

When you are standing waist high in wild asters and lace plates, and look down at the soul of a naturalist shinning in a child's eyes, you can't help wondering if—if—the Jim Crow law rules in heaven.



## WHY CAPITAL GETS MUCH AND LABOR LITTLE.

An Address by C. J. Buell Before the Minnesota Academy of Social Sciences, Dec. 2, 1913.

In his paper Mr. Thompson asks why it is that, in the division of the product, "Capital" gets so much and "Labor" gets so little.

I think that question has been pretty completely answered by a number of very able writers during the past hundred years. Before the middle of the last century, Patrick Edward Dove, in his remarkable work "The Theory of Human Progression," answers the question with considerable clearness. Long before this, Adam Smith and the French Physiocrats had discussed the subject somewhat, but had come far short of solving it. In 1879 Henry George, in "Progress and Poverty," handled the question so ably, and yet so simply, that thousands of people believed that he answered it completely. A few years later, Behrens and Singer in their wonderfully simple little allegory, "The Story of My Dictatorship," made George's answer plainer still, if possible, and in addition, undertook to show that even Interest would entirely disappear and Capital, so called, get nothing at all, if only all law-created privileges were abolished and the rental value of land were taken and used for public needs in place of all existing taxes. It is, of course, known to all of you that this is the remedy proposed by Dove and George. Later Behrens, in his more complete work, "Toward the Light," goes over the whole subject again far more thoroly, and brings out more forcibly still the same conclusion he reached in the allegory. But about the most thoro and convincing work I know of is "The Science of Social Service" by Louis F. Post. In this work Mr. Post examines the whole field of Land, Labor, Capital, and Co-operation, and makes the subject so clear that a child could understand it.

And so it comes about that all these great thinkers have brought us to the same goal, and by a path so plain and easily trod that no one need fail to see it.

Here are a few of the truths laid down by these writers:

I. The forces and resources of Nature are a free gift to all men equally.

II. Nature yields her products to Labor, and to Labor only, and in proportion to the intelligence that directs the effort.

III. All the "Capital" in the world, that is, all that can logically and properly be called "Cap-

tal," has been produced by labor, and it is only by labor that it is kept in a condition of repair and efficiency.

IV. But labor must have a chance to use the forces and materials of Nature or it can produce nothing.

V. When the forces and materials of Nature are monopolized by the few and held away from Labor, then Labor is handicapped just in proportion to the price it must pay for access to these natural forces and materials.

Here then is the kernel of the difficulty. Here is the real and only reason why the workers cannot freely and effectively co-operate to produce the things they need. Here is the reason why Labor—the creator of all the wealth of the world—is a beggar in the land of its birth. The forces and materials of Nature are monopolized and withheld from it.

And these same authors are equally agreed as to the remedy that must be applied.

There are certain simple and fundamental things that the people as a whole must do—that Society must do—if men and women are to be free, and have a fair and equal chance in the world.

I. This can only be done by socializing the value of Nature's resources, thus making every form of taxation wholly unnecessary and relieving industry and its products of the excessive burdens that now crush and destroy.

II. It is also the duty of Society to make and maintain all the needed public ways for the transportation of persons and property and the transmission of intelligence. This includes all railways, canals, pipe lines, telegraph and telephone systems, and everything that goes to make a modern city street, with all its sewers, water pipes, gas mains, electric wires, pavement, sidewalks, curb and gutter, boulevarding, etc.—in short, everything that would require a grant of franchise to put it into private hands.

It is especially worthy of notice that all these things connected with the making and upkeep of all public ways are necessarily public functions, and never can be got into private or corporate hands except thru a public grant.

If Society will faithfully perform these two public functions it can safely leave the production and exchange of wealth in the hands of private individuals and voluntary associations, untrammelled by statutes of any kind, subject only to the common principles of equity.

Then men will associate themselves together in freedom for the conduct of all such kinds of work as are too great for individual undertaking. They will be able to produce all the "Capital" they need, and will manage their affairs without the ridiculous interferences and obstructions of statute law.

