring and part of the summer. Very few county judges would allow such a commitment to stand if they had jurisdiction over it and the matter was brought to their attention. We read about such oppression in some distant foreign lands and execrate the governments that permit or cause them, ignorant or unmindful of the conditions existing in our own State. Police officials should not be permitted to arrest citizens simply because they are without work and without money, and magistrates should not be permitted to send such people to prison."

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Baby Millionaires.

When the names of children are paraded in the newspapers as worth $45,000,000, or $30,000,000, or $9,000,000, or even $1,000,000, what impression does the statement probably make upon the mind of the average reader who toils and moils for a pittance, and stares penury in the face if perchance opportunities to work shall elude him?

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Of course, he doesn't think that these children have earned that much. They have never earned anything, and it may be that they never will. Does he think, then, that an ancestor has piled up that much gold, or silver, or houses, or clothing, or food, or other product of labor which he had earned in his day? The thought is absurd!

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What, then, is the meaning of this great wealth which these children own? Simple enough. It is not wealth at all; it is only a collection of paper titles. Titles to past wealth? Yes, to a degree, but not to a degree that counts for much. Titles to present wealth? Yes, to a degree, but not to a great degree relatively. Titles to wealth yet to be produced? Aye, that's the point. Under our social adjustments, no one can work without the permission of some one else, of some one who owns a title to working opportunities. These permissions or licenses to work bring to the licensor, without consideration, part of the products of the licensee or the sub-licensee; and the probable income from those sources capitalizes into lump sums which measure the market value of the titles.

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It is capitalizations of that kind that are alluded to when children are described as millionaires and multi-millionaires. They are so because they are to be worked for, by millions upon millions of other children, as long as they hold fast to those titles to a share in the working opportunities of the world. When a little Southern boy in the old century inherited a thousand slaves, he was said to be worth so much money. He was really worth the capitalized value of his title to the future productiveness of those slaves, minus their "keep." It is the same now, except that the form of the slavery is more subtle, and master and slave are not distinguished by race differences.

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A Sermonette on Charity.

"Charity begins at home." True. But what do we mean by "charity"? Not alms, surely. It would be absurd to practice almsgiving in one's own household. What can we mean by "charity" in this use of it but good affection, good will, love. This must be the meaning. So we have it that good affection, good will, love, begins at home. And what is love in this sense but fairness, the square deal, just conduct, justness, justice? It is justice, then, that begins at home. He who is unjust in his own household is only playing at justice when he prates about it elsewhere.

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But the justice, the love, the charity that begins

at home, and stays at home, is worse than mere play. It is selfishness modified only enough to take in mine with me—"us four and no more." It is difficult to say whether this is a modification or a multiplication of selfishness. It is one thing to make one's own home happy, with due regard for the happiness of other homes; it is altogether a different thing to make one's own home happy by making other homes unhappy.

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The sneak thief might make his own home happy. So might the burglar, the forger, the highwayman. He might bring comforts home for the enjoyment of his family. He might be just, loving, charitable, in his own home. But it would be at the expense of homes he had robbed. Is this what we mean when we say that charity should begin at home? Is this what we mean when we decry agitations for general justice? And if a thief who had not been just at home any more than abroad, were urged to reform, should we tell him to begin at home? Should we be satisfied if he did begin at home? The instant answer to these questions is that the justice which begins at home and bides its time for development beyond the home is spurious.

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And how does the business man who has some legislative license to rob differ in that connection from the sneak thief or burglar or forger or highwayman? He doesn't differ at all, except that he runs no risk of the jail. When he makes his own home happy it is at the expense of other homes. To let him pride himself, then, upon the fact that he is good in his home, to listen modestly to him when he preaches against agitations for social justice, saying that charity or love or justice begins at home, is to encourage the rankest kind of uncharitableness.

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Nor is there any essential difference in favor of the beneficiaries of moss-grown institutional privileges. The beneficiaries of these privileges do not go forth and rob with violence or cunning; neither do they corrupt legislatures to license pillage; but they do permit the institutions by which they prosper at the expense of others to stand, and they do resist the efforts of others to abolish them. Insofar as they are passive they stand upon the same charity plane with the beneficiaries of unjust legislative gifts, and the thieves who break in and steal. The happiness they bring into their own homes is at the expense of happiness in other homes. Their charity at home is counterbalanced by their uncharitableness abroad.

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Death of Dr. Wesselhoeft.

Another long time friend of The Public, Dr. Wm. P. Wesselhoeft of Boston, has followed Louis Prang (p. 782) and Dr. Thomas (p. 793) out of the world. Dr. Wesselhoeft is described by the Boston Post as a prominent homeopathic physician who was born at Bath, Penn., Oct. 8, 1835. In Boston he was for many years consulting physician to the Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital, and he had besides a large private practice. Like Mr. Prang, his distinguished fellow townsman, Dr. Wesselhoeft was a believer in the industrial doctrines of Henry George which are now reviving so widely and taking a hold so much firmer than ever upon public thought.

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A Faithful Country Newspaper.

We regret the necessity, due to his ill health, which causes W. M. Martin to offer his printing plant at Solon (Iowa) for sale and to give notice of withdrawal from the useful editorial work he has been doing for ten years or more in that part of his State. Never were such papers as the Solon "Economy" has been under Mr. Martin's management so badly needed among the country press as now. It has done its work ably as a local newspaper and performed its function faithfully as interpreter for local use of the progress of the world. It has besides, with editorial thought and force, contributed its share to the sum of that progress.

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Barbarous Mexico and Barbarous Denver.

We are glad to notice that a magazine of high standing has had the courage to take up conditions in Mexico (p. 541), and bring out the facts. This is The American, which begins in its October issue a series of articles by J. K. Turner on "Barbarous Mexico." The title is a good one, notwithstanding the Springfield Republican's criticism that it offers an affront to a sister Republic. No Mexican will be offended at this title unless he is offended at the exposure itself. Beneficiaries of the plutocratic and bloody dynasty of Diaz will be offended at the title, of course; but not Mexican patriots. In the same way we may speak of barbarous Denver without offending any of the Denver victims of its barbarity, except those narrow-minded merchants whose one immortal ambition it is to buy something for a dollar and sell it for a

dollar forty. This barbarity is to be exposed in a series of articles in Everybody's Magazine, beginning with the October issue and written by Judge Ben B. Lindsey. Both articles, the series in The American on Mexico and that in Everybody's on Denver—the "Beast and the Jungle"—might indeed be given a broader application. Denver is only one corner of the political jungle in which the beast of Big Business prowls, and Mexico is only one place in our civilization where the barbarities of Big Business are practiced. Each series is to be a special exhibit of a general condition.

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A Fiscal Confusion.

One is often puzzled at the confusion that fiscal officials exhibit in connection with their work. Here for instance is a Pennsylvania commission's report on valuing coal lands for taxation. It advises a direct tax on the annual output of coal, apparently oblivious to the plain fact of experience that this is a burden on the work of coal-mining—a burden which tends to lessen the demand for coal by making coal dearer, and to lessen working opportunities for miners by lessening the demand for coal. And note this additional observation of those fiscal experts: It is improper that a ton of inaccessible coal should be taxed every year until mined, while a ton of mineable, remunerative coal is taxed only once, and that when sent to market!

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If so confused a notion of the difference between taxing coal as it is mined and taxing natural coal deposits as they are monopolized, misleads any reader, we beg him to reflect upon this comment of the Tax Reform Association of Pennsylvania, which has its office in room 1300 of the Land Title Building, Philadelphia: "The Commission fails to see that the real estate tax does not tax each ton of coal. That which is assessed and taxed is the selling value of an opportunity to mine coal. If every ton of coal in a certain tract were accessible immediately, the tract would be very valuable, and there could not be any justification for favoring it as against a tradesman's house and lot, or a farmer's barn and field. Nor is there any justification in assessing below market value a less desirable deposit in which the coal cannot be made available for ten or fifty or one hundred years, because the present market value of such a deposit is based on the comparative inaccessibility of its coal. This value is determined as accurately as any human agency can determine it by 'the higgling of the market.' Inaccessibility discounts value; accessibility increases it; taxes should be based upon value, and they should be low or high accordingly."

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Proceeding along the same trend of thought the Tax Reform Association adds: "A deposit of a million tons, much of which is not 'get-at-able' for fifty years, is of trifling value compared with one of equal extent and richness which can be mined entirely today. If these two pieces of real estate are assessed respectively at their market value, the ultimate tax upon the coal mined cannot be said to be higher in the one case than in the other. . . . The fact that coal lands are subject to a tax on their value was considered by the purchasers of the land, who paid less than they would have given if the land had been tax-free. To repeal the tax now would simply make the owners a gift of the capitalized value of the tax, for they would be able to charge that much more to the purchaser. The price of coal would not be reduced by repealing the tax, but the price of coal lands would be increased. In the meantime the deficit in public revenues would be saddled upon other kinds of real estate. Moreover the speculation in coal lands, thereby induced, would operate to curtail the supply of coal, thus causing an artificial scarcity and high prices. . . . A tax upon annual output alone would burden the active miner, penalizing production, while exempting the forestaller and speculator; but a tax upon the value of the land (whether used or unused) would stimulate production, thus lowering prices. It is an axiom of political economy that a tax upon land values does not increase the price of products."

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HENRY GEORGE AND THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

The passing of the seventieth anniversary of Henry George's birth, which has been or is about to be celebrated at different places in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia (p. 818), is an appropriate time for recalling this man's relation to the great social movement which is challenging the attention of the world. He was not its leader. The movement is too big and altogether too indefinite and incoherent for leadership. No one is its leader. In the present stage of its development no one could be its leader. It may well turn out in the end never to have had

a leader. The world's history is without distinct record of a movement so manifestly spontaneous in its impulses, so obviously like an organism in its growth.

Henry George did, indeed, contribute to this movement; he contributed to it tremendously. That he was in and of the movement, no one can with reason dispute. He was in and of it so conspicuously as to seem to hosts of disciples the world over to have been its leader. But this is true of other men who have contributed conspicuously to the social movement; they also seem to their disciples to be riding on the crest of its tidal wave. There can be, however, no supreme individual leadership in a movement so heterogeneous in its elements.

