

remember are even immortal, and that the remembrance will be immortal, what then is this to thee? And I say, not what is it to the dead, but what is it to the living?—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A MAN IS PASSING.*

For The Public.

A Man is passing. Hall him, you
Who realize him staunch and strong and true.
He found us dollar-bound and party-blind;
He leaves a City with a Civic Mind,
Choosing her conduct with a conscious care,
Selecting one man here, another there
And scorning labels. Craft and Graft and Greed
Ran rampant in our halls and few took heed.
The Public Service and the Public Rights
Were bloody bones for wolf and jackal fights.
Now, even the Corporate Monster licks the hand
Where once he snarled his insolent demand.
Who tamed it? Answer as you will,
But truth is truth and his the credit still.

A Man is passing. Flout him, you
Who would not understand and never knew.
Tranquil in triumph, in defeat the same,
He never asked your praise nor shirked your blame.
For he, as Captain of the Common Good,
Has earned the right to be misunderstood.
Behold! he raised his hand against his class;
Aye, he forsook the Few and served the Mass.
Year upon year he bore the battle's brunt
And so, the hiss, the cackle and the grunt!
He found us, striving each his selfish part.
He leaves a City with a Civic Heart,
Which gives the fortune-fallen a new birth
And reunites him with his Mother Earth,
Which seeks to look beyond the broken law
To find the broken life, and mend its flaw.

A Man is passing. Nay, no demi-god,
But a plain man, close to the common sod
Whence springs the grass of our humanity. Strong
Is he, but human, therefore sometimes wrong,
Sometimes impatient of the slower throng,
Sometimes unmindful of the formal thong,
But ever with his feet set towards the height
To plant the banner of the Common Right;
And ever with his eye fixed on the goal,
The Vision of a City with a Soul.

And is he fallen? Aye, but mark him well,
He ever rises further than he fell.

A Man is passing. I salute him, then,
In these few words. He served his fellow-men
And he is passing. But he comes again.

EDMUND VANCE COOKE.

Cleveland, Ohio.

*This poem, which first appeared in *The Public* of January 7, at the close of Tom L. Johnson's last term as Mayor of the city of Cleveland, was read by Mr. Cooke at the banquet given to Mr. Johnson in New York on the 30th, reported in the news columns of this *Public*.

RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY.

An Address Delivered Before the Brotherhood of the
Central Congregational Church of Topeka, Kans.,
April 11, 1910, by George Hughes.

The ideal of democracy which our nation has is the most binding link that the world has yet seen. This ideal aims to equalize the opportunity of all, and to maintain equality of opportunity by representative government. Note this, it is to equalize opportunity, not to equalize men nor the possession of wealth among men. Let us see what stands in the way of realizing this ideal.

For various reasons I desire to wear shoes. Before I can satisfy this desire of mine to wear shoes, first of all a farmer must today apply his God-given faculties to land, must labor to produce feed and to raise cattle. A train-crew, a dispatcher, a division superintendent, and sundry other railroad employes must labor with both mind and body to bring the hide from which these shoes are made, to the tannery with economy, safety and dispatch. In the tannery, that the hide may be changed into pliant leather, everyone from the manager to the errand boy running messages must exert their God-given faculties, must labor. What is true of the tannery is true of the shoe factory. There must be productive labor of all kinds to change leather into shoes. When the shoes are finished, they appear on the counter of a retail store. Anyone who has tried it knows that a retail storekeeper must exert his faculties, must labor, in order to sell me a pair of shoes to satisfy this desire which I have to wear shoes. Now what do I do? Well, if you like to put it on the surface, I pay five dollars to the retail storekeeper who has paid all the preceding men, and I am by right entitled to enjoy these shoes. But if we desire to go below the surface, we find that these shoes are in reality the services; that is to say, the labor of four groups of men upon what the first man, the farmer, produced by laboring upon the land. Is it not fair to say then that I have given a five-dollar bill for the services of five groups of men? In reality, a legion of men, bankers, mechanics, miners, house-builders, and countless others, past and present, have with these five groups of men rendered me, unconsciously, a service as I wear these shoes.

