

zon of thought. His ambition has evaporated; he has nothing to say. The great occasion that was to have let him loose on society was some little occasion that nobody saw, some moment in which he decided to obtain a standing. The great battle of a lifetime has been fought and lost over a silent scruple. But for this, the man might, within a few years, have spoken to the nation with the voice of an archangel. What was he waiting for? Did he think that the laws of nature were to be changed for him? Did he think that a "notice of trial" would be served on him? Or that some spirit would stand at his elbow and say: "Now's your time?" The time of trial is always. Now is the appointed time. And the compensation for beginning at once is that your voice carries at once. You do not need a standing. It would not help you. Within less time than you can see it, you will have been heard. The air is filled with sounding boards and the echoes are flying. It is ten to one that you have but to lift your voice to be heard in California, and that from where you stand. A bold plunge will teach you that the visions of the unity of human nature which the poets have sung, were not fictions of their imagination, but a record of what they saw. Deal with the world, and you will discover their reality. Speak to the world, and you will hear their echo.

Social and business prominence look like advantages, and so they are if you want money. But if you want moral influence you may bless God you have not got them. They are the payment with which the world subsidizes men to keep quiet, and there is no subtlety or cunning by which you can get them without paying in silence. This is the great law of humanity, that has existed since history began, and will last while man lasts—evil, selfishness and silence are one thing.

The world is learning, largely through American experience, that freedom in the form of a government is no guarantee against abuse, tyranny, cruelty and greed. The old sufferings, the old passions are in full blast among us. What, then, are the advantages of self-government? The chief advantage is that self-government enables a man in his youth, in his own town, within a radius of his first public interests, to fight the important battle of his life while his powers are at their strongest, and

the powers of oppression are at their weakest. If a man acquires the power of speech here, if he says what he means now, if he makes his point and dominates his surroundings at once, his voice will, as a matter of fact, be heard instantly in a very wide radius. And so he walks up into a new sphere and begins to accomplish great things. He does this through the very force of his insistence on the importance of small things. The reason for his graduation is not far to seek. A man cannot reach the hearts of his town-folk, without using the whole apparatus of the world of thought. He cannot tell or act the truth in his own town without enlisting every power for truth, and setting in vibration the cords that knit that town into the world's history. He is forced to find and strike the same note which he would use on some great occasion when speaking for all mankind. A man who has won a town fight is a veteran, and the country is full of these young men. Tomorrow their force will show in national politics, and in that moment the fate of the Malay, the food of the Russian prisoner, the civilization of South Africa and the future of Japan will be seen to have been in issue. These things are now being settled in the contest over the town-pump in a western village. I think it likely that the next 30 years will reveal the recuperative power of American institutions. One of you young men might easily become a reform president, and be carried into office and held in office by the force of that private opinion which is now being sown broadcast throughout the country by just such men as yourselves. You will concede the utility of such a president. Yet it would not be the man but the masses behind him that did his work.

Democracy thus lets character loose upon society and shows us that in the realm of natural law there is nothing either small or great; and this is the chief value of democracy. In America the young man meets the struggle between good and evil in the easiest form in which it was ever laid before men. The cruelties of interest and of custom have with us no artificial assistance from caste, creed, race prejudice. Our frame of government is drawn in close accordance with the laws of nature. By our documents we are dedicated to mankind; and hence it is that we can so easily feel the pulse of the world and

lay our hand on the living organism of humanity.

THE ONLY WAY TO FIGHT THE TRUSTS.

An article written by T. W. Davenport, of Silverton, Ore., and published in the Oregon Independent.

The Independent's proposition to form a farmers' trust, though as chimerical as one to extract sunbeams from cucumbers, may afford a text for examining the social and political environment wherein dwells, moves, and has being that indescribable and helpless industrial animal called the farmer.

I say helpless, because of his many ineffectual attempts to better his condition by methods which are manifestly not within his reach or control, and because he steadfastly refuses to employ others at his hand, which would give him an equal footing with all other classes of his fellow citizens.