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To this social movement Henry George contributed as a preacher; his eloquent appeals made his contemporaries feel, make new men feel, will make men of the future feel, the spirit of its impulses, the glorious possibilities of its development.

More than preacher, he was a strategist, disclosing the place of vantage, the line of least resistance toward the emancipation of men.

More than preacher and strategist, he was as an engineer, planning for the movement a resistless propulsion.

Among its prophets he rose highest and looked farthest. But what the possibilities of this movement are in all its scope, neither he in his time nor any one in ours can tell. It cannot be described. We cannot even name it aptly. It is of this as he himself said of life—of life absolutely and inevitably bounded by death, and filled in with disappointments and bitterness—"We do not see it all."

But the way to begin, Henry George did see and he saw it right. Before the social movement can really begin to develop its possibilities, mankind must be emancipated from the thralldom of men; and there can be no such emancipation while the earth is monopolized by landlords or capitalists, nor while production and trade are obstructed by taxation. To begin by abolishing that monopoly and that obstruction is the message of Henry George to all who would emancipate men, whatever their social philosophy. Without this, all reform, all revolutions will redound in the future as in the past to the benefit of privileged classes—the old ones or new ones.

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It is not as leader of the movement for social redemption that Henry George is to be remembered, nor as the leader of a cult, but as an adviser who proposed a practical policy, firmly grounded in economic and moral principle, by which alone the truths of any of our social agitations may be realized in our social life.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ADVICE TO SOCIAL REFORMERS.

Evanston, Ill.

All reform journals in the narrow sense, by which I mean "organs," no matter how lovely their creeds, and all societies of reformers, are "trusts" in principle, "mutual admiration societies;" and they have the usual tendencies of "trusts," namely to monopolize the product and restrict the output, and thus deprive society at large of the benefits to which it is justly entitled.

By product and output I mean both ideas and converts to the ideas. To take a concrete case: if any young man possesses an unwarped conscience, and is so fortunate as to have become the possessor of certain ideas, say as to the unsocial character of certain modes of getting wealth, two courses in general are open to him. He may monopolize them or he may make them productive just as if they were tools or opportunities of any other kind.

We do not often stop to think what monopolizing ideas means. It means ordinarily to enjoy the contemplation of them instead of scattering them. Any mutual admiration society is organized to give opportunity for their members to enjoy each other's company and ideas. Any person who withdraws to any extent into his own shell or into a mutual admiration society of similar spirits, loses opportunity and eventually loses capacity to mix with his ordinary fellows. Fellowshiping with the mutual admiration society is the path of least resistance to the possessor of the aforesaid high ideas. On the other hand, fellowshiping with his ordinary companions and communicating his ideas requires and develops patience, courage and tact. If any man has acquired the reputation of an ungenial crank, in nine cases out of ten it has been due to too little mixing rather than to too much of it.

Crank societies and readers of crank journals feed on big, vague and foolish ideas of the future. Men who accomplish results are too much engrossed with their work to waste their time this way. Probably the whole bunch of "flying machine cranks," of which the world is full, are patting themselves on the back and speaking of "the Wright boys and us." In fact, however, there are two distinct sorts, and the Wright brothers are far from being visionary. There is just the same difference between the cranks on social questions and the real thinkers and doers, as there is in the question of flying machines. The democrat who steadfastly refuses to affiliate with a circle of mutual admirationists is showing his common sense as much as he would to refuse to stand on a pillar like a Simon Stylites. We no longer stand on pedestals, but we do the same thing without the pillar quite often, and we bunch together as badly as the

ascetics have done in any age. I mean by "we" those who esteem themselves reformers.

I said the reform bunch were like a trust. I mean, of course, a bad one, supposing there are good ones. The parallel is in this respect: The trust makes money for itself but restricts production and lessens the benefits that should accrue to society. It, therefore, in the long run makes other men its enemies. A reformers' clique makes a nice little heaven for its members, in their minds, but it makes its members inefficient sowers of the seed, and makes them in general deserve the contempt of society as "cranks," no whit better in their day and generation than were the bunches of ancient and medieval ascetics.

I should draw the conclusion that no society of reformers should be other than a purely business affair, to better secure by co-operation certain definite results. This for the sake of avoiding the deadly danger of becoming mere mutual admirationists.

OLD SOCK.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, August 31, 1909.

Henry George's Seventieth Birthday.

The seventieth birthday of Henry George, which comes on the 2d, is to be celebrated with dinners and other forms of public meeting (p. 845) in Australia, Great Britain, Germany, Canada and the United States. The celebration of the Manhattan Single Tax Club is to be at a Coney Island clambake on the 11th, and Henry George, Jr., is to be the principal speaker. The tickets, $1.50, are to be had of Benjamin Doblin, 120 West 42d street. At Chicago the Henry George Lecture Association has arranged for an informal 75-cent dinner at Kimball's Cafe (143 Monroe street) for the 3d, at which the speakers are to be Henry George, Jr., the Rev. Father Thomas E. Cox, the Rev. A. B. Francisco and Louis F. Post. Notifications of intention to attend may be sent to F. H. Monroe, 38 St. James Place. At San Francisco a dollar dinner will be given on the 2d under the auspices of The Star. The Oregon Single Tax League will give a 75-cent dinner at the Y. M. C. A. new building, Portland, on the 2d, At Pittsburgh, a dollar dinner is to be given on the 2d in Hotel Henry, at which the speakers are to be ex-Gov. L. F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island and Rabbi Levy of Pittsburgh. There is to be a memorial address on the 2d at Spokane by the Rev. W. J. Hindley. The State dinner at Springfield, Illinois, promises to be exceptionally large in attendance. It is set for the 2d, and is to be addressed by R. F. Herndon, Congressman Graham, President Felmley of the State Normal University, Henry George, Jr., and Raymond Robins. The Twin Cities' celebration will be at Como Park, between Minneapolis and St. Paul, on the 12th, with Raymond Robins as speaker of the day; and the Missouri celebration will be still later in the Fall. On the 5th at Arden, Delaware, there will be a Sunday afternoon memorial meeting, at which Wm. N. Ross will preside, and the speakers will be Ex-Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island, John S. Crosby and Bolton Hall of New York, Charles F. Nesbit of Washington and Will Price and Frank Stephens of Pennsylvania.

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The Cleveland Traction Question.

Further progress was made toward a traction settlement (p. 828) when, on the 23d, the company consented to accept the city's offer to refer the question of drafting safeguard clauses, to S. H. Tolles and ex-Judge Lawrence, provided Judge Tayler were accepted as third arbitrator. On the 25th both sides agreed to a committee consisting of Tayler, Lawrence, Tolles, and Newton D. Baker, the City Solicitor. Neither party is to be irrevocably bound by the report of this committee.

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Disclosures of Peonage at McKee's Rocks.

Reports of disclosures of peonage in the steel car plant at McKee's Rocks (p. 826) have overshadowed the reports of strike violence, and inspired dispatches are less in evidence in the daily papers. The latest of these came through the Associated Press on the 24th. It told of the victory over the strikers, saying that the plant was then in operation with 1,000 men at work, and that "in a measure President Frank Hoffstot of the car company has made good his word, given at the inception of the labor trouble, that he never would give in to the strikers if he was ruined financially." The same dispatch stated that a mass meeting to be addressed by Eugene V. Debs had been given up by the strikers and their sympathizers, "as they believed any gathering of the workmen could do no good at this time." In fact Debs had been forbidden to speak, but he announced that he had "as much right to free speech as Theodore Roosevelt," and intended to use it if alive. "No Pennsylvania troopers will prevent me from addressing these men," he said. Apparently the dispatch had been intended to pave the way for accounting for suppressing the meeting by making it appear that it had been voluntarily called off. But Mr. Debs did speak.

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And on the 26th, when the peonage investigation began, a different aspect of affairs from that

of preceding news reports was presented. It grew darker as the investigation proceeded. The testimony showed that the strike breakers were confined against their will, furnished with bad food and roughly treated; that they had been gathered up in the big cities, offered tempting wages, and told that there was no strike on; and that they were compelled by threats of shooting to remain and work after discovering that there was a strike on. It was testified also that scores of the strike breakers wished to get away but could not, and this was confirmed on the 27th when 200 walked out under Federal protection. Upon being interviewed they explained that they were given bad food, subjected to cruel treatment, and forced to work when they tried to quit. They said that only 300 remained in the plant. Further sworn testimony was given in the Federal proceedings on the 28th, which confirmed what had been given before as to misrepresentation in employment and cruelty and forcible detention at the plant. The desertions from the plant continued, and the dispatches of the 29th reported that the plant had totally ceased operations.

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The Race Question in the South African Federation.

Mail advices show that the passage through second reading in the British House of Commons (p. 803) of the bill for the enactment of the draft Constitution for a federated South Africa, has not failed to arouse protests in Liberal England against the provisions of the Constitution which deny elective rights to the large native population of the South African States. Among the protestants in the House were Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Ellis Griffith. India (published in London) says:

Regarded from any point of view, the situation is extraordinary. A scheme for South African Union is drawn up by representatives of the four colonies, approved by the Colonial Parliaments, and submitted in the form of a bill to the Imperial legislature. It contains two provisions which embody a principle hitherto unheard of in the British Empire; namely, that persons of color, persons not of European descent, shall be deprived not only of the right to vote in the elections for the Union parliament, but also of the right to sit as elected representatives. The essence of the matter is here. The bill does not leave it to the discretion of South Africa to decide whether Africans or Asiatics shall or shall not, now or in the future, be given the franchise or permitted to sit in the Union parliament. That would be an arguable position, on the theory many times asserted during the debate, that South Africa must be given absolute freedom to manage its own affairs and to find its own solution of racial and other difficulties. What the bill does is to lay down . . that the colored citizens of the South African Union shall be deprived, apparently for all time, of the elementary rights of citizenship. The embodiment of this principle in an act of Imperial legislation represents a change of the greatest possible moment in the relations between the colored races and the British Empire.

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Progressive China.

