
RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE NEW CREED.

For The Public.

Three mysteries there are:
 Life, and its errand here;
 Love, with its smile or tear;
 And God behind the star.

Clearer these riddles run
 To whom all Life and Love,
 And God who dwells above,
 Are Three, but Three in One.

And less profound and dim
 Seems this, the later creed,
 Wherein Life, Love, we read
 As other names for Him!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

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A LESSON IN CHEERFULNESS.

**William Allen White, of the Emporia (Kansas)
 Gazette, Makes the Gazette Account for
 Some of Its Prosperity.**

Ten years ago the Gazette moved to its present quarters. Then Merchant street was a residence street with not very important residences upon it. It was the back door of Commercial street. But the government had bought a lot for a post-office site next to where the Gazette bought, and sooner or later it was evident that the postoffice must come. Well—the postoffice came. The back door to Commercial street became the side door. People began walking to the postoffice on Merchant street past the Gazette office. The telephone company moved around here. The Aerodome came. The street livened up. The valuation of the lot upon which the Gazette building was built grew. The present owner did little to make the increase. And still it grew.

This week the postal savings bank law was passed in Washington. It may be a good, bad or indifferent law, but it puts the government bank next to the Gazette office. The Gazette is now at the bank corner. The back door of Commercial street has changed. We are now in the front yard.

And the Gazette has done precious little to earn all the money that has come with the increase in the value of his land. There should be an increment tax on land. Such values are due to the community. They come not from the individual, but from the community. Foresight is something, but not much. Anyone has sense enough to buy cheap land. The community should take a share of the profits of increased values. A tax should

be levied upon all land so that unearned increases will go in some degree to the people. When this building which cost \$6,000 is sold for what it is now assessed at—that is, \$9,500—the people should have under the law at least twenty per cent and justly more—some of that unearned increase. They did it. They should have it. But will they get it? Well, hardly. The people will not get a cent of the value of their own activities until they take it. All the people get without taking it is a pleasant look and a kind word. Even so good, so true and so beautiful a man as the editor of the Gazette will hang onto his unearned increment like a sick kitten to a hot brick. But for making a bank corner of a cow-path he desires to thank the people, and to show them where they are losing enough money every year to pay all the expenses of Lyon county without levying a dollar's worth of taxes. Just take twenty per cent of the increase in the price of every foot of land every time it is sold, and hold the deed until the taxes on the increment are all paid.

But will that be done? Nope, it will not. We are all a little too selfish yet. We are afraid to break away from our right to put both feet in the trough, and will not pass laws that will curtail ourselves, however fair they may be. Other countries do this, and profit by doing it. But there the land is in fewer hands than in our country, and it is easy to reform the other fellow—especially when he is only a few. So the Gazette sits on the bank corner and puts its unearned increment into a new brick veneered wall of gaudy color, and is as cheerful as it can be in a solemn world.

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NEED AND WASTE.

**From the Phi Beta Kappa Address Delivered at
 Stanford University, May 21, 1910, by
 William Kent.**

Democracy is the goal to which the world is tending, and equality of opportunity is its prerequisite. The needs of a democracy comprise those things that the average man may reasonably expect to obtain by an amount of effort that shall neither blight his health nor narrow his life. The old aristocratic scheme, under which the lord ate the chicken, while the gizzard and feathers were for the mob, is abhorrent to our thinking. While it is practically impossible to draw sharply defined lines between the needful and the useless, we may at any rate suggest some approximations.

The Need for Food.

