



Near the window by which I write, a great bull is tethered by a ring in his nose. Grazing round and round he has wound his rope about the stake until now he stands a close prisoner, tantalized by rich grass he cannot reach, unable even to toss his head to rid him of the flies that cluster on his shoulders.

This bull, a very type of massive strength, who, because he has not wit enough to see how he might be free, suffers want in sight of plenty, and is helplessly preyed upon by weaker creatures, seems to me no unfit emblem of the working masses. — — —

But until they trace effect to cause, until they see how they are fettered and how they may be freed, their struggles and outcries are as vain as those of the bull. Nay, they are vainer. I shall go out and drive the bull in the way that will untwist this rope. But who shall drive men into freedom?

HENRY GEORGE.

(Introductory of "Protection or Free-Trade", 1886.)

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RELATED THINGS

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THE DESTRUCTION OF PRIVILEGE ESSENTIAL TO THE SURVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY.

A Portion of a Speech Delivered by the Late William Lloyd Garrison in San Francisco, April 27, 1903. From the San Francisco Star.

Special privilege is not a vague term. It is capable of a close definition. As applied to governments, it means a certain advantage conferred by law to part of the people for private ends. In other words, it is legal favoritism. Pro-

tection is a perfect illustration of it. Ostensibly for the general good, a favored few are licensed to tax the many. It is at total variance with the principles of democracy, and has only to be incorporated into law and practice eventually to destroy free government, just as the incorporation of the pro-slavery compromises in the United States Constitution in time disrupted the Union.

Henry George's awakening to the true nature of protective tariffs was unexpected and sudden. Reared to believe in their efficacy, he was astonished to find, in the development of his thought, that they were bottomed on the principle of special privilege which he had set himself to overthrow. With that open mind and candor which distinguished his nature, he at once grappled with the abuse and paused in his exacting work to write his "Protection and Free Trade,"

which stands alone in its lucid exposition and refutation of the abominable, so-called American, system.

Either democracy or privilege—which is another name for arbitrary government—must prevail, but never democracy and privilege, a conjunction as unthinkable as that of slavery and freedom. It has become the vogue to ridicule Jefferson's phrase, "all men are created equal," and the cheap wit that points out the natural inequality of men's endowment is accepted as conclusive. With what ponderous gravity have we heard this refutation of the great Virginia democrat's declaration. That all men are created with equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—the obvious meaning of the words—is an ethical truism. Any government, therefore, that permits that equal right to be infringed may be a good monarchy or despotism, but never a republic. By that test, all so-called republics are to be judged.

Freedom Paramount, Organization Secondary.

Men mistake when they imagine the single tax agitation to aim only at fiscal change, a new method of taxation. Its sole purpose is to secure the larger freedom of the race. It is not the method but the result that is precious. For it is idle to talk of the equal rights of men when the one thing essential to such equality is withheld. The Physiocrats of France grasped the central truth, and saw that freedom of natural opportunity, comprised in the term land, was the foundation-stone of freedom and justice. Had the French Revolution proceeded on their line, it would have had a different ending. The succeeding spectre of Napoleon, devastating Europe and wading through the blood of his sacrificed countrymen to the throne, would not have affrighted mankind. The fruits of liberty would have been gathered. The time was not ripe for the great thought of Quesnay and his far-seeing associates; it was yet to germinate another century. Silenced and hidden by the mighty sweep of events, it bided its time until, in the New World, its blossom of beauty was revealed through the lips of Henry George, a humble instrument, but of the quality Nature chooses for its prophets. Meantime, Jefferson had, by his inspired abstractions, prepared a soil wherein the roots of this latest plant of liberty could flourish after the debris of Negro bondage was removed and the sunshine was allowed to perform its blessed function.

Historical Pessimism Resultant From Narrow Vision.

I know the sad conclusion of the historians whose tasks reveal to them a single story through the ages. Oppression, struggle, emancipation, prosperity, wealth, luxury, decay of character, vice, and final subjugation; so runs the story of nations from earliest recorded time. Must we

then conclude that free government in the United States, Time's latest effort toward the ideal state, is to follow the same old path and be submerged in the familiar gulf? Froude, contemplating the history of the Roman Republic, gains the conviction that commonwealths must pass through the recurring stages of growth, transformation and decline; that—

Everything that grows

Holds in perfection but a little moment,
And this huge state presenteth nought but shows,
Whereon the stars in silent influence comment.

It remains for those who still cherish possibilities of a nobler civilization than any recorded to remember that the talisman of safety has been wanting in every experiment of human government hitherto attempted. There is no mystery in the wrecks and failures that make the basis of these despairing conclusions. The world is yet young in the art of self-government, and nations, like individuals, "may rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things." In our day a new morality has been born, a new conscience has been set to work, and with these a clearer vision has been given. We see that if the human race was started afresh in the Garden of Eden, and the privilege of land monopoly recognized, the end could not be other than slavery and degradation for the masses. Understanding why Greece and Rome decayed and fell, we know what enemies of constitutional government to combat.