Reports of advance in China (pp. 781, 804, 825) are emphasized by the accounts of Professor T. C. Chamberlain and Professor E. D. Burton of the University of Chicago, who have been traveling in little known parts of the Chinese Empire. According to the Chicago papers the two professors have talked in this way of the city of Chentu in western China:

"This city of Chentu simply amazed me," said Professor Chamberlain. "Its streets were cleaner than those of Paris—and I had just come from Paris. They were as clean as those of Berlin, which has been called the cleanest city in the world. The street lighting system is as good as that of the average American city."

"The head of the street cleaning department," put in Dr. Burton, "had organized an efficient corps of sweepers, and once a day the pavements were gone over carefully with brooms. The dust was carted away in bags on the backs of coolies. We got acquainted also with the chief of police and the superintendent of schools. The former had just put into force a law keeping all beggars from the streets. Vagrants who were arrested he sent to a workhouse, and after a few weeks, when they had learned the rudiments of a trade, turned them out to make a living. The superintendent of schools had torn out all the archaic examination cells and had replaced them with modern buildings, in which law, mining, engineering and a wide range of other studies were taught. These Chinese appeared to be strong, efficient, intellectual men, with the interests of their native land at heart. The coolies who come to America are no more representative of the educated Chinese than an ignorant slave of the ante-bellum days would be of the average American."

"Look out for a war with China," added Professor Chamberlain. "China is a country which we should all fear. It is a nation with over four hundred millions of people, and if their ire were to be sufficiently aroused they would be a menace to the combined military forces of the world."

NEWS NOTES

—The American Bar association met at Detroit on the 24th.

—An earthquake did much damage near Siena, Italy, on the 25th.

—The National Conservation Congress opened at the Seattle exposition on the 26th.

—The annual convention of the Association of State and National Food and Dairy Departments at Denver completed its work on the 27th.

—By rearrangement of course, the Mauretania has made the passage from New York to Queenstown in 4 days, 14 hours, and 27 minutes, beating her previous best passage, which held the record, by 2 hours and 53 minutes. By a change of English port of

delivery, to Fishguard, time between New York and London is further shortened (vol. x, p. 875; vol, xi. p. 519).

—At the first day session of the sixth International Trades Union Congress at Paris, France, on the 30th, resolutions were adopted appealing to the labor unionists of the world to strike for the abolition of war.

—A week of testing and racing of airships at Rheims, France, produced many new records successively. The honors of the last test were carried off by Glenn H. Curtiss, who covered 12.42 miles in 15 minutes and 50 3-5 seconds.

—George C. Eccles, of Winnipeg, wireless operator on the Alaska Steamship Company's steamer Ohio, went down with his ship off Steep Point, Alaska, on the 27th, after summoning the aid which saved the passengers, and all of the crew but four.

—Meetings in advocacy of women's suffrage were held on the 27th and 28th at the summer home of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont at Newport. The principal speakers were the Rev. Dr. Anna H. Shaw and Charles Zueblin. An admission fee of five dollars was charged.

—Frank Stephens (Arden, Edgemoor, Del.) announces an interesting series of travel talks and lectures for delivery over the country. They deal with politics, the land question, art and economics, picturesque towns of the old world, and poets, painters and craftsmen.

—John Z. White is announced by the Henry George Lecture association (F. H. Monroe, 38 St. James place, Chicago) as having been booked for a tour lasting from September to June and extending over the continent from coast to coast through Canada and the United States.

—Governor Hughes issued an order on the 29th for the removal from office of Louis F. Haffen, president of the Borough of the Bronx, New York city, thereby confirming a report of Wallace MacFarlane, special referee, who found Haffen guilty of misconduct in office and neglect of duty.

—Count Zeppelin in his dirigible balloon, Zeppelin III, started on the morning of the 27th for Berlin, going via Nuremberg, Leipsig and Bitterfeld, a course covering about 450 miles. Accidents and contrary winds delayed progress, and the huge airship did not reach Berlin until nearly noon on Sunday, the 29th. All Berlin welcomed the new conqueror of the air with boundless enthusiasm.

—The Duke of the Abruzzi, cousin of the King of Italy, has this summer ascended Mount Godwin Austen, in the Himalayas, to a height of 24,600 feet. This mountain, which is the second highest in the world, has a height of 28,250 feet. The greatest height previously attained was when W. W. Graham, an Englishman, in 1883, went up Mt. Kabru in the Himalayas to a height of 24,000 feet.

—Unprecedented rains, swelling the Santa Catarina river in northeastern Mexico, brought down a great flood on the city of Monterey early on the 28th. Buildings were swept from their foundations. Two thousand people are believed to have been drowned, and more than fifteen thousand rendered homeless. The main water supply pipe was broken, and the city is without drinking water. A public subscription list for the stricken city has been opened in all parts of Mexico. The American Red Cross Society at Washington will receive contributions in the United States.

—John Mitchell of the National Civic Federation made public on the 25th the intention of the committee of which he is chairman to establish industrial colleges in all populous sections. "In a general way," he said, "we plan to make the industrial educational systems of the various localities distinct from cultural education. We do not plan anything in connection with the primary school system at all. We aim to take hold of the children when they finish the primary schools at about the age of fourteen, and give them a four-year course in our schools. These schools would have to be part of the educational system in a way, because they would be public schools supported by the public. The subjects to be taught will depend on the industrial circumstances of the locality. For instance, where there is a shoe manufacturing vicinity there should be a shoe trade school. Where there are textile works there should be textile schools."

—The American Federation of Labor, according to newspaper reports of the 26th, has begun the organization of all grades and classes of men who work in the iron and steel industry under one great labor organization. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate workers, it is reported, is to pass out of existence and its members are to be taken into the new union. The report continues: "Those who have opposed the methods of the Amalgamated point ominously to the fact that with only one exception the president of the Amalgamated has, on retirement from that office, immediately stepped into some high and lucrative position through a strong political pull at Washington. President Theodore Shaffer is the only head of the Amalgamated who did not profit in this way, and he made history while at the head of the steel men by personally visiting J. P. Morgan in New York and declaring himself. Shaffer's downfall was fast and far."

PRESS OPINIONS

Placing the Responsibility.

Chicago Daily news (ind.), August 25.—All that President Hoffstot concedes to the men is the right to quit. He has refused to acknowledge the existence of the strike or to listen to representatives of the strikers, although the unskilled foreigners of about ten nationalities have a committee, as have also the skilled American workmen who struck merely out of sympathy for the others. Mr. Hoffstot insists that wages are determined rightfully only by demand and supply. He blandly says that the labor market at Pittsburg is glutted. He has imported strike breakers from that city. He guards them in a stockade and relies on the state constabulary and the sheriff to keep the peace, saying: "That is what the company pays taxes for." While mob violence cannot be condoned, President Hoffstot, be-

cause of his attitude, cannot escape responsibility for provoking it.

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Protection and Wages.

The Minneapolis Tribune (ind. Rep.), July 16.—Republican conventions and speakers who mean what they say about tariff reduction should change their phraseology. They should demand reduction of duties on the necessaries of life in the interest of the consumer without reducing the purchasing power of American wages. The number of dollars a man gets is nothing; what he can buy for it is everything. To give him four dollars instead of three and make him pay two prices for food and clothing, tools and conveniences, is to reduce his wages. To reduce his wages one-third and cut the cost of his living in two is to raise them. American workmen have been fooled by this trick for generations. They only began to see it in the dazzling light of the great fortunes piled up under protection. These represent the difference between the raise of wages and that of prices.

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The "Protected" Industries of Michigan.

(Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post (ind.), August 14.—President Taft's first tariff statement began, "Mr. Young, of Michigan, opposed free ore"—on the ground, of course, that iron mining was an important industry of that State. Many valuable iron mines are located in Michigan, and most of them are owned by the steel trust. Mr. Oliver, who secured some of these mines for the trust, said that, in the best of them, the labor cost amounted to five cents a ton. From its Michigan mines the trust extracted last year fifteen million tons of ore which it shipped to Pennsylvania and Illinois, there to be converted into products that were sold back to the people of Michigan at the monopolistic price which the tariff enabled the trust to maintain. Michigan contains two and a half million people. Only a small portion of them are engaged in iron mining. To those that are so engaged a duty on ore is of no benefit. It adds not a penny to their wages. But all of the two and a half millions use iron and steel in some form. Everything they use, from a nail, a tin pan or a pound of barbed wire up to a steam engine, pays tribute to the trust on account of the tariff. In the swapping of Congressional votes one duty hangs upon another. So, according to Mr. Young's philosophy, the people of Michigan ought to pay unnecessarily high prices, not only for pans and wire, but also for shoes and lumber, in order that the steel trust may make an agreeable profit out of its Michigan mines. Doubtless this philosophy sounds good to the trust. How does it sound to the people of Michigan?

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That "Favorable" Balance of Trade.

Moody's Magazine (financial), August.—In lauding the development of trade and industry before the grateful masses in America our financial oracles are wont from time to time to refer with pride to our wonderful foreign trade figures. We are told by these great men that the larger the "favorable balance" the greater the prosperity of the country. . . . Among other things much is made of the fact that since President McKinley was first inaugurated about $7,000,000,000 of a favorable balance has accumulated. . . . Properly considered and analyzed, it is not a "favorable" balance at all, but an unfavorable one. We have sent out in twelve years $7,000,000,000 more in goods than we have received. What have we got for this enormous sum? Gold? Commodities? Securities? The records prove the contrary. The truth is we have got very little. This being the case, why have we paid such a sum to people in England, Germany, France, Holland, etc.? Because we owe it to them. Largely we owe it to them in interest on the capital they own here. While a part is accounted for by the payments we make on ocean freights, expenses of American tourists traveling abroad, etc., the vast bulk is represented by returns on the foreign ownership in American natural resources, railroad equities, industrial enterprises, etc. . . . The growing profit-producing power of American "property" tends to increase the sum each year without the addition of a dollar of new capital investment by the foreigner. Broadly considered, the return on the value of ground—"ground rents," in other words—accounts for most of the $7,000,000,000. The ground rents of American farms owned abroad, of American urban realty owned abroad, interests in American railroads owned abroad, royalties and interests in American coal and other mines owned abroad, as well as interests in American public utilities and manufactures owned abroad. These are the things on which we as a nation are obliged to pay interest in steadily increasing amount from year to year. . . . And it is a steadily swelling figure, too. As the decades go on, we may expect our "favorable" balance to still further increase, and by 1925 the statesmen and financiers of our land may be able to "point with pride" (if they do not by that time "view with alarm") a favorable balance of trade aggregating anywhere from fifteen to twenty-five billions of dollars.