What is this five-dollar bill? It cannot satisfy any desire of man, this bit of paper. What is this five dollars? That is the very hinge of the question.

I use such faculties as I have in keeping books and cash in a hospital. A hospital is a machine for returning to factories, railroads, tanneries, and farms, shoemakers, railroad employes, tanners, and farmers who have been incapacitated by disease or accident from using their faculties to produce or aid in production. These men pay the hospital for the services it renders them. The hospital, the machine for renewing the productive faculties

of any kind of man, pays me for my part in its service. Now, if I pay for my shoes which represent the services of those five groups of men, from my wages, have I not, in reality, repaid their services with a service?

Now let us suppose that when I used to employ my faculties, when I used to labor to produce pork and beef, that I had produced one year more pork and beef than I needed to exchange for other things to satisfy the desires of myself and family. Let us suppose that a hundred dollars represented this stored pork and beef, stored labor; that is to say, capital.

In order that I might obtain more wealth, let us say that I invested it in a share of Cleveland Municipal Railway stock, known as the Three-cent-fare Street-railway. This company held the right to operate a street railway from Forest Hill to the center of Cleveland, under the following terms: That good fair wages were to be paid to all labor from manager to track greaser; that the road was to be maintained and extended on a specified contract, and a certain per cent set aside as a sinking fund; that all capital was to be physical valuation and to receive as interest, as wages, not over six per cent; that when all these terms had been complied with if there was money from the fares which the people had paid still left undivided, then the fares on this street railway were to be reduced. Until October, 1908, this holding company, the Cleveland Municipal, operated its street railway and complied with all these terms. Now if I paid for the services which these shoes represent with five dollars from a Cleveland Municipal dividend, is it not fair to say that I should have repaid these services with a service? By virtue of my stored labor, my capital, I should have been part of a machine for carrying farmers, tanners, railroad men, etc., from Forest Hill into Cleveland, at cost.

The magazine "Everybody's," wanted share capital taken up two years ago. Let us suppose I bought a share of Everybody's which has paid ten per cent to capital ever since then. Everybody's is a machine which for fifteen cents a number sets before farmers, tanners, etc., sundry information which they would find hard to acquire except by this means. The price and description of automobiles, cleaners, and collar buttons, for instance; also good fiction, and the "Beast and the Jungle." Nobody is forced to buy Everybody's. It is fair to say that they only buy it to satisfy a desire. Now, if I paid for the services which those shoes represent with five dollars from my "Everybody's" dividend, should I not, by virtue of my stored labor, my capital, be returning a service for the services I enjoy in these shoes?

I am convinced that these three ways for paying for shoes necessitate my repaying services rendered me, either by direct labor on my part, as in the hospital instance, or by having labored in the

past and lending the result of that labor which I stored to concerns which render services at cost or under competition today.

Now let us suppose that in 1898, when I lived in Hartley county, Texas, and worked for a cattle company, that to assist the company as well as myself I filed upon four school sections of the range which the company used, by right of my being a citizen of Hartley county and making my home for three years upon one of these sections. To do this I should have had to pay the State of Texas sixteen dollars in cash; and agree to pay not later than forty years from date of filing, one dollar per acre; until I paid this one dollar per acre, I contracted to pay the State three cents an acre per annum. After three years' residence, I was to receive a patent from the State which would enable me to sell the four sections, and either pay the State or transfer the debts to my purchaser. In 1900 the Rock Island Railroad built through Liberal to El Paso. A town named Dalhart sprang up, and in 1902 there were twenty-five hundred people in Dalhart; every available section within twenty miles was taken, and the Campbell system of farming was beginning to turn that desert, where we had to go two hundred feet to get water, into a sort of farming country. Let us say that a man offered me five dollars an acre for one of my sections, which cornered with the town section, in cash. That I accepted the five dollars per acre in cash, used it to pay up on the other three sections, and leased those three sections to a farmer who wanted to live there, for fifty dollars a section per annum. If I paid for the services which these shoes represent from this one hundred and fifty dollars, should I be paying with productive service which I had rendered, or should I be paying for these shoes which represent services, with services which the accidental ownership of land had enabled me to collect from this Texas farmer?