And until these things are first done, all the

paternalistic and patchwork legislation of all the congresses, legislatures and parliaments in the world will only serve to make bad matters worse.



## MILITARISM IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

By Henry Slade Goff.

"Every boy in the United States more than 13 years old should be trained as a soldier. . . . I would out-German the Germans by instituting compulsory military education in all the schools."—A General of high rank in the United States Army.

Was it for this that the prophets taught  
And the Christ was crucified,  
And was it for this that the fathers fought  
And the Union soldiers died,  
That the youth of our land in their young fresh life  
Must be all trained for war and its bloody strife?

Was it for this that the world has sought  
For peace in its every clime,  
And was it for this that the nations have wrought  
Advancement through ages of time,  
That our nation of all must this progress reverse  
And the earth be turned backward toward war's red curse?

It is patriotism, the advocates cry,  
To be done for the good of the State.  
It is barbarism, is my reply,  
And it hazards a nation's fate.  
For the patriot forces of any land  
Are not those trained to obey command.  
Without a reason why?  
But to think for themselves on which side to stand,  
And to take their strong life in their eager hand,  
All ready to do or to die,  
When the right is assailed, or when justice in need  
Is asking release from the toils of greed.

Were the patriot sires that of old unfurled  
The Stars and Stripes to the air,  
And fought the dread Lion of the world  
Till he crept to his distant lair—  
Were those stern patriots trained in their schools  
For the battle's surge and in war's red rules?

Were the men of the Union who marched to the front,  
When the Flag went down at the South,  
Swift forming for war and the battle's brunt  
And the charge at the cannon's mouth—  
Were these men taught in their school-boy days  
Of the arts of war and the soldier's ways?

They were taught of fairness, and truth, and right,  
As they stood at their mothers' knees;  
Of the voice of conscience, and duty's might,  
And the justice of God's decrees.  
They were taught of Freedom, and its behests,  
As they sat at their teachers' feet:  
Of Loyalty, and its requests,  
And the doom that a wrong must meet—  
But not one syllable, line or word  
Of the soldier's step or the use of the sword.

Yet these were the men who sprang into line  
In multitudes in a cause divine;  
Who leaped to the call of their country to arms,  
And laughed at dire danger and war's alarms;  
Who wheeled into line by division and corps,  
And straight into battle the old Flag bore;  
Who cared naught for dying and nothing for pain,  
So the old Flag might float o'er its ramparts again—  
These, these were the men who sprang into the  
strife,  
And fought to the death for the Nation's life,  
And who ne'er lost their faith nor from battle re-  
frained  
Till their cause was triumphant and righteousness  
reigned.

It is righteousness maketh a nation great,  
And a firmness in its cause;  
Not serried ranks, or tactics of hate,  
Or military laws.  
Let us not turn the thoughts of the Nation at large  
To the swift leaping sword and the bayonet charge.  
Let the earth and the nations of earth still look  
Toward the plow's peaceful share and the pruning  
hook.

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## BOOKS

### EUROPEAN WAR BOOKS.

**The New Map of Europe. 1911-1914.** By Herbert Adams Gibbons. Published by The Century Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

**The Audacious War.** By Clarence W. Barron. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

**The War Week by Week.** By Edward S. Martin. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

**Builder and Blunderer.** By George Saunders. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

America considers herself the naturally appointed arbitrator of this war and Europe seems to agree with her—at least humors her in this notion. The capable and successful peacemaker finds out as promptly as possible what each combatant *says* he is fighting about, then investigates for himself, independently and as thoroughly as possible, into what all the real causes of dispute may be, and, finally, in accord with this knowledge and his own sense of justice, offers to all parties a basis of permanent settlement. Americans have been diligently examining, and somewhat loudly affirming, their own ideals and feelings for justice, ever since the European war began. They have been eagerly listening, also, to what each belligerent nation had to say for itself and against others. But not so many in the United States appear to be patiently searching history and humanity for the *real* causes of the conflict.



Just the book Americans desperately need in