First of all, we require food, wholesome, palatable, and in adequate quantity. Doctors and faddists will wrangle eternally over what is wholesome. It is a consoling fact that all over the world are well developed and vigorous people who have adapted

themselves to what is at hand. There are mild eaters of meat and ferocious drinkers of milk. There are insect eaters, and wild honey people. Our race has grown great on a mixed diet of bread and meat. One thing in common is shared by all men, the necessity of repairing to the earth for food. Hardship follows when this is made difficult. Man also needs a varying amount of clothing. This need is not dependent upon fashion, as a traveler from Mars would suppose, but upon climatic variations; for this, too, he must go to the land, and the same is true of shelter and fuel. Unless we believe that certain men should be starved or frozen or forced into servitude, we must accord equality of opportunity to seek the bounties of our common mother earth. That mother cannot furnish the average man such banquet dishes as Roman emperors considered needful. Palo Alto would exhaust the supply of nightingales' tongues in a day and without appreciable benefit. The earth cannot provide aigrettes for all vain women, or game preserves for all men who joy in killing. We have never tested the measures of earth's bounty. Instead of cherishing her, we have often looted her, and upon us and those after us must fall the burden of her quiet punishment.

For the sustenance of life, we must look to the great mother and to her husband, the great, good sun. For whatever else, we must look to ourselves and to each other and to the power behind all that works for righteousness. We must not, like apes at a banquet, grab and destroy, but we must conserve and share in good will, else many suffer and the successful have little joy of their success.

It is required in a democracy that there should be a happy childhood, of long enough duration that little shoulders shall not be bent by overloading.

The Need for Work.

It is required that there shall be a busy youth and prime of life, with a chance to work, so that the work shall count in the general product, and so that the fruit of toil may go to the producer without diminution from unproductive privilege. It is no less a requisite that man should be able to look serenely forward to a well provided and self-respecting old age, and further, that he be defended against the want that may come from the accidents of life. These provisions are now monopolized by the well to do, who often fail to see how needful they are to the happiness of all.

The Need for Good Will.

Length of days may be but elongated lethargy, or misery. It is of no value for or in itself. Life has other dimensions than those of the line. It is more than a connection between the prenatal and post-mortem mysteries. The primal social need is good will to men, and good will is not born of want or of repletion, of successful greed or of sullen envy. It must rest in a sense of justice that keeps alive a righteous dissatisfaction, until equal-

ity of opportunity is the common lot. That smug so-called philanthropy which is evidenced by the bestowal of surplus and perhaps ill-gotten or unearned wealth, can never take such pleasure in obsequious expressions of gratitude as may come to every one of us when our fellow men say, "Neighbor, you have tried to help; brother, you have played fair."

Knowledge adds to the breadth of life and should be denied to none. Our public education is as totally withdrawn from the overworked as from those living beyond its pale. The fine arts should be the common heritage of all of us just as they served the whole people of Athens.

Waste Must Be Eliminated.

These are some of the real needs of democracy. They can only be met for this and coming generations by a system, a scheme of things that will conserve and develop what is worth while to the elimination of the useless. Weeds and melons cannot grow in the same bed. However generous the earth may be, there cannot be support for drones except at the cost of workers, and the workers must employ themselves productively else they, too, are but a burden on those well employed. The waste in the world is the world's great problem. Our country is doubtless the most prodigal of all. Its developing riches have thus far saved some of us from the pinch that will, ere long, teach the lesson that all of us must learn.

In outline let us consider a few matters that seem to disclose our prodigal heedlessness, our economic blindness, and suggest the way that we must travel.

The food supply of civilization is the joint product of land and labor. Upon that food supply rests human life and all its content. Lacking rice, fish, and millet, the voice of Confucius would not have been heard.

Lacking grain and meat, there would have been no theater to echo the philosophy of Shakespeare; spectral bards would have sung to an empty world, and the great message of love would have been undelivered.

The ancient nation-cities sent their armies and navies to loot the world of food. They enslaved men that they might fill the mouths of non-producers, and finally they went down to destruction under the artificial conditions they had created.

Sometimes there has been too little land, at other times too little labor; there has been soil exhaustion and erosion, and the drying up of water sources, and always, everywhere, an overwhelming burden on the food supply. Mechanical reapers and mowers, gang plows, wonderful systems of transportation come to relieve the situation, but the relief seems but temporary even in our favored country, and now we are facing the great problem of an increased cost of living, not only in terms of dollars but in terms of day labor, which is life.