Once upon a time I made the acquaintance of Mr. H. H. Rogers of the Standard Oil. I only saw and very much admired the God-given power in that man. I never saw that other side which has come to light, and is due to the conditions which we allow to exist. Now the appetite for easy money grows by being satisfied. Let us say that I got tired of farming this Texas farmer and that in 1903 I sold every acre of the land for five dollars an acre which I could have done in that year; it is now over ten dollars an acre in that locality. Supposing that I had then cultivated Mr. Rogers' acquaintance and won his approbation; while this is improbable it is by no means impossible. Let us say that under his guidance I invest this money in public utility companies which own rights of way, and that by buying, selling, and rebuying stock in them I increase the money about fifty per cent by now; if I pay for the productive services these shoes represent with five

dollars of this profit shall I have repaid those services with a productive service, or with the services of the proverbial widows and orphans and the services of like stock gamblers? Even if I buy for investment and pay for my shoes out of the income of that investment the question is still appropriate. This is clear to me when I remember that this January I bought two little stoves for ten dollars, a ton of coal, and several gallons of coal-oil; was colder than I desired most of the time at home, and paid the gas company nineteen dollars and a half. If one endeavors to know oneself one soon begins to try to be just even to gas companies. It is fair to say that five dollars paid from gas companies' dividend is four dollars' service, and one dollar the power to collect regardless of the quality of the service.

Or supposing that under the guidance of Mr. Rogers I had invested in the Steel Trust on the ground floor. The Steel Trust is a "good trust." Last year by its annual report it showed that it paid out a hundred and fifty-three million dollars in wages and salaries, and had a net profit of a hundred and thirty-one millions left over. That is to say, for every fifty-three dollars paid out in wages and salaries, there was a net profit of forty-eight dollars. This is pretty good when you remember that the Steel Trust sells its products thirty-per cent cheaper in England where there is no tariff, than in Kansas which is in a country protected by tariff. The steel trust holds thousands of acres of this storehouse, the earth, which contains metal and coal deposits, out of use. It owns towns like Gary and railroads and public utilities. A protective tariff has been the means by which it could accumulate this stupendous power which it exercises. I would if I could treat every trust as I desire that they should treat me. Now if I paid for the services these shoes represent with five dollars from steel trust dividends I think it would be fair to say that three dollars of the five would be services rendered; and the other two dollars would be the power society gives this trust to collect all the traffic will bear, through a protective tariff.

My brothers, the last three methods for paying for shoes, which I have tried to show you in my crude illustration of how I could pay for shoes, are the most potent causes of the irreligious conditions existing today. Because of them, well-meaning Christian men are defending the maintaining of standing armies and navies. Look at the causes of the Boer war and Russo-Japanese war. Look at the German situation today and the tense way in which England is regarding every move of Germany. In these wars and existing situations if you will look closely enough, you will see that the ownership by individuals of land values, and rights of way, and territories where other nations cannot trade, are the real causes. These are the causes why we are divided into classes today; why labor

and stored labor, capital, are fighting. We have allowed some men to capitalize the land which society makes more valuable every day, the rights of way without which we cannot exist, and we have allowed some men by law to charge us more for their goods, their productive services, than they do the citizens of other nations. There hangs in Mr. Sheldon's study a picture of a battleship which cost ten millions of the services of the American people. It floats upon the ocean; and in the picture underneath the ocean surface are drowned a hundred and six public buildings—libraries, polytechnics, etc.—one for each county in Kansas, which could have been built and maintained for far less money, far less products of American labor, than it has taken to produce this wonderful machine for killing or threatening, which rests above them. Henry George is right: to approach our ideal of democracy we must steadfastly oppose these three methods of obtaining productive services for no return of productive service.

Religion is the strongest force which moves men to action. I do not think that one of you believes that the commandments, "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not murder," are binding merely because the Bible says so. As I satisfy my desire for understanding in our Brotherhood Bible Class; as I listen to the wealth which our two teachers by applying their minds to the subject, produce, I am supremely conscious that the Bible is a priceless means for learning the Laws of God. God's laws do not change. That man must satisfy his needs by the exertion of his powers to produce, is the law under which Adam lived. In order to fully recognize that God is almighty, the opportunity to use the storehouse which he has provided must be as equal today as Adam's opportunity was free.

