

(5) The last fallacy which I have to consider is the trite saying that "the interests of capital and labor are one," meaning that the interests of employer and employed are one. This aphorism is repeated again and again when strikes arise for the purpose of allaying the dissatisfaction of the men, and often by public men of apparent common-sense in the honest belief that they mean something. But they have really no meaning. It is true that in a Utopia in which the laborer owned the capital, the interests of capital and labor would be identical. It is also true that to-day in so far as the outside world is concerned they have the same interests, viz. to buy their raw material cheap, to sell their product dear, and to pay as low a rent as possible. But when it comes to a question of dividing the earnings, (and this is almost always the question at issue in a strike,) their interests are diametrically opposed, and nothing is gained by shutting our eyes to it. For every cent paid in wages diminishes profits and every cent paid in profits diminishes wages. Capital and labor are in fact partners up to a certain point. Partners' interests are identical in their relations to all the rest of the world, but when they sit down to divide their profits, their interests are absolutely hostile, and every dollar added to the pile of one is subtracted from the pile of the other. Let us then cease to use this meaningless phrase when employers and employees fall out, and try to look deeper into the causes of their disputes.



THE RELIGION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

Address by *W. A. DOUGLASS, B. A. in Buffalo, on Sunday, December 13th, 1903.

The labor problem is essential a religious problem. It calls on every man to obey the apostolic injunction: Render to every man his due. It calls on every man to throw himself with heroic zeal into the crusade, not to wrest an empty tomb from the hands of the infidels; but to rescue a living humanity from the enthrallment in which it has been engulfed by bad social adjustments. It calls on men everywhere to endeavor by every legitimate means to effect a glorious realization of the dream of the poet:

Then let us pray that come it may
As come it will for a' that,
When man to man the world o'er
Shall brother be for a' that.

The religion of the past has been marked by most serious defects, and even at the present day certain truths are over emphasized, while certain other truths, equally important, are passed by in silence. We are often taught to look for an ecstatic sublimation and to sing of the sweet bye and bye, and too little are we instructed how to bring the good here and now.

We want a religion that will never be satisfied till it has secured for every man an honest day's work; the full benefits of civilization to every man who bears his fair share of the burden of civilization. We want a religion which when it repeats the sublimest of all confessionals: I believe in God the Father maker of heaven and earth, will give to that declaration its proper application in the correlative declaration: I believe in man the brother the heir to that

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earth. We want a religion which will repeat again and again, until it sinks into the heart and arouses the conscience of humanity, that this earth is not a manufactured article for sale and barter, but is the gift of God for equitable division among His children. We want a religion, which will look upon industry as a sacred duty, and which will also look upon industry as establishing an inalienable right to all the wealth it produces, which will look upon the horny hand and the sweat of the brow as God's certificates of the right of the toiler to the full reward of his efforts. We want a religion, which, when it prays on Sunday: Give us this day OUR daily bread, will not concoct on Monday some scheme to switch one man's crop into another man's barn. We want a religion so enswathed in goodness, so buttressed with righteousness, so based in justice, and so permeated through and through with love, that the toil necessary for sustenance, will be but an exhilarating recreation, life a song of joy and existence a hallowed benediction.

At this point I doubt not I shall be met by the chronical objector who enquires, more in derision than for information: How are you going to realize all this? He assures us, with great show of wisdom, that the problem is exceedingly complex and insuperably difficult.

In reply permit me to state that this is one of the simplest of problems. It is no more difficult than to distinguish between a mountain and a valley, between an up and a down, or between a construction and a destruction. We have simply to learn to distinguish between the man who toils to produce abundance, who uses the land to enrich the world, and the man who uses the face of the earth as a power for extortion.

Could we turn the page of history back for a hundred years, we would find in this city about a score of houses. The small hamlet of that day has grown with every decade, until it is now the mighty metropolitan centre, soon likely to have a half million people. By what process has the score of dwellings of a century ago grown into the vast mass of buildings that we find located here to-day? From a score they have become well nigh a hundred thousand, and you all know that this has come as the result of industry. This is a process of multiplication.

When the first settlers came to this spot they found land in excessive abundance, a thousand acres available for each. To-day, in some cases, you will find hundreds of people crowded on to the one acre. With every increase of population the land had to be divided and sub-divided, the amount available for each growing less and less.

This is a process of division.

The score of dwellings of a century ago had a value of a few thousand dollars. The value of the multitude of buildings to-day cannot be much less than a hundred million dollars. This is a multiplication of wealth.