More Eaters Than Producers.

We who have been the greatest exporting agency in the food market are feeling the pinch with all the rest of the world. In a market more clearly open to the play of supply and demand than is any other market, we are bidding up the staples of life. Many factors enter into this problem, but the one most frequently neglected is the many-phased factor known of old, the excess of demand over supply, the disproportionate increase of the army of eaters, relative to the army of producers. To this is related certain increased costs of production despite the advent of labor-saving farm machinery.

Up to the present time our expansion into new fields has more than made up for the exhaustion of old fields. We have not begun to pay the penalty which we shall have to pay for soil exhaustion. But our agricultural industries are underworked while in every other field we are working overtime. Access to the land is constantly being made more difficult and expensive by rising land values.

We have, first of all, considered the food question because while the most vital it is the simplest in its terms. The other real necessities of our complicated social system are farther removed from the action of supply and demand.

Wool and cotton fiber for clothing are in part high in price, owing to agricultural conditions. Wool is further enhanced to the consumer by the tariff and the trusts.

We possess the cheapest iron ore in the known world; we assemble coal and iron by the most economical transportation systems; we manufacture it by the most scientific methods, and then under our tariff system and an unregulated monopoly we sell the product cheaper to foreigners than to our own people. All of us are paying tribute and we are forcing the export of two natural resources that cannot be replaced—coal and iron.

Trusts and Tariff.

Trusts and the tariff meet us everywhere; they increase the cost of what we consume, and we must seriously seek for benefits on the other side of the ledger, for generally distributed democratic benefits; else we cannot justify their action. We are everywhere met by the tyranny of our servants, the railroads, with their varying theories of "what the traffic will bear;" their charges enter into the cost of living: are those charges justified or not? It is worse than a Fifteen Puzzle until we look at the solution furnished by railroads and trusts, in the dividends paid on stocks and bonds that represent the hopes and not the actual investments of their promoters. The price charged for monopolized anthracite coal depends far more on the dividends paid on watered securities than on the cost of its production. A few Guggenheim grabs, and we would be forced for all time to beg for the

privilege of warming ourselves. That is under existing law.

The prices of those things we need in addition to food are regulated largely by combined and uncontrolled selfishness which in a measure also acts on the things we eat. We have granted the power of life and death along with the grants of land and natural resources and the licenses to incorporate. The index of how this power is used is seen in the stock market, in the thousands of millions of capitalization made good by the privilege of picking our pockets, and in rising values of city and rural land.

If Harriman, Rockefeller, Carnegie and Morgan have done service as captains of industry, can we rest quietly in the assumption that they and their heirs and assigns can exact their tremendous tribute from all the people forever? These men, after all, are but names in the longer vista. There is no use exciting ourselves in hostility against them personally, as economic factors. They are shining lights as beneficiaries of special privileges which in many forms work to the common impoverishment.

Inequality Is Waste.

It may be urged that the capital piled up by special privilege is not lost to productive enterprise; that inequality is not waste; and that what is taken from the unorganized many is better used by the organized few. This is an economic argument although socially iniquitous. True, we can never go back to the simpler stages of production. We can never dispense with the economy and power of co-operating dollars any more than we can go back to a barbarous condition of self-sufficient anarchy. It is clear and obvious that progressive democracy will use the device of incorporation with its massing capital. "Peopleization of industry" will not come through the purchase of watered stocks fortified by special privilege, but it is sure to come gradually in some form or other.

As against the helpful tendencies of present-day co-operating capital, we have the destructive tendencies of economic waste wherever capital is massed, tendencies that lead to luxury and extravagance, that lead to misdirected effort, and this to such an extent that the benefits of the system are absorbed and the labor-saving devices count but little in the life of the average man. . . .

The natural richness of our country has saved us thus far, but it can no longer stand the strain. There are days of want ahead of us unless we cut off special privileges that more than any other thing lead through unfair distribution to malemployment.

The Menace of Privilege.