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Beginning to See Things.

New York Age (Negro Rep.), August 5.—Our members of Congress who live in districts in the North where the Negro holds the balance of power should not lose sight of what is going on in certain sections of the South. Negro officeholders are being removed from office simply because they are Negroes in many places, and not because they have not done their duty. A few months before election it is the habit of members of Congress in the North to make special appeals to the Negro for his vote. Unless a change is brought about, we fear that many of these appeals will be made in vain in the coming election. . . . Congressmen in the North will not find it so easy in the future as they have in the past to control the Negro vote simply by the distribution of a few dollars and the making of a few speeches.

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The Way to Do It.

Denver Daily News (Dem.), August 12.—The remedy for the power trust is a tax levied on natural opportunities, without regard to whether those opportunities are in use or not. With such a tax in effect, no one would claim title to the power of a stream unless he were ready to use it, and the

formation of a trust would be impossible. Trusts depend on privilege, in this case on privilege in natural resources. No organization of the dimensions of a power trust ever did or ever can make as good use of natural opportunities as the smaller, more specialized concern, which is adapted closely to local conditions. Give the two an equal show, and the independent concern will smash the trust, five times out of six. And the tax which prevents the cheap hogging of unused opportunities would provide the equal show. The thing the power trust needs to fear is not a beneficent despot, but a sane, rational scheme of taxation which will make it impossible to hold power sites without using them.

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Liberal Politics in Great Britain.

The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (Lib.), August 14.—A frequent jibe of those who are opposed to the Budget has been that the government did not themselves realize what is involved in Mr. Lloyd George's schemes of finance. There never was a greater mistake. Not only have ministers been conscious all along of the tremendous issues now raised. They glory in having raised them. Mr. Asquith declares that, so far from the Budget representing hasty and precipitate expedients to meet an unforeseen situation, the whole Liberal finance of the last three years has been carefully and deliberately contrived towards the present culmination.

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Progress of Governing Classes.

The (London) Nation (ind. Lib.), July 31.—There is in the history of constitutional rights a vast chapter which still remains to be written. It is the manner of our historians to treat the winning of rights as the old-fashioned novelist used to treat the loves of his juvenile heroes. The romance of history ends with a charter, or a law or a sensational trial, much as the novel used to end with a happy marriage. For a few centuries or decades or generations the life of a people is turmoil and strife, the beheading of kings, the making of civil wars, the imprisonment of popular champions, and the trial of bishops. But there always comes an auspicious moment when the right is at last conceded, and then we are left to suppose that people and rulers live happily ever afterwards, like the model couples of the old three-volume tales. To our thinking history is rarely so simple as that. The real fight is much more to secure the effective exercise of a right than to obtain its formal recognition. Coercion is the earliest and the crudest of all the weapons of a governing class. It is really formidable only when it begins to smile and to organize. The old way was to send Wilkes to prison. The new way is to make Sir Alfred Harmsworth a peer. Rights are stifled much more effectively by the steady use of social pressure and the adroit dispensation of patronage than by the public and violent punishment of rebels. To make rebellion and plain speaking dangerous is also to make it heroic, interesting, and, ultimately, popular. To make it slightly disreputable and rather bad form is to place it, in modern conditions, under a much more formidable ban.

Free Speech.

(Chicago) Unity (rel.), July 1.—We heartily share with the indignation of The Public in regard to the panicky attitude of the police towards Emma Goldman and her associates. Any attempt to anticipate a speech and to punish an anticipatory offense belongs to the absolutism that no longer obtains even in monarchical governments outside of Russia and its semi-oriental neighbors. The United States of America stands for a better way. We deplore feverish rhetoric, sentimental oratory and spectacular reform, whether of a radical or a conservative type, but the way to avoid an explosion is to open the safety valves and let the steam fizz. Free speech is the best safeguard against brute force or violence.

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Legal Honesty and Moral Honesty.

The (New York) Wall Street Journal (financial), July 27.—John D. Rockefeller is quoted in one of the Sunday papers as having said: "When a man has accumulated a sum of money within the law, that is to say in a legally honest way, the people no longer have any right to share in the earnings resulting from that accumulation." It is a striking characteristic of a man of strict personal morality that he has never been able to see the difference between legal honesty and moral honesty. It is also to Mr. Rockefeller's credit that he defines the methods whereby the Standard Oil combination and all which it implies were created as being "legally honest." They were certainly morally indefensible. Here is the remarkable case of a man who is a good husband and father, benevolent along large lines, personally humane, pious rather than religious, in many ways a most desirable citizen; who yet cannot see that there is anything morally wrong in an action which the law does not punish. . . . We are indebted to his argument for a curious piece of self-revelation. It shows us a sincere desire to do well, accompanied by a moral conception hardly more than embryonic.

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The Insanity of Work

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), June 17.—Our idolatrous worship of work is an abomination. Work is good in its place, for its worthy ends. Work for its own sake is a vice that hardens the heart, narrows the mind, stifles the spirit. Work is a poor religion. There grows up in it a peculiar immorality. It develops greed and selfishness. It makes for all uncharitableness. We don't get to be really kindly until and unless we get more or less away from work. There is work to be done, of course, but there are other things, too, and an excessive devotion to work tends to drive those other things, beautiful things, mostly, out of our lives. . . . The laws of right and wrong are repudiated if they interfere in any way with business. . . . Ellen Glasgow makes this vice of work a theme of her latest novel, "The Romance of a Plain Man," and a most delightful novel it is. Her hero is a man who resolves to be not "common." He will do a great work in the world to make himself worthy of the aristocratic little girl who said he was "common." . . . He remained "common," because the only way in which he conceived he could dem-

onstrate his worth and his love was to "succeed," pile up money, to give her all the luxuries she might crave. And all the while that wasn't what she wanted at all. What she wanted was the man himself. He was giving himself to business. . . . What he did other men by the hundreds of thousands are doing as insanely, as insensately. They work and work and work, originally of course, to benefit those they love, but gradually those they love become subordinate to the work itself. They become perverted in their objects. They miss the real values in work. They become victims of the fixed idea, and, therefore, as truly insane as if they thought themselves fried eggs who couldn't sit down except upon a piece of toast. Their devotion to work becomes a vice just as prudence becomes avarice and material success dismalest failure. . . . Their dread is to be poor. They place poverty at a figure which to the poor is wealth. They forget that not failure but low aim is crime. They wear out their own hearts and those of all who are dear to them. They make wastrels of their sons, and of their daughters they make the dower-bringers for the pensioning of the mistresses of foreign lordlings. They crush everyone in their path, and when they try to give charity the multitude spits upon their gifts. They are failures in their utter destruction of their finer selves, in their deliberate incapacitation of themselves for the enjoyment of ideals. They become wearied, satiated with materialism, yet can turn to nothing else. They become tied to the corpses of their successes. They lose the power to love anything or anybody. They can't even love their work.

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The Church's Neglected Field.

New Church Messenger (rel.), July 21.—The necessity for individual righteousness has been recognized by the church since the beginning, and will never cease to occupy an important place in the teaching of the church. It is all important. But the doctrine of the grand man is a new doctrine. It is not only necessary to teach individual or personal righteousness now, but righteousness in the larger and largest man. We have a duty—"a moral obligation"—to fulfill as parts of a larger body—the city—as well as those still larger bodies—the State, the country, the world. Each of these has its own individual sins. Dishonesty in a man is an individual sin, graft in the city government is a municipal sin, corruption in the State government a State sin, and in the national government a national sin, and war is an international sin.

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Progress towards civilization owes its triumphs to the recognition of the principle that moral causes determine the standing and falling of nations no less than of individuals; that the spirit of Machiavelli is as disastrous in international as in domestic affairs; that the end of statesmanship is to raise the standard of political and international conduct to the level which obtains in private relations. "The principle of true politics," said our greatest political teacher, Burke, "are those of morality enlarged, and I neither now do, nor ever will, admit of any other."—G. P. Gooch, in "The Heart of the Empire."

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

"DEATH HAS NO PART IN HIM ANY MORE."

Algernon Charles Swinburne, in "Super Flumina Babylonis."

Unto each man his handiwork, unto each his crown,
The just Fate gives;
Whoso takes the world's life on him and his own lays down,
He, dying so, lives.

Whoso bears the whole heaviness of the wronged world's weight
And puts it by,
It is well with him suffering, though he face man's fate;
How should he die?

Seeing death has no part in him any more, no power
Upon his head;
He has bought his eternity with a little hour,
And is not dead.

For an hour, if ye look for him, he is no more found—
For one hour's space;
Then ye lift up your eyes to him and behold him crowned,
A deathless face.

On the mountains of memory, by the world's well-springs,
In all men's eyes,
Where the light of the life of him is on all past things,
Death only dies.

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THE MEANING OF LIFE.

From the Concluding Chapter of "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George.

The truth that I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would have been accepted long ago. If that could be, it would never have been obscured. But it will find friends—those who will toil for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it. This is the power of Truth.

Will it at length prevail? Ultimately, yes. But in our own times, or in times of which any memory of us remains, who shall say?

For the man who, seeing the want and misery, the ignorance and brutishness caused by unjust social institutions, sets himself, in so far as he has strength, to right them, there is disappointment and bitterness. So it has been of old time. So it is even now. But the bitterest thought—and it sometimes comes to the best and bravest—is that

of the hopelessness of the effort, the futility of the sacrifice. To how few of those who sow the seed is it given to see it grow, or even with certainty to know that it will grow.

Let us not disguise it. Over and over again has the standard of Truth and Justice been raised in this world. Over and over again has it been trampled down—oftentimes in blood. If they are weak forces that are opposed to Truth, how should Error so long prevail? If Justice has but to raise her head to have Injustice flee before her, how should the wail of the oppressed so long go up?

But for those who see Truth and would follow her; for those who recognize Justice and would stand for her, success is not the only thing. Success! Why, Falsehood has often that to give; and Injustice often has that to give. Must not Truth and Justice have something to give that is their own by proper right—theirs in essence, and not by accident?