The land a hundred years ago had a very trifling value, but to-day its value must be very nearly the same as that of the buildings. This increased value indicates the increase of scarcity and poverty in land. This increased value is the result of communal growth.

Having now pointed out to you a distinction, which is essential to this discussion, I want to call your attention to another distinction. But at this point I feel myself somewhat embarrassed, for I am undertaking to describe to you an adjustment of such marvelous wonders that language is inadequate to convey a proper conception of its full glory. Let me, therefore, try and give you some idea of it by the use of a parable.

I have thousands upon thousands of servants, all hastening to do my bidding, and exerting themselves with their utmost skill and with their greatest alacrity to see that my various wants are supplied. By land and by sea on the mountain or in the valley, on the plain or in the mine, they are toiling, year in and year out, that no want may go unsatisfied.

I call them to judgment as to their methods of working. Do you try to perform your services at the best season, so as to bring forth the best results? Do you sow in the spring and reap in the harvest? Can I trust you to do that of your own free will under the guidance of your common sense? Or should the legislature pass some enactment imposing penalties to compel you to work at the right time?

"Certainly, we work at the right time," they reply "and we require no more law to compel us so to do, than we require law to compel us to handle with our hands and walk with our feet."

I put another question: "Do you all strive to work in the very best manner? Do you try to take advantage of all the forces of nature so that they will give you the greatest assistance? Or should the legislature pass a law and enact penalties to compel you so to do?"

"Work in the best manner! Certainly we do!" they reply. "Did we not adopt the steam engine as soon as invented? Have we not adopted the dynamo, the X-rays, wireless telegraphy, the steam thresher, the binder and every other improvement that ingenuity could devise as quickly as we could get them? A law to compel us to work in the best manner! Why, we go to bed at night hoping that in our dreams we will find some way of doubling our power of production before the morning."

"Well then," I ask again, "do you always strive to seek the very best place from which to get your supplies? Is there not danger that if left unrestrained by law, you will wander away from fertility to barrenness, from abundance to scarcity? Is it not absolutely necessary that laws should be passed imposing penalties to guide you always to the right place for your productions?"

"The right place!" they answer, "did you ever hear of us choosing a worse, when we could find a better? Do we abandon the fertile plains for those that are barren? Do we run away from the productive mines to those that are harder to work? From the time Adam first went into business to the present hour of the clock, did you ever hear of men built on such a plan that they were afraid of the abundant and ran away to scarcity? If you impose a penalty at all, the only place you can do it to have any effect will be to keep us from abundance that we are hungering and thirsting to reach."

Now, my friends, is it not true that I have a marvelous number of willing and obedient servants? Thousands and hundreds of thousands, yea millions, striving to work for me at the best time, in the best manner and at the best place?

I ask you to notice the astonishing result, astonishing beyond any power of description. Cut me off wholly from these servants, compel me to do everything for myself, and what will be the result? Could calamity be more dire? If I could only live at all, would it not be a living of the most abject penury, the most meagre possible existence; food the poorest, clothing the crudest, habitation the most wretched, destitute, utterly destitute, of all the amenities and refinements of civilization. But let me once have access to humanity so that I may depend upon my fellow beings to produce for me, and can you imagine a contrast greater? In isolation I am in the most abject destitution. In association with my fellows I can lay under tribute the wisdom of the ages, philosophy the most profound, poesy of the greatest beauty, biography and eloquence the most thrilling. All the inventions of the ages are toiling to satisfy my wants.

In association with my fellow man I can accomplish more in a single day than in isolation and self-dependence I could accomplish in ten thousand ages. Such is the ineffable beauty of the social forces.

I have told you of the multitude of servants—permit me now to tell you more of the masters.

I pointed out to you how in the growth of the city, labor had multiplied the

number of dwellings. That was the action of individual service. I pointed out to you furthermore how the increase of population had carried up the value of the land from nothing until to-day it cannot be less than a hundred million dollars. Suppose I had been allowed to appropriate that value as my own, what would be my power to-day? With an income ranging from four to five million dollars yearly, I could appropriate to myself the product of five thousand farms, I need not raise so much as a blade of grass, and yet to me there would come the product yearly of ten thousand men.

Here is the growth of mastery.

Could we witness a contrast wider than that between the impoverishment caused by the appropriation of fortunes by land owners; and the enrichment caused by the unflagging energy that industry is continually exercising to fill the land with the abundance of wealth?

The hand of industry, it is true, makes the wealth, but the hand of industry does not get the wealth.

The hand of the land owner need make no wealth, but every year he can appropriate a fortune.