Observing, several years ago, that national bankers had been favored by legislative enactment with the power to turn their property into money, and receive an income from both, thus doubling their productive capital, the farmers supplicated government for the like privilege of duplicating the usable capital of their farms; but they were spurned with many a jest from the foot of the political throne. Their proposition was as good in equity and as safe to the government as was that of the bankers, and farmers being one hundred times more numerous than the latter, many people have wondered why they did not succeed.

But really there should be no wonder concerning it. Privilege in any country is not for the many but for the few, for the reason that privilege expanded ceases to be privilege. A few hundred national bankers might lend money to the whole country, but if the greater part of the population were to be supplied with money by the government, who would borrow of the bankers?

At bottom there is no jurisdiction for the national bank system. A government founded for the declared purpose of establishing justice among the citizens has no right to duplicate the capital of one citizen, and refuse to do likewise for another. And really it is not the function of our government to expand the capital of individuals. The idea is indefensible, and hence there was no united action among the farming population. And even if there had been a unanimous granger request presented in due form to the United States congress, the answer of denial,

for many reasons, would have been just the same.

And one of the principal reasons why the farmer cannot be as successful as the corporations, the manufacturing and commercial interests, in getting partial legislation favorable to them, is because they declare themselves non-partisan to begin with, and rest their case wholly upon its merits, as viewed from the standpoint of the general welfare. If the other interests, or classes, should conduct their business in like manner they too would fail.

But they do not. Their demands are not predicated upon ideas of justice and the general welfare. With them their business interests control their political action. They go with the party that does the most for them, and by their campaign contributions to a great extent control legislation.

Such interests are organized and speak authoritatively through their governing heads. They support lobbies, and employ attorneys to defeat hostile legislation and secure extraordinary privileges.

Probably no more astounding governmental subservience to syndicate control was ever witnessed in any country than in the adoption of the Porto Rican tariff. Even "plain duty" could not stand against the greed of the sugar and tobacco magnates.

In comparison with such concentrated and unscrupulous powers, how is it expected that the farmers and the farm laborers, scattered all over the broad area of the republic, without any effective organization, and split into several political factions, antagonistic to their own professed interests—how can it be expected that they shall succeed in extorting privileges from a government already under control of the privileged classes? Probably a majority of farmers, especially in the northern, eastern and western states, believe firmly in the protective system, which is the parent and support of monopolies and their aggregate trusts; and they do so in spite of the patent fact that only in this way can the prices of commodities they buy be unduly raised against them. On account of the tariff-protected trusts prices of all the trust goods have been advanced more than 50 per cent., and there is no avoidance, except by knocking out the trust underpinning, the protective tariff, which the especially victimized farmers regard as sacred. Can they never learn that advance in price of things they buy is the same in effect as a decree by the

trusts that wheat shall be, say, 25 cents a bushel; oats, 15 cents; potatoes, 10 cents; hops, 5 cents per pound; and wool 6 cents per pound? If the farmers do not keep accounts, Fate keeps a ledger for them, with debit and credit columns, and the trusts have charge of the debit side. The often plucked farmer has little to do with either side. He must take what he can get for his productions in a free trade market, and suffer any trust extortion imposed upon him. Need he express any surprise that at the close of his fiscal year he cannot make ends meet?

And as the monopolies become more consolidated, and perfectly organized, the worse his case becomes.

Soon the problem of trust regulation of prices will be so completely solved that any required income to the exploiters can be realized, save what would debar a bare living to the toilers.

What is the course for them? How are they to be awakened to a knowledge of the ways and means of delivery? What Lincoln will emancipate them? There are many good people who answer: Socialism. But such a remedy, even if socialists could agree upon a programme of application, amounts to a profound reorganization of society; something that has never taken place at a single move, and probably never will, for that is not the way reforms come.

Evolution does not proceed in that kangaroo jumping style. Step by step, little by little, is the way humanity rises or recedes. That is the law of progress. True, negro slavery was abolished legally by a decree, but everybody knows it is not abolished in fact. Emancipation is slowly progressing, that is all. Socialism may be the goal to which we tend, but it will not come all at once. It will come in the normal way, by fittingly adjusted growth.