That they have, and that here and now, every one who has felt their exaltation knows. But sometimes the clouds sweep down. It is sad, sad reading, the lives of the men who would have done something for their fellows. To Socrates they gave the hemlock; Gracchus they killed with sticks and stones; and One, greatest and purest of all, they crucified. These seem but types. Today Russian prisons are full, and in long processions, men and women, who, but for high-minded patriotism, might have lived in ease and luxury, move in chains toward the death-in-life of Siberia. And in penury and want, in neglect and contempt, destitute even of the sympathy that would have been so sweet, how many in every country have closed their eyes? This we see.

But do we see it all? . . .

The great fact which Science in all her branches shows is the universality of law. Wherever he can trace it, whether in the fall of an apple or in the revolution of binary suns, the astronomer sees the working of the same law, which operates in the minutest divisions in which we may distinguish space, as it does in the immeasurable distances with which his science deals. Out of that which lies beyond his telescope comes a moving body and again it disappears. So far as he can trace its course the law is ignored. Does he say that this is an exception? On the contrary, he says that this is merely a part of its orbit that he has seen; that beyond the reach of his telescope the law holds good. He makes his calculations, and after centuries they are proved.

Now, if we trace out the laws which govern human life in society, we find that in the largest as in the smallest community, they are the same. We find that what seem at first sight like divergences and exceptions are but manifestations of the same principles. And we find that everywhere we can trace it, the social law runs into and conforms with the moral law; that in the life of a community, justice infallibly brings its reward and injustice its punishment. But this we cannot see in individual life. If we look merely at individual life we cannot see that the laws of the universe have the slightest relation to good or bad, to right or wrong, to just or unjust. Shall we then say that the law which is manifest in social life is not true of individual life? It is not scientific to say so. We would not say so in reference to anything else. Shall we not rather say this simply proves that we do not see the whole of individual life? . . .

In life, as we are cognizant of it, mental development can go but a little way. The mind hardly begins to awake ere the bodily powers decline—it but becomes dimly conscious of the vast fields before it, but begins to learn and use its strength, to recognize relations and extend its sympathies, when, with the death of the body, it passes away. Unless there is something more, there seems here a break, a failure. Whether it be a Humboldt or a Herschel, a Moses who looks from Pisgah, a Joshua who leads the host, or one of those sweet and patient souls who in narrow circles live radiant lives, there seems, if mind and character here developed can go no further, a purposelessness inconsistent with what we can see of the linked sequence of the universe. . . .

What then is the meaning of life—of life absolutely and inevitably bounded by death? To me it seems intelligible only as the avenue and vestibule to another life. And its facts seem explainable only upon a theory which cannot be expressed but in myth and symbol, and which, everywhere and at all times, the myths and symbols in which men have tried to portray their deepest perceptions do in some form express.

The scriptures of the men who have been and gone—the Bibles, the Zend Avestas, the Vedas, the Dhammapadas, and the Korans; the esoteric doctrines of old philosophies, the inner meaning of grotesque religions, the dogmatic constitutions of Ecumenical Councils, the preachings of Foxes, and Wesleys, and Savonarolas, the traditions of red Indians, and beliefs of black savages, have a heart and core in which they agree—a something which seems like the variously distorted apprehensions of a primary truth. And out of the chain of thought we have been following there seems vaguely to rise a glimpse of what they vaguely saw—a shadowy gleam of ultimate relations, the endeavor to express which inevitably falls into type and allegory. A garden in which are set the trees of good and evil. A vineyard in which there is the Master's work to do. A passage—from life behind to life beyond. A trial and a struggle, of which we cannot see the end.

Look around today.

Lo! here, now, in our civilized society, the old allegories yet have a meaning, the old myths are still true. Into the Valley of the Shadow of Death

yet often leads the path of duty, through the streets of Vanity Fair walk Christian and Faithful, and on Greatheart's armor ring the clanging blows. Ormuzd still fights with Ahriman—the Prince of Light with the Powers of Darkness. He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call.

How they call, and call, and call, till the heart swells that hears them! Strong soul and high endeavor, the world needs them now. Beauty still lies imprisoned, and iron wheels go over the good and true and beautiful that might spring from human lives.

And they who fight with Ormuzd, though they may not know each other—somewhere, sometime, will the muster roll be called.

Though Truth and Right seem often overborne, we may not see it all. How can we see it all? All that is passing, even here, we cannot tell. The vibrations of matter which give the sensations of light and color become to us indistinguishable when they pass a certain point. It is only within a like range that we have cognizance of sounds. Even animals have senses which we have not. And, here? Compared with the solar system our earth is but an indistinguishable speck; and the solar system itself shrivels into nothingness when gauged with the star depths. Shall we say that what passes from *our* sight passes into oblivion? No; not into oblivion. Far, far beyond our ken the eternal laws must hold their sway.

The hope that rises is the heart of all religions! The poets have sung it, the seers have told it, and in its deepest pulses the heart of man throbs responsive to its truth.

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JUDGE MAGUIRE'S MEMORIES OF HENRY GEORGE.

James G. Maguire, of San Franciso, in the San Francisco Star of August 21, 1909.

I first met Henry George in the Spring of 1873 and became attracted to him by reason of his masterly exposition, in his pamphlet, "Our Land and Land Policy," of the fraudulent methods by which the public lands of our country had been diverted from the people to the speculators, an evil of that period from the ruinous effects of which my immediate family had then recently suffered severely.

At our first meeting I told him that I had read and admired his pamphlet; and, at that time and for two years afterwards, I really thought that I had read it. I had, in fact, read "Part I" (the historical part) only and had merely glanced at the theoretical part, in which Mr. George had suggested his idea of a remedy for land monopoly.

I was elected to the Legislature in 1875 and Mr. George suggested that something might be done, at the then approaching session, to force *our theory* upon the attention of the public.

I was very much embarrassed because I had not the slightest idea as to what "our theory" was, and was obliged to admit that, although I could almost repeat the first part from memory, I had never considered "Part II" of the pamphlet worth reading.

Mr. George considered my explanation quite reasonable and freely admitted that a young man who was reading John Stuart Mill's "Political Economy" might well consider a dissertation from Harry George, the printer, on the same subject, not worth reading.

I then read his theory and it filled me with horror. It seemed to me to be a most wicked scheme of spoliation. I so informed him and declined to study or discuss the matter until after the adjournment of the legislature; but I promised to give him a full opportunity to discuss the matter then; although this promise was not due to any interest which I felt in the theory, but solely to my friendly interest in the man.

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He held me to my promise and, as a result, we had our interviews, in the little California Market Grill. One of his answers impressed me so forcibly at that time and so constantly since that time, that it should be repeated.

After I had admitted that land monopoly is a violation of the natural rights of man and that it would be eradicated by taking its economic rental value for public uses, I objected to the arbitrary disturbance of the vested rights to privately appropriate such values, which had been so long recognized.

He replied with the question: "How long do you think this world is going to last?" and added: "Do you think that mankind should continue to suffer this great wrong, through all the future ages of the world, simply because, through ignorance, it has been permitted to exist during the lives of a few generations of men?"

Of course the thought was intolerable and all that remained was the acceptance of his remedy or the suggestion of a better one. No better remedy—indeed, no other remedy—has ever been suggested and, from that day to the present, I have remained a firm believer in the single tax theory.

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Then, as now, there were really great and good men who were wasting their time and energies in efforts to unearth land frauds and to have the fraudulently appropriated lands restored to the public domain so that they might be distributed among the people by honest sales, rushes and lotteries. We were once invited to a conference of public-spirited citizens, on that subject. Mr. George commended the movement in so far as it was intended to curb the avarice or punish the crimes of the land-grabbers; "but," he said (in substance):

"We have no real interest in such a movement.

If it should be completely successful it will bring no substantial relief to the people. What difference does it make to the people, in the broad economic sense, whether the land which is privately monopolized, was honestly or dishonestly acquired by the original holders? as it would make no difference to the Negro slave whether he was stolen or bought. It is the monopoly, however acquired, which oppresses the people; and no remedy which does not restore and maintain their equal right to the use of the land, as a whole, can be of any lasting benefit to them."

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I was with Mr. George a great deal while he was writing "Progress and Poverty," and had the privilege of discussing many of its chapters with him while they were in course of preparation. Memories of those occasions crowd upon me, but I can mention only a few of them here.

One evening in 1878 we were discussing the probable period to elapse before his theories would become a serious issue in the practical politics of the world. I estimated the period at twenty-five years, making full allowance for what we called "the natural inertia of the human mind," which permits only about two per cent of the people to accept a new idea within any one calendar year; the opposition of special interests and "the hereditary instinct of servitude," prevailing among the people.

Mr. George agreed that the period suggested was reasonable, but he thought that forces which I had not considered might either accelerate or retard the acceptance of the truth which he presented (he never spoke of it as a mere theory); for example, in substance, he said:

"The movement of thought is quicker now than it has been in the past; the people are more generally educated and the superstitious reverence for mere wealth is declining. On the other hand, the newspapers (the great medium of popular education) are almost wholly in the hands of the beneficiaries of special privileges. A poor man can no longer be a public educator, because he cannot possibly obtain an Associated Press franchise, and the people cannot afford to take his paper unless he has such franchise. All newspapers are therefore falling into the hands of those whose interests we oppose, and, of course, they oppose us and our ideas.

"My opinion is that our idea will continue to advance and recede, like the waves of a rising tide out here on the beach; a large wave will roll far up on the beach, and then several minor waves will fall far short of its line. The natural inference would be that the tide was falling, but soon the ocean level will be far above the original high water mark. So it is with all great social and political movements, advancing and receding, here and there, repeatedly, until at last the minds of the people are prepared for the change, and then the change comes just as if an accident had happened."

That very process has been followed in the single tax movement, until today the great Liberal party of Great Britain has adopted its principles, and many of her self-governing colonies have, in very full measure, adopted the system by law; the German Empire has already gone further than England (in the much-discussed budget) has even proposed to go in taking the unearned increment of land for public use, and Germany has legally established the single tax in large measure as the revenue system for at least one of her colonies. Already some seven hundred towns and cities of Great Britain have petitioned Parliament for permission to adopt the system for their municipal purposes, and five times the bill granting that permission has passed the House of Commons. Even now the tramp, tramp, tramp of five hundred thousand of the best people of our country (farmers and their families) shakes the continent as they migrate to Alberta and Manitoba, to take advantage of the single tax conditions established there; and every State of our Union in which the Initiative and Referendum have been adopted, is a biennial battleground between the Goliath of Monopoly and the David of single tax.