It is true that we see the same symptoms of corruption and decline mirrored in our civilization that destroyed those elder classic nations. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that imperial tendencies are seemingly stronger than our love for liberty; that militarism and false glory have the old fatal attraction that lures to death. We see, also, as plainly as did Froude, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces; that "if they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from the mere incompetence for its duties." But we see more than Froude perceived, and our attention is riveted on the heart of privilege, certain that the weapon to reach it has been forged. For privilege is the disease that slew the ancient republics which started with such gorgeous promise to the race.

A Macedonian Cry.

I appeal to the men and women of light and learning to come to our assistance and join our ranks. Even wealth is not impervious to generous conviction, since it has given to our cause the shining light of Tom L. Johnson. But above all, I appeal to the sufferers beneath the harrow, the common laboring people, who constitute the majority in these United States. Feeling keenly their oppression, they fail to see clearly

the way to freedom. To them I urge less dependence on counter organizations to battle with privilege. Privilege can afford to scorn tactics in which it has always been, and must be, master as long as it is permitted to masquerade as capital. For honest capital is beneficent and impregnable. Privilege has stolen its good name and wears it as an armor.

As Lowell tells us:

There is more force in names than most men dream of,
And a lie may keep its throne a whole age longer
If it lurk behind the shield of some fair-seeming name.

An Illustration.

I beg the working man who hears me to think less of restrictive measures, which are but a copy, in form, of protection, and sure in the end to react upon labor, and unite to strike at the cause of their oppression and discontent. Let him take a lesson from the less enlightened Kaffirs of South Africa, who recently brought the proud mine owners to their terms, using neither force nor organization. The Chamber of Mines, in Johannesburg, representing nearly 170 concerns, gold as well as coal, undertook to reduce the wages of the native miners, who had no organization of any kind. The old average rate of wages was fifty shillings a month, and the boys were lodged and fed at the mine compounds. Although able to pay enormous dividends on this expenditure, the greedy mine owners desired to increase them by reducing the laborers' pay to thirty shillings a month, and proceeded on that basis. The effort proved to be vain. No mine could obtain its full complement of workers, and, after months of determined effort, in November last, the Chamber was reluctantly compelled to yield and the old rates were restored. The victory involved no organized strike nor wailing delegates.

A correspondent of the Boston Transcript explains the mystery, without a suspicion that he was giving a capital illustration of the theory of Henry George. He writes: "For the natives, the eighteen months' contest has been the easiest win in the history of the industrial world. The native had no trade union to help him in the conflict which the Chamber of Mines had forced upon him. But all South African natives have a little land. A native can easily live out of his mealie patch; and when the powerful Chamber of Mines issued its decree that the native was worth only thirty shillings a month, and determined to fix this as the rate at the mines all over South Africa, the natives called for no meetings, held no demonstrations, nor asked for any sympathetic strike or boycotts. They simply kept to their mealie patches, and while they remained there the mines on the Rand were at a standstill, and thousands of stockholders in England, Germany, and France

were without dividends on their mining securities."

What Shall the Answer Be?

The obvious moral is that where land is locked up from the man seeking employment he must work on his employer's terms or starve. With open opportunities to work for himself, no capitalist can oppress him, but must employ him on just and satisfactory terms. Now, as Bliss Carman states it:

There is no man alive, however he may strive,
Allowed to own the work of his own hands.
Landlords and waterlords, at all the roads and fords,
Taking their tolls, imposing their commands.

Not until he is made the lord of his own trade,
Can any man be glad or strong or free;
There looms the coming war. Which captain are you for,

The chartered wrong, or Christ and liberty?

When that question is answered deliberately by the people, it will be determined whether democracy is to survive or perish in this land.

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THE BASIS OF THE FILIPINO APPEAL.

Manual L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner of the Philippine Islands in the United States, in an Article Written for the Sacramento Bee.

Since it has been my privilege to represent the Filipino people on the floor of the American House of Representatives, I have encountered an apparently very general willingness in this country to permit my people to go ahead and set up a government of their own and proceed to enjoy what your Declaration of Independence calls "the pursuit of happiness," in their own way instead of in somebody else's way; provided, the American people be convinced:

First: That my beloved compatriot, Speaker Osmena, of the Filipino Assembly, and myself, and the rest of the Young Filipino Party, would not at once cut each other's throats in a mad scramble for the offices; and

Second: That if we were given this independence that we are forever pleading for, Japan, Germany or England, or some other power, will not annex the Islands on the first pretext.

The general impression among the American people as to the ability of the Filipinos to institute and maintain a government of their own, is, perhaps, well expressed in the following utterance made in 1900 by one of the statesmen of this country: "To grant self government to Luzon under Aguinaldo would be like granting self government to an Apache reservation under some local chief." If you turn to the famous Senate Document No. 62 there may be found a report by General J. Franklin Bell, since Chief of Staff of

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