Some socialists of eminence believe that government should become more and more unjust and corrupt, as a preparation or inducement for the radical change to socialism, and at the last election voted to continue the hypocritical semibarbarism now dominant in the nation. Such an idea of itself is a striking evidence of national degeneracy. Or is it a fact that the frequent commission of sin only prepares men for the practice of virtue, the frequent shedding of human blood makes them sensitive to the sufferings of others, and the practice of the horrible cruelties of war makes them gentle and humane?

No. This is not the way of the world. Science does not teach it; experience denies it; all history refutes it.

The ameliorations which come in the social organism are the result of calling into action those faculties of human love and brotherhood held in abeyance during the clamor and barbarism of war. If it is desired that men should become more regardful of others' feelings and interests, the appeal is not made to destructiveness and covetousness, the faculties dominant in the kill and loot game, but to benevolence, sympathy, and conscience.

Progress in genuine civilization is away from the militant spirit, and all other excessive manifestation of selfishness. If socialism is that state of society in which justice becomes an established fact, then every modification of the present system (called competitive, but in reality monopolistic), which lops off an injustice, and admits citizens to an equality of industrial opportunity, ought to be welcomed by socialists as progress towards their ideal state. They should have no fears of the truth of this, and cordially cooperate to remove acknowledged evils.

It will not do for them to say: "Let us have socialism at once, or let us have despotism; we will not travel with our fellow citizens progressively away from the latter." Such a determination is unreasonable, and wholly inconsistent with that moderation and fellow feeling which must precede the reign of justice.

The rational resource of the farmers, and, in fact, of all wagemen, does not lie in an endeavor to secure privileges and organize trusts for the purpose of raising prices of agricultural products; for if such a result were practicable the maladjustments productive of evil would only be multiplied, and the struggle for existence become more like that of wild beasts than of human beings.

There is an easy and peaceful way out of the difficulties which beset us, and it is found by conforming to the Jeffersonian maxim: "Exact justice to all, special privileges to none." Let us practice upon that self-evident proposition by abolishing privileges in the United States. In the first place, as an experiment, and for the pleasure of seeing how beautifully it works, let us vote only for members of congress who will stand firmly for the repeal of all tariffs that interfere with free competition, or prevent us from receiving the full benefits of labor-saving machinery and processes, the

fruitage of progress to which all should have free access.

And then see how nicely the trusts would glide from their ornamental perches to become as one of us.

Besides, the purpose for which combinations and trusts are formed and tariffs laid, that of raising the price of industrial products, is at variance with the normal trend of human endeavor. The unfailing result of spontaneous cooperation, where human beings are unrestricted by partial laws, is to make everything cheap. Machinery is improved, processes simplified, cooperation of laborers adjusted, approximating more and more to perfection; and all in accordance with the great fundamental and irrepensible law of our being: "That men always seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion."

And what does this mean to the human family, farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, operatives, professional men, wage men and all, if it is not that more of the things that human beings need—the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life—can be purchased with a day's labor?

Conforming to this normal tendency of human nature, and clearing away all laws and regulations that interfere with it, is to raise the wages of all those who are not drones in the great human hive.

This is the only way to general prosperity.

The other way, and the one in which we are now traveling, is not the normal way to prosperity at all, but a by-way leading to the trust castle of Giant Despair, who gets rich, and despotic by taxing the poor dupes who dwell in his stolen dominions.

Self-esteem may whisper that overpartiality to the under-dog is not the commonest or the worst of faults. In a world which seems to be giving itself up to the law of the strong, it is at all events rather a fault on the right side. But if righteousness exalts while unrighteousness degrades and in the end wrecks a nation, he who takes the part of the oppressed is really the true friend of the oppressor. How often have nations, as well as men, abused their strength, angrily repelled remonstrance, and repented in the end?—Bystander (Goldwin Smith) in Toronto Weekly Sun.

The man whose protection from wrong rests wholly upon the benevolence of another man or of a congress, is a slave—a man without rights.—Benjamin Harrison.