With every increase in population his power to collect tribute grows and grows. We have seen what the development has been in one century. If population grows in the next one hundred years as it has in the past, and the tribute that toil has to pay for the occupation of the land keeps growing proportionately, will we not witness a development of extraordinary proportions—men with billions on the one hand, and millions of people to whom life is not worth living.

In the adjustment of our taxation what heed have our legislatures given to these forces? Alas! alas! we have been acting with a recklessness, which will soon become criminal. Instead of appropriating for public purposes those values which come through the growth of population, and which properly belong to population, we have ever been pursuing the industrious man, as if he were a nuisance to be suppressed. At the same time we have been exciting the cupidity of some men to gain fortune, not by producing fortune, but by the spoilation of and extortion from their fellows.

In view of this extraordinary contrast, industry doing its best for humanity on the one hand, and speculation and extortion doing its worst on the other, can there be any hesitation as to the source from which we should draw our taxation? Is it not our religious duty, as quickly as possible, to place our taxation in such a way, that we will remove the temptation, which now leads people to seek fortune by spoilation, and place it in such a way, that we will encourage every man to do his best for his fellow men?

Does not this appeal at once to your consciences as being the method which conforms most closely to the true idea of justice? And I am not calling your attention to a fact of the first importance when I state that it is only in the path of justice that religion can have free course and be glorified?

Comparing my own power with that of the sun is like a comparison between inexpressible weakness and infinite power. It is as a gnat contending with a locomotive. My puny arm raised against his immeasurable flood of light would be an exhibition of the most monumental weakness.

But I can place my hand between that sun and my eyes, so that I cut off his rays. and thus practically blot out the sun so far as I am concerned.

In the construction of this world, I have no hesitation in proclaiming, that the Creator is just as anxious and just as willing to flood this earth with moral beauty and with moral grandeur, as He is to supply it with the light of day. But, let us raise between us and the Giver of all good the obstacle of injustice, and we cut off the supply of holy influences just as truly as the hand can cut off the rays of the sun.

I am delighted to notice in the controversies of to-day that some of the leading divines are beginning to recognize that the greatest obstacle to the progress of religion is the injustice which now separates man from man. For, as it has been most truly remarked, whatever separates man from man must separate man from God. We cannot serve God and mammon.



* TENETS OF THE SINGLE TAX.

BY E. T. WEEKS.

We hold that the earth is the common heritage of all men. That apart from the earth men cannot live; and that whatever hinders their access to the earth, increases to them the difficulty of living. We assert that the very fact of birth gives to all men an equal and inalienable right to life; and because men can exist only upon and from the earth, their common heritage, it follows that all men have an equal and inalienable right to the use of the earth. And we hold that whatever human laws or institutions deny and hinder their equal exercise of this right, deny, in effect, that all men are entitled to an equal opportunity to live, and thus deny their equal right to life. We hold that private property in land, including all natural opportunities, by decreeing to a minority of men the ownership of the earth, and compelling the majority to give to these a part of the products of their labor for the mere privilege of using it, artificially increases to the multitudes the difficulty of living; infringes their equal right to the use of the earth; deprives them of their right to an equal opportunity to live, and thus denies that all men have an equal right to life. And we hold therefore that private property in land, under which the minority may wholly exclude the majority from the earth, is violative of natural rights, and is wrong; and that the human enactments which decree it should be abolished.

We assert that, in production, whatever unnaturally increases the share of the product given as rent unduly lessens the part remaining for wages and interest. Expressly asserting the need for private possession of land, we declare that its private ownership is wholly injurious. That, by enabling some to monopolize and keep out of use the most valuable lands, it gives monopoly values to land, unnaturally increases rent and the part of the product exacted as rent, and by compelling labor to resort to lands of low productiveness, it lessens the returns of labor, decreases wages and hampers production.

We assert that land values are created solely by the presence of population and the thrift and progress of the community. That they arise with the coming of population, grow with its growth and shrink and even disappear with its decline. That as a community becomes more populous and needs greater revenues, its land values increase. And that, by the very law of its being, every community creates, concurrently, a need for revenues and a fund, land values, from which this want may be satisfied.

We hold that to the producer belongs the thing produced. That land values being produced not by any individual, but by the presence and thrift of the community, the same principle of justice which gives to the individual the product of his labor, ordains that this fund, land values, belongs to the community, and should be taken for the support of the government.

*In each issue of the REVIEW will appear hereafter a brief statement of our principles, and the methods of their practical application. These articles will be carefully written and condensed by single taxers who have demonstrated their ability as teachers. The admirable paper of Mr. Weeks is the first, and in our next issue Mr. Henry George, Jr., will furnish the second of the series.