All this has resulted directly from the publication of "Progress and Poverty" less than thirty-one years ago, and it more than justifies the hopes and labors and sacrifices of its great author. It justifies the beautiful and inspiring prophecy with which he closed his splendid lecture, "Why Work Is Scarce, Wages Low and Labor Restless," in 1878:

"Paul planteth and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase. The ground is ploughed; the seed is set; the good tree will grow. So little now, only the eye of faith can see it; so little now, so tender and so weak. But sometime the birds of heaven shall sing in its branches; sometime the weary shall find rest beneath its shade."

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THE TROUBLES OF MRS. UNPHIT.

For The Public.

"There's one thing I don't understand," said Mrs. Unphit to her husband, as she cut out the charred remains of a vest pocket, preparatory to building a new pocket.

"One thing! I guess it's *e pluribus unum*. What's clogging your understanding now?"

"It's that contract for hydrant valves. The Board of Works has given the contract to a local firm, though its bid is $56,000 more than a Pittsburg firm bid, because some of the labor unions and members of the Board say we ought to keep our money at home."

"Don't understand it, eh? Maybe you think we are paying taxes to keep Pittsburg on its feet,

but we ain't. You see a Pittsburg bargain counter loaded with cheap valves, and you don't think of the businessmen and laboring men right here at home."

"Oh, yes, I'm thinking of them, too, but—"

"But nothing. By paying $56,000 more for some four hundred thousand dollars' worth of valves to a local firm there's a little item of about $200,000 paid to home labor that otherwise would go to Pittsburg laboring men. I say we ought to keep our money at home."

"But, dear, you didn't do that when you bought this lot to build our home on. You paid $1,200 for it to a New York man, when you really preferred a $1,500 lot owned by our next-door neighbor, but you said business was business and you'd rather have $300 in your pocket than in Mr. Harris' pocket, and if that's business for you I don't see why it isn't business for the City."

"Don't, eh? Of course you don't. How'd I get any benefit out of paying $300 more for a lot to Harris than for another lot that's just about as good? I don't see as I'm called on to work for Harris. It's a different proposition altogether."

"Merely a difference as to the contents of the bargain counter, I suppose. Still, I don't see why such a racket is raised about keeping that valve money at home when we're sending out of the City every month barrels of money that should be kept here, and we're sending it out of the country, too."

"Well, go on. Tell your dream."

"Why, two days after the Board of Works let that contract to the highest bidder, so as to keep the money at home, the Twelfth Infantry was paid off at the dock just as it was sailing for the Philippines. That was $21,000 that went out of the country, and millions more going to the Philippines and none coming back. Then, there's $10,000 a month going out of the City to that New York society woman who owns the Beaumont Hotel, and that's hardly a beginning."

"I 'spose you'd take her property away from her. Been listening to some of those agitators at the Woman's Club, haven't you?"

"Yes. If the Board of Works listens to agitators, why shouldn't I? And if they're so careful to keep $200,000 at home to pay out in wages to workingmen, why don't they and the workingmen look at the stream of money that's running out of the City to pay alien landlords, for I heard you say the other day that millions of dollars' worth of City real estate is owned by outsiders. What good does it do us and the laboring men to send that money away from home?"

"Well, we've got to build houses, and we can't bring lots from Nevada or Alabama to build our houses on. I 'spose if you women could vote you'd confiscate every town lot owned by a man outside the town."

"Oh, no; I don't care who owns the lot. We wouldn't confiscate anything. But I should think the workingmen ought to see that if they add ten dollars or a hundred dollars a year to the value of a lot, the money ought to go to them and not to the lot owner, and that if the owner had to pay that money to them instead of putting it in his own pocket he wouldn't hold the lot idle very long."

"And 'spose he didn't, what of it?"

"Nothing much; only, if all the owners of vacant lots had to put their lots to some use because they'd have to pay back to the people the value the people give to the lots each year, the workingmen wouldn't be worried about keeping money at home to make jobs. Do you ever notice the vacant lots as you go about town?"

"Notice 'em! A blind man'd notice 'em. I don't know which is worse, a vacant lot used for a dump heap, or one with lonesome, burnt-out walls standing on it, or one with tall billboards around it and pictures on the boards screaming about whiskey and beer and breakfast foods. There ought to be an ordinance against billboards. They ought to be taxed out of existence."

"It would be easy enough to tax them out of existence. They and the burnt-out brick walls wouldn't remain standing very long if we put a little single tax yeast on the lots."

"Single tax yeast! What's that? Some of that Henry George foolishness?"

"Single tax yeast is very strong. It raises buildings on vacant lots, grows jobs for workingmen, and raises money for public purposes without fining men for being industrious. Speaking of foolishness, the next time you see the minister coming don't slip a lighted cigar into your vest pocket and set off a pocketful of matches. It makes work for me, but I'm not advertising for work."

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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THE LAND OF YOUR CHILDREN.

A Sermon Delivered in St. Martini Church, Bremen, Germany, by Emil Felden, Pastor Primarius.* Translated for The Public by Mrs. Daniel Kiefer.

Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!

—Isaiah v, 8.

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Let me open today's discourse with a fable written by that great friend of humanity, Pestalozzi:

A child had a little tree which his father had planted for him. It grew as he grew; and he loved it as a sister and cared for it as he did for his pet rabbits and lambs. But the tree grew sick. Daily its leaves withered. The good child lamented,

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and daily plucked the withered leaves from the branches and watered its roots. But one day the tree leaned towards the child and said to him: "The trouble lies in my roots. If you can remove that, my leaves will become green again, without any other remedy." So the child dug at the roots of the tree and found a nest of mice there.

To this Pestalozzi adds:

The fool who sees the suffering of humanity, seeks to relieve it by removing the outward symptoms of misery from the eyes of the superficial observer. He who is wise, will, when he sees the misery of humanity, seek for the mice which gnaw at the tender roots from which come all humanity's blessings.

"The misery and suffering of humanity"—Does humanity really suffer?

There are those who deny that it does. They point to the increase of national prosperity; to the fact that places of amusement are well patronized; that the number of such places increases, etc. They do not see the thousands of unemployed who wander from city to city, begging; or if they do see them they conclude that all without exception are idlers and shun work, that they ought to starve in order to learn that they must work. They do not see the fathers of families whose lives are consumed in endless activities, and still make no progress. They cannot understand that the labor of women and children is the ruin of the family life. They cannot conceive why the laborer looks forward to old age with dread, in spite of old age pensions. Poverty to them is an indication of personal shortcoming. Where this is true of special cases, they generalize. Where as a result of poverty they see dirt and vice and crime, they confuse cause and effect. Every struggle to raise wages is to them a proof of the covetousness of the lower classes; every strike a crime; every striving of the masses towards higher culture and participation in the treasures of higher thought of the nation and the world, seems to them arrogant and ludicrous.

To such I do not address myself. In this congregation there are none such. I speak to those who have sympathy and comprehension for our people and their needs, and for the many issues of the social question, the questions of our time. I speak to those who, to use Pestalozzi's illustration, see the needless withering of the leaves of the tree; whose hearts ache at seeing it; who would like to help if they could; but who often despair in their helplessness.

Many of these, though they have eyes to see, are still like the child who plucked off the withered leaves and watered the tree. They try to solve the social problem, or at least to lessen the great need, by all sorts of puny means. Poverty itself seems to them an ineradicable evil. It has always existed, they say, it will always exist. They give alms; they found societies to abolish drunkenness and vice, to help the fallen, infants, mothers, orphans, sick and convalescent, etc., etc. It is just as if they occupied themselves trying to bale the water from the ocean with a tiny sea shell. Their efforts are as a drop of water on a hot stone, and the large amounts of money which they contribute for such purposes, vanish as completely. Their intentions are good, but we know that their work is only half done; indeed, much less than half done. They are satisfied with the superficial. We must dig deeper in order that we may discover the cause of the disease at the roots. Not the effect but the cause must be removed,—the cause, from which forever arises anew the suffering, physical and spiritual, of humanity, which prevents it from sharing, in every way, in the benefits of the great achievements of progress, and from rising to the heights to which it is possible for humanity to rise.

Because such results can be accomplished, it is our right and our duty to consider this subject here. To those of our time we say: "Be yourselves. Develop to the highest possible perfection the gifts and powers within you. Live your own individual lives."

This is the aim and object of real culture. It is also the aim of religion. Religion in its highest development will give to man the ability to grow more human, to grow stronger, more perfect, to become a just and happy man in every sense of the word. Not one man alone, not the powerful and rich alone, but also the lowest and the poorest; not only the educated, but also the toilers, not only the man, but also the woman, shall be able to attain this goal. To combat everything which hinders this, and to stand for all which will bring about this result, is a duty of religion.

Be not satisfied with the superficial. Go to the root of the matter! This is what the prophet Isaiah does in the text which I have quoted. "Woe to you," he cries to the lords of the earth. He issues a call to combat against them. Not only against such as make use of unlawful means, but also against those who use lawful means, who "join house to house and lay field to field, till there be no place," till they alone possess the earth. This in itself is reason enough for the prophet to proclaim against them, just the same as he does against the drunkard, the sinner and the hypocrite.

The land question is as old as humanity. There have always been the shrewd and powerful who have attempted to get control of the land. Only a little thought upon the subject enabled them to see that with the control of the land they could also control the people who lived upon it. Land is the first, the most necessary condition of life. Without it there is no possibility of work, of food or of shelter. Ancient law givers have recognized the importance of the land question.

Hammunrabi, a king of Babylon, more than 4,500 years ago established laws which in effect were to protect productive labor against the power of the landlord.