The most binding link of all links is the philosophy, the teachings of the Messiah who served by washing the feet of his followers. He placed a little child among those followers, and commanded them to be guided by a child. As I have watched those little bits of God which are called my children, growing into human habits, this is a thing which I have learned, and so have you. Their desire to know, their curiosity, as we call it, is not satisfied by the fact that I say that a thing is so. They have a high opinion of me, it is true, but they strive to go farther. What they really want to know is what God says about it. They do not put it that way, but their untiring questions prove to me—so much more tied by human habit than are they—that that is what they are seeking for. To my mind if we would be truly religious we must ask ourselves regarding these three subjects upon which I have touched, with childlike minds, seeking merely to establish the principle which shall abolish the unchristian disgrace called war, and the debasing poverty which exists where progress in producing that which we most desire is the

most forward. This crude effort of mine is worth while if it awakens a desire in you to know more about that chain which binds me to so many men of different nations and types—the political economy and philosophy of Henry George, I never have to strain to see again the vision of that passing crowd, and the splendor if it. Among the foremost leaders of the men this truth is driving, are the descendants of the race which crucified the Messiah. They are giving their time, their money, their lives to forwarding this binding link, which has been evolved admittedly by that prophet of San Francisco, Henry George, from the teaching of Him who instructed us to pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

BOOKS

OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

The Story of the American Merchant Marine. By John R. Spears, author of "Story of the New England Whalers," etc. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Co.

As the title of Mr. Spears's book indicates, it is historical rather than polemical, but it has for the polemics of the subject this value, that the author refuses to see in subsidies a remedy for the decline of our foreign shipping. Directly out of the history of our merchant marine grows this conclusion of Mr. Spears against the insistent demand of selfish interests for ship subsidies as a policy of national upbuilding. Mr. Spears does not go into the morals of the subsidy system, nor does he even take the trouble to point out the absurdity of restricting foreign trade by protective duties, and at the same time attempting to promote the growth of our merchant marine by paying a few Americans handsome subsidies out of the public treasury for work that strangers are willing to do at a cheaper rate. He merely contents himself with showing that our merchant marine grew without the aid of subsidies, that it declined without the withdrawal of subsidies. He finds that we once had the prospect of being the world's ocean carriers because we built the best ships and administered them most economically, and that, too, when our sailors were the best paid on any sea.

Between the period when the American clipper ship was seen in all ports, and the period when American steamships built of iron became "rare swimmers" of the sea, we lost to others the art of building ships cheaply and sailing them economically. We have not since recovered those arts, but when we do recover them, Mr. Spear thinks we shall stand a chance of sharing with the other nations in the carrying trade of the world. There are some of us who believe that the way to this desirable end, lies not through special privilege, but through freer trade.

Mr. Spears, in naming his objections to the plan of ship subsidies, points out what has too often been ignored, that the game is one at which the other nations of the earth can easily play, and at which some of them are already playing. If a share in the world's carrying trade is to be won by paying some millions a year into the treasuries of American ship-owners, why can it not be retained by foreign powers by the simple means of increasing subsidies already granted? Mr. Spears points out that we have before us, if we enter upon this policy, a sharp race in the matter of subsidies with the powers that now do the carrying trade of the world. He would allow the value of subsidies only as a bounty to ships that could be used as auxiliaries to the navy, and, historian of the United States Navy, as he is, he does not show himself very keen even upon this point of policy. Historically Mr. Spears's book is interesting, picturesque and thorough.

EDWARD N. VALLANDIGHAM.

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A VITAL NEED

Religion Rationalized. By Rev. Hiram Vrooman. The Nunc Licet Press, Philadelphia, Pa. Price, 75c.

Evolution in religion, as in lesser things, has brought us to the point of seeing its vital relation to life, and Mr. Vrooman stands forth, with many others, to show, each in his way, the real nature and use of religion.

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