THE LAY OF THE AUDITORS.

The auditors of the 12 counties in Ohio through which the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago railway runs met in the agricultural room in the courthouse in Canton at 10:45 Friday morning to appraise the line for taxation.—News-Democrat, of Canton, Stark County, O., for Friday evening, May 24.

And Tom Johnson 60 miles away!—News-Democrat of same date.

A crowd of jolly auditors are we,
We come from many counties, don't you see.

We are used to kicks and thumps—
We've been up against our bumps—
Mayor Johnson has just had us up a tree.

We thought that we'd adjourn to Molly Stark,

Where we think that we can work more in the dark,

And make our burdens lighter—
That Tom Johnson is a fighter—
You can bet that he is not an easy mark.

We can take the company's word without a quirk,

We are not afraid we'll bring up with a jerk.

We're not supposed to know
Where the dividends all go—
Accepting company estimates saves work.

Our love for the poor railroads is intense—
We wouldn't add a cent to their expense.

We wear the company's collar—
Assess engines for a dollar—
And we let a freight car off for 50 cents.

Ten cents a mile's enough for railroad tracks—

What's the use to delve too deeply for the facts?

Fifteen cents for a caboose—
To all equity a truce!
Let the man who labors pay the heavy tax!

We will have no trouble here with Canton's mayor,
And we're not a whit afraid of Reverend Hare.

So, boys, fill up your glasses!
We save mileage on our passes—
It's most pleasant when you don't have to pay fare!

We're a bunch of jolly auditors, and gay,
And in Canton we can pass a pleasant day;
With nobody to flim-flam us
With a bothersome mandamus—
Oh, we're happy when Tom Johnson is away.

—News-Democrat of same date.

Traveler—Eh? Has this hotel changed hands?

Clerk—Yes; the old landlord busted up—owed thousands of dollars to all the provision dealers in the neighborhood. For every \$10 he took in he spent \$20.

Traveler—Too bad! Too bad! He's the only landlord I ever met who knew how to keep a hotel.—N. Y. Weekly.

In a school for colored children there was a little boy who would persist in saying "have went." The teacher kept him in one night and said: "Now, while I am out of the room you may write 'have gone' fifty times."

When the teacher came back he

looked at the boy's paper, and there was "have gone fifty times." On the other side was written: "I have went home."—Christian Endeavor World.

Bodies of men and women, then (and much more, as I have said before, their souls), must not be bought or sold. Neither must land, nor water, nor air, these things being the necessary sustenance of men's bodies and souls.—"Time and Tide," by John Ruskin.

It was a boy at the St. Mary's Redcliffe school, Bristol, who handed to the teacher the following essay on the making of a British colony:

Africa is a British colony. I will tell you how England makes her colonies. First she gets a missionary; when the missionary has found a specially beautiful and fertile tract of country, he gets all his people round him and says: "Let us pray;" and when all the eyes are shut, up goes the British flag!

—Youth's Companion.

WHAT'S IN A FLAG?

For The Public.

O flag of stripes and many stars,
That used to freedom mean,
An emblem you of prison bars
By men of Guam are seen,

O banner on that isle remote,
We would we could deny
That when you on the breezes float
The Tagal says: "You lie."

G. T. EVANS.

BOOK NOTICES.

Charles H. Kerr & Co. (Chicago) have issued a translation, by Alex. Kerr, professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin, of book I of Plato's Republic.

There are indications in the progress of the so-called "scientific" method of sociology that it is coming in its conclusions to the point which the a priori method attains with equal precision and greater certainty when logically and fearlessly pursued. That is to say, as the "scientific" investigators extend their knowledge of miscellaneous facts, and get a better understanding of the relations of the facts they know, they tend to the conclusion that social expediency, which is their ideal, coincides with the social justice of a priori students. An example is a book on social economy, by Louis Wallis (1350 Dennison ave., Columbus, O.), to be published in the fall, the title of which is "An Examination of Society from the Standpoint of Evolution." The prospectus, to be had of the author, outlines the forthcoming book in

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