In Athens, we have the laws of Solon, in Rome those of Licinius, in Sparta the efforts of King Agis and Kleomenes against the attempts of individuals to become private owners of unlimited areas of land. Above all do we find in the laws which the Priest Ezra brought with him to Palestine from the Babylonian Captivity, in the Third Book of Moses, the most superb land laws for providing that the people should have enough to eat, and should live in security in the land. Justice was to be the rule in Israel. The land belonged to the Lord, by whom it was lent to the people. To all the people, not just to a few. For ages this opinion was current in Israel, and for this reason the prophets were always opposed to anything which was not in harmony with this rule.

Micah says: "They covet fields and take them by violence, and houses and take them away." Amos prophesies the wrath of the Lord upon those who do these things, and Isaiah rebukes the land speculator.

But what do the words of the prophets concern us? Shall they who lived in entirely different circumstances than do we, be our authority? Woe to him who goes to the Bible for authority in such matters! It is true the authority of the Bible is accepted in certain moral questions: murder, adultery, stealing. Then too one likes to quote the Bible when the people are admonished to meekness, and contentment and submission and obedience toward their superiors. But on the land question even pious Christians refuse to accept the Bible as authority, especially when they themselves are land owners or land speculators, or even if they have expectations of inheriting land from relatives.

But let us not consider these. Whether one accepts the Bible as authority or not, it is very significant that this great book which comprises the accepted religions and moral teaching of centuries, is most emphatically opposed to anything which will take from all the people the benefits derived from the land and deliver them to individuals. It is most important too, that a people of such religious and moral principles as the prophets, should have expressed themselves so clearly against the great wrong of unlimited private ownership of land. They did this without citing any authority for it, because they had to do so; because conscience and sense of justice and love of the people forced them to do so. In the same way we do it, because we must, we cannot do otherwise.

We have again learned to fasten our attention upon this earth. The "Kingdom of God," shall it become, that is, the kingdom of happiness, of love and of peace, a home for every human being.

For this reason we must oppose everything which stands in the way of this result, everything which will prevent the coming of the "Kingdom of God."

Have not the most enlightened of all ages always tried to make of this earth a better place for their fellow men to live in and work in? Observe the human mind which has been embodied in machinery. Listen to the sound of the wheels, the belts, the hammers. Human arms are not the motive power. We have made steam and electricity to serve us. With their help one man can produce more in one hour than ten men can in ten hours without it. The possibility of the amount of production is unlimited; the improvements in means of exchange and communication are so remarkable that not so very long ago they might have been considered visionary. Would it not appear that all this should lead to improvements in the condition of the laborer, lightening his labor, shortening the hours of toil, and making voluntary poverty an impossibility? Must not such fundamental material advances bring about an uplift for all humanity? Would it not make youth joyful, maturity happy, old age carefree, give us sanitary dwellings, lessen disease, wrong and crime, or entirely abolish them, with man and woman a unit in their striving for high ideals—the kingdom of happiness approaching? Such in fact was the vision, the realization of which the new discoveries and inventions led our people to hope for.

But the dream has not been realized, humanity did not know how to protect itself against the tribute levied upon it by the landlords. Neither did our people understand how to protect themselves. For as it was in Israel of old, "The land is the Lord's, and therefore belongs to all the people, and not to the few"—so was it at one time in Germany. But there came a time when, from mistaken ideas, the land was made an object of speculation, to be bought and sold, like any other article of trade. It was forgotten that land was something different; that it could not be increased according to the need for more; that it is absolutely necessary to all life and labor. The greater the increase in population—the annual increase in Germany is estimated at almost a million—the closer they are crowded together, the more valuable does the land become.

Those who were not able to get possession of the land were forced to pay tribute to the landlord—ground rent—which is ever increasing, and which must be paid before labor can get its wages.

The increase in the value of land in the last hundred years has been enormous; enormous is the tribute paid to the owners of this land, and this tribute absorbs the benefits arising from all progress, all discoveries and inventions. It has

been calculated that in a certain district in Berlin where in 1830 the land was worth 50,000 marks, it is today worth more than 50 million marks. The bare land of Berlin composed almost entirely of sand, is valued today at 4 milliards. So that for every working day, the ground rent amounts to 500,000 marks. This sum must first be paid to the landlords, before the people who live and work upon the land can have the reward of their labor.

What was the cause of this great increase in the value of the land? Was it the labor of the few who own it? Did they invest large amounts of capital, the result of former labor, in it? Did they make improvements which were of benefit to the community? Oh no, the landlord has done nothing. Without labor, without trouble or care on his part, his possessions have increased in value. Those same people who pay him tribute, they and their fathers have made the increase in the value of his land, by their effort, their labor and their thought.

The mother gives birth to the child in agony. The parents rear it with great care and many sacrifices. To the landlord this child is but a means of increasing the value of his land. It has been calculated that in Charlottenburg the birth of every child adds 2,500 marks to the value of the land.

If a canal is dug, a bridge built, or a railroad or a new road projected; if a community procures gas, water, electricity, in new localities, at once the value of the surrounding land begins to rise. The labor of all the people has done this, but who pockets the reward of this effort of the community? The landlord pockets it.

When in 1871 the Germans returned triumphant from the battlefield they thought they might look forward with certainty to greatly improved economic conditions in the Fatherland as the fruit of their success. But to their great disappointment they were made to recognize that their warfare and sacrifice had borne other fruit as well. As a result of changed conditions there was an enormous rise in the price of land, vacant, and with buildings upon it, and as a consequence their rents were advanced. Not the work of the owners of these sites and buildings accomplished this change. They, for the most part, remained quietly at home. It was the sacrifice of life and property of the masses, and of the soldiers on the field of battle, which brought about this increased value of the land. . . . The result of these facts is indeed bad. The annual increase of a million population desires to play, to enjoy itself, to live and to work. How can this be done? The land is owned by only a few. Woe to these late comers. . . . . The masses go to the cities, here they are uprooted, homeless, far from friends and relatives, associated only with companions sharing the same fate. Do they find homes in the city? No. Here too the land is owned by the few, and even the land on the outskirts of the city is owned by land speculators, who organize just for the purpose of "joining house to house and field to field," and held by them such time as the people who must live and work there, are in such a condition that they will pay the most exorbitant rents. These homeless ones move about, they hunt for dwelling places for themselves and their children. Woe to them if they have many children! Great are the trials which these must encounter in order to be permitted to live anywhere. But all must pay heavy tribute to the landlord. . . .

Because the cost of living quarters is so high and consumes the lion's share of the income, many content themselves with apartments that are too small. Seventy per cent of all the families of our nation live in one or two room apartments. And how many apartments are officially designated as over-populated, that is, occupied by so many people that there are at least six to each room! What an atmosphere must prevail here! What a breeding place for disease—for instance, tuberculosis! Thousands of dollars are spent annually by philanthropic persons to stem the ravages of tuberculosis. Most often it is useless. This dread disease, as well as many others, can be successfully combated by a thorough reform in the living quarters, and this in turn can be done only if it is preceded by the right kind of reform in land value taxation.

It is clear that those who live in these overcrowded dwellings are in great moral peril. The children are crowded together as closely as possible, neither the old nor the young, the healthy nor the diseased, nor even the sexes are separated. And there arises the terrible, and in its effect, demoralizing lack of proper sleeping quarters. In order to lighten the heavy load, sleeping places are rented to men. This crowds the family still more, and tends to demoralize it. Or perhaps the mother or even the children must become bread winners. How much authority does that father possess who must thus depend upon the few pennies his children can earn? How is any family life possible under these conditions? Is it surprising if the father of the family prefers to spend his time at the saloon instead of the crowded unpleasant home?

And more than this, if the people must give up so much of the fruits of their labor just for a place to live, then too little will remain to supply their other needs, such as food, clothing, laundry, heat, not to speak of any kind of recreation or the opportunity to indulge in any higher mental enjoyment.

High-priced dwellings, high-priced necessaries of life, and added to this, wages lower than they

should be. For before labor receives its wages, there must first be paid (excepting interest on capital) to the landlord upon whose land the factory or workshop stands, the ground rent. So the laborer actually never does receive the full amount of the wages he has earned.

But see! trade and manufacture flourish and business is prosperous. New inventions and discoveries make labor less arduous. The laborer, according to current opinion, is getting good pay. Immediately there is as a natural consequence, an increased demand for the products of the farm and the factory, and also for dwellings. And also, as a natural consequence, the value of the land rises—the land, without which no grain can be grown, no houses built, no factory erected—the value of the land rises in an unwholesome relation to the rest. The ground rent consumes the entire advantage gained, so that the people are again confronted with a state of "overproduction." Now commerce is stopped, production is limited, wages go down, laborers are discharged, terrible suffering occurs; this is called a crisis, before which the people stand more or less helpless. Helpless they stand and idly! Idly, too, they look on while the few possess themselves of the treasures of the earth—the ore, the coal, the mineral, which are under the earth, and which, according to ancient usage, belonged to all the people in common, and which they in their unbounded thoughtlessness allowed to be given into the hands of this individual or that one, only to buy them back again at great sacrifice for themselves. In this way a few have become owners of the coal lands, with the result that in order to fill the owners' pockets the people, who have turned over to them this treasure, must pay much more than a just price for their coal. Our coal is sold for less in foreign countries than we have to pay for it, and in this way they aid our competitors in foreign countries. They buy up mines, but not to work them, not to give employment to their fellowmen, not to produce more coal. No; just as a shipload of grain was sunk in the Danube River in order that the price of bread might be kept up, so are the people still taxed, so is the laborer doomed to hunger, that the price of coal may be kept at a certain height. What do they care if by such means commerce is in great distress—that their countrymen freeze? They only want to fill their pockets. This is their only aim. Nothing else interests them. Mammon, profit, dividends—these are the gods they serve. May we not say to such, "Woe unto you," as did of old the prophet Isaiah?

But, my friends, how can we change this? Does humanity not yet appreciate the great wrong that is done when that which belongs to all is owned by the few? O, yes! We have seen that this was recognized by the ancients and also in medieval times. Nor is the idea a new one to our own time. More than a hundred years ago the great French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote:

The man who first took a piece of land, and fenced it in, and said this land is mine, and found people foolish enough to believe him, is responsible for the present state of society.

And what does Tolstoy say:

The solution of the land question is so urgent because the assumed right to the private ownership of large areas of land is the cause of not only the economic suffering, but also of the political disorder, and above all, of the degenerate moral state of the nation.