From many quarters there comes up a cry for business men and business methods of administering the commonwealth, and simultaneously we

hear a protest, backed by indisputable facts, against the methods and aims of what is called "Big Business." The different points of view are not hard to understand; both can be honestly taken. Certainly we should have business men and business methods, but the national business, unlike private business, must take a view that goes beyond any single human life, else all the sacrifices made for us in the long struggle for liberty may be annulled in a single generation.

National business must be a combination of far-sighted altruism and social justice; this is statesmanship and patriotism.

To turn our natural resources over to private development without let, hindrance or control; this is the kind of business that will not even now greatly benefit living men and is sure to despoil our descendants. . . .

The conservation movement is the beginning of a great crusade that will turn men's minds toward equality of opportunity and social justice. It is a movement that has just begun; but it is so strong in logic, so eternally right in its trend that it can not be curbed or diverted by the unfortunate reaction in Washington. In it all reasonably intelligent and unselfish people can and will unite. We cannot predict how far it will lead, nor do we care, so long as justice and true patriotism are its inspiring ideals. Who helps this cause is the friend of his country; who hinders it is a public enemy; although his ignorance may palliate the guilt of his offending. To demand that the remainder of the public domain should be squandered because most of it has been heedlessly handled in the past is to present the argument that the prodigal's father should have settled with those barkeepers who had missed getting their portion of the prodigal's substance.

Some Suggestions.

The end of this necessarily discursive story is this:

If we are to prosper and to succeed as a democracy, we must keep our wants within reasonable bounds. A democracy unaided by slave labor can never wallow in luxury, and this is good.

We must root out special privilege which reaps where it does not sow, unfairly absorbing the fruits of toil.

We must jealously guard the great gifts with which nature has endowed our country, remembering that we are but tenants with the briefest of tenure and a vast responsibility heavy upon us.

We must apply ourselves thoroughly to useful work, else whether in idleness or useless endeavor we are but a burden to the earth.

We must strive for justice between men and must do our best to provoke respect for law by obtaining laws that in wording and interpretation work for ameliorating the lot of the average man, for this is what justice means.

The spirit of good will, kindness and human

sympathy can never fully bloom except under democracy. This spirit is the richest endowment of all. Honest thinking will bring you out, whatever trail you pursue, to the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth.

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WOLVES.

For The Public.

When grandsire used to hear them bark
Around his cabin door,
He'd scatter far the yelping pack,
Then sleep with peaceful snore.
Why, why is it I lie awake
And toss and ponder deep,
On how on earth I ever can
One wolf its distance keep?

SHIRLEY SHERMAN.

BOOKS

LIVING UNDERNEATH AMERICA

Our Slavic Fellow Citizens. By Emily Greene Balch, Associate Professor of Economics, Wellesley College. Published by the Charities Publication Committee, New York. 1910. Price \$2.50 postpaid.

"Back of all political developments, of all social institutions, lie the two great fundamental facts of human history—land and men."

Those two primary facts, the fact of land and the fact of men—the only primary facts by the way, and as fundamental and inclusive with reference to daily industry as to historic institutions, but the importance of which in that connection is usually invisible to economic experts in the maze of economic detail—this author sets out as the basis for her minute and comprehensive examination into the Slavic strain in American life.

The first half of her book is devoted to a study in their native land, of this race which constitutes "a large part of our total immigration" and an "important element in our permanent population." The latter half deals with them after they have come to our land.

It is quite impracticable to summarize in this notice a mass of detail so voluminous, but there is one touch of Slavic industrial life in America which impresses us profoundly, as it did the painstaking and judicial author. She quotes a Slav leader: "My people do not live in America, they live underneath America. America goes on over their heads. America does not begin till a man is a workingman, till he is earning two dollars a day. A laborer cannot afford to be an American." And here is the author's interpretation and sensible comment: "Beginning at the bottom, 'living not in America but underneath America,' means living among the worst surroundings that the country has to show, worse, often, than the public would tolerate, except that 'only foreigners' are