One could quote many more like expressions of other great thinkers. The greatest service which has been rendered to this cause was given by the American, Henry George, and by those who follow in his footsteps, who inspired by love, exhort humanity to free itself from the fetters with which it has permitted itself to be bound.

But neither wise sayings nor beautiful speeches alone can help, nor merely reading such nor listening to them. Action alone will help to solve the question. Fichte is right when he says:

To stand and lament upon the demoralization of mankind without lifting a finger to lessen it, is weakness; to blame and scorn men without telling them how they can improve, is unfriendly. Act! Act! That is the purpose of our existence.

So, let us, as far as lies in our power, do our share towards the accomplishment of the work, with the result in view that each may have the full fruits of his labor, which are rightfully his; that in this way misery and suffering and lack of employment shall grow less and mankind shall thus become possessed of the means and the ability to solve the various problems of our time, something which is often prevented by the lack of money.

So, on the combat! Let us not superficially remove the withered leaves, but dig at the roots and remove the cause which is eating at the life of the tree! The battle is for a holy cause. It is for the welfare of the nation, for its morals, its religion, its highest development; for the future welfare of all mankind. It is the battle of Justice against Injustice, of Love against Hate, of Health against Disease, for the highest ideals—for God.

It concerns itself with your welfare and with the welfare of your posterity. "You shall love the land of your children," says Nietzsche. Let us try to understand the responsibility of this thought! Let us look with contempt upon those who live in idleness by despoiling their fellow men. Let us proclaim that it is immoral to take for private use the fruit of the labor which has been performed by the community.

Isaiah, who denounced the land speculator of his day, shows us the beautiful prospect of a reign

of peace and love. Jesus proclaims the Kingdom of God, in which the wounds which have been inflicted by fate and by man upon his fellowman shall be healed, where happiness and peace shall reign.

We, too, my friends, long for this Kingdom. But do not let us idly yearn for it; let us work for it, and without doubting there will in reality be such a Kingdom. Shall we reap the seed which we have sown? I do not know. But I do know that it will some time be harvested. That is our faith, our hope. Surely the truth will at last be triumphant, and in spirit we send greetings to that distant future, and say with the poet:

Greetings to you, Blessed Day, when the dreams
of truth shall come true;
When freed from idle desire and hatred, Peace
shall reign over the wide earth.
Long have we waited for thy coming,
Let the Great Day break upon our sight.

BOOKS

AN AUSTRALIAN INDICTMEMT OF ENGLISH CIVILIZATION.

The Old Roof-Tree. By "Ishbel" [Mrs. Fred Martin]. London. Longmans, Green & Co. 3s. 6d.

"The Old Roof-Tree" stands for the impressions of an Australian in the mother-land. The writer, Mrs. Fred Martin, gained some vogue in this country by her earlier books, "The Silent Sea" and "An Australian Girl." The older countries often resent as crude, the criticism of younger ones, much as a grown-up person has been known to resent the inconvenient candor of a 10-year-old. But Mrs. Martin is not crude. To the charm of a rarely finished style she adds wide knowledge of literature and life, both British and Continental.

The book is cast in the form of letters from Ishbel to her brother Mark. At first (it is August) only the pleasant features impress the visitor. Gradually (with the shading of autumn into winter) she becomes more and more profoundly impressed with the social injustices upon which the oldest and ripest civilizations are based.

Picture after picture passes before us. The venerable cathedral town, with the starved girl ending her miseries with the laudanum bottle within sound of the cathedral bells, and on the next page the dean's wife whose utmost worry hangs on an unsettled question of precedence at dinner. And all looked at through those clear Australian eyes that will look beyond the veil of convention which is thicker in an old country than in a young one.

Ishbel passes through a stage of despair, wondering 'mid all this social confusion whether this can be indeed a world forsaken to our own devices. When hope does come back to her it is only through a realization that other forces are at work among the increasing number of those in all sections of society who are awakening to the truth that the continuance of the present social conditions means the deterioration and the ultimate ruin of the race, be these conditions in England or anywhere else.

ALICE HENRY.

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LYBARGER'S TARIFF TALK.

The Tariff. What It Is. How It Works. Whom It Benefits. Protection, Revenue, Free Trade. By Lee Francis Lybarger of the Philadelphia Bar, and author of "Land, Labor, Wealth." Published by L. F. Lybarger, 408 Betz Building, Philadelphia, Pa. Price 25 cents.

Mr. Lybarger has a happy faculty of thinking aloud so that others can think with him, and interestingly so that they will wish to. It is very taking, and this book is an excellent example. A heart to heart and head to head talk, it makes abstractions concrete and arguments alive. With the sophisms of protection it deals in a way that shows them to be self-destructive.

It was as a senior at high school that this dyed-in-the-wool and Pennsylvanian protectionist became a free trader. He did it quite unexpectedly by the simple process of using his mind. He had always believed protection necessary, but never knew why, and when in preparation for a school debate he looked for a why in the authorities he couldn't find any. So he decided to startle the school with a why of his own, and set out upon a search for it. To his amazement and chagrin, however, he discovered not only that protection isn't necessary but that free trade is.

In the course of his intensely interesting book of only 180 small pages, Mr. Lybarger demolishes the "infant industries" argument, exposes the "foreigner pays the tax" flim-flam, and shows that tariffs for revenue and for protection are destructive each of the other. In this righteous work he gets a grip upon the reader's interest which is comparable only to the convincing effect it must have upon the reader's mind.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Laws of the State of Illinois, enacted by the Forty-sixth General Assembly.

—Socialism as an Incubus on the American Labor Movement. By J. W. Sullivan. Imprint: The Volunteer Press Print, 38 Cooper Square, New York. Price 50 cents.

—The Seven That Were Hanged. By Leonid Andreieff. The Tucker Series. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet st., E. C., London. Sold by Edwin

C. Walker, 244 West 143d st., New York City. Price 15 cents.

—Land and Real Tariff Reform. Being the Land Reformers' Handbook for 1909. Edited and Published by Joseph Edwards (founder of The Labor Annual and The Reformers' Year Book), 21 Palace Square, Norwood, London, S. E. Price, cloth, 2s; paper, 1s.

PAMPHLETS

"A Great Thinker."

Under this title M. W. Haseltine's scholarly review in the New York Sun of September 6 and 13, 1908, of the Rotch edition of Emanuel Swedenborg's works (Rotch Trustees, 16 Arlington street, Boston), is reproduced by the Rotch trustees, in a neatly printed pamphlet. There are two articles, and each is divided into several parts. What will probably strike the uninformed reader of this pamphlet most forcibly at first is the enumeration of Swedenborg's achievements in science, which include his suggestions of the atomic theory, of the solar origin of the earth, of the undulatory theory of light, of the nebular hypothesis, of the doctrine that heat is a mode of motion, of the ethereal medium, and of the evolutionary principle in nature. On the religious side, Mr. Haseltine says that Swedenborg's conception "of man's spiritual freedom is summed up in the statement that 'no one is reformed in states that are not of rationality and liberty'."

PERIODICALS

The July Bulletin of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy (p. 590) seems amply to justify this unique institution, which has its headquarters at 158 Adams street, Chicago, and is organized to give systematic instruction in civic, philanthropic and social work.

✣

Excellent historical and critical reviews of the Darthmouth College case appear in the Independent (New York) for August 19 and 26, from the pen of Jesse F. Orton. They are supplementary to an article by President Hadley of Yale which appeared in the same magazine a little more than a year ago. The importance of these recurrences to the Dartmouth College case, about which John Z. White has written strongly (vol. ix, pp. 649, 685), is due to the fact that this case laid the foundation for giving permanency in this country to mere legislative privileges as inviolable property.

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Once there was a Pretty Woman who came upon a Huge Ostrich in the desert.

"Foolish bird," said the Pretty Woman. "You cover your head with sand and think you are out of sight."

The Huge Ostrich laughed.

"My dear madam," he chuckled, "there is nothing foolish about that. Don't you cover your head with a hat decorated with my feathers and think you are 'out of sight'?"

Moral: The ostrich is an awkward bird and eats horseshoes, but he can hit back in other ways besides with his big feet.—Chicago News.

✣ ✣ ✣

Indignant Old Lady: You wicked, wicked boy! Aren't you ashamed of yourself, slaughtering those innocent birds?

Boy: I ain't slaughterin' 'em, lady! I'm out gettin' speciments for de Smit'sonian Institoot.—Puck.

✣ ✣ ✣

A writer in the Munich Jugend has discovered and published five signs which should be very helpful to all who have to criticize pictures. They are as follows:

1. If the artist paints the sky gray and the grass black, he belongs to the good old classical school.
2. If he paints the sky blue and the grass green, he is a realist.
3. If he paints the sky green and the grass blue, he is an impressionist.
4. If he paints the sky yellow and the grass purple, he is a colorist.
5. If he paints the sky black and the grass red, he shows possession of great decorative talent.—Youth's Companion.

✣ ✣ ✣

The family horse, who rejoiced in the eminently proper equine name of Dobbin, had earned a rest by

long service, and was accordingly sent away to the country to spend his declining years in the broad pastures of a farmer friend of his owner. The distance being somewhat excessive for his rheumatic legs, he was shipped to his new home by rail.

Little Edna, the family four-year-old, viewed the passing of Dobbin with unfeigned sorrow. She sat for a long time gazing disconsolately out of the window. At last, after a deep sigh, she turned with a more cheerful expression, and said:

"Did old Dobbin go on the choo-choo cars, mamma?"

"Yes, dear," answered her mother.

A broad grin spread over the little girl's face. "I was just thinking," she said, "how funny he must

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feel sitting up on the plush cushions."—Woman's Home Companion.

✝ ✝ ✝

A man wrote to a member of Parliament, asking with much concern, "Now that you have the Deceased Wife's Sister Act passed, is it compulsory? I mean," added the anxious inquirer, "if my wife dies, am I forced to have her sister?" This is commended to the women who object to the suffrage bill on the ground that it would impose a burden on them.—Woman's Journal.

✝ ✝ ✝

"Chicago people think their city almost as corrupt as San Francisco."

"Don't you believe it," said the Californian, warmly. "That's Chicago nerve. Always trying to get into our class."—Philadelphia Ledger.