

but we ain't. You see a Pittsburg bargain counter loaded with cheap valves, and you don't think of the businessmen and laboring men right here at home."

"Oh, yes, I'm thinking of them, too, but—"

"But nothing. By paying \$56,000 more for some four hundred thousand dollars' worth of valves to a local firm there's a little item of about \$200,000 paid to home labor that otherwise would go to Pittsburg laboring men. I say we ought to keep our money at home."

"But, dear, you didn't do that when you bought this lot to build our home on. You paid \$1,200 for it to a New York man, when you really preferred a \$1,500 lot owned by our next-door neighbor, but you said business was business and you'd rather have \$300 in your pocket than in Mr. Harris' pocket, and if that's business for you I don't see why it isn't business for the City."

"Don't, eh? Of course you don't. How'd I get any benefit out of paying \$300 more for a lot to Harris than for another lot that's just about as good? I don't see as I'm called on to work for Harris. It's a different proposition altogether."

"Merely a difference as to the contents of the bargain counter, I suppose. Still, I don't see why such a racket is raised about keeping that valve money at home when we're sending out of the City every month barrels of money that should be kept here, and we're sending it out of the country, too."

"Well, go on. Tell your dream."

"Why, two days after the Board of Works let that contract to the highest bidder, so as to keep the money at home, the Twelfth Infantry was paid off at the dock just as it was sailing for the Philippines. That was \$21,000 that went out of the country, and millions more going to the Philippines and none coming back. Then, there's \$10,000 a month going out of the City to that New York society woman who owns the Beaumont Hotel, and that's hardly a beginning."

"I 'spose you'd take her property away from her. Been listening to some of those agitators at the Woman's Club, haven't you?"

"Yes. If the Board of Works listens to agitators, why shouldn't I? And if they're so careful to keep \$200,000 at home to pay out in wages to workingmen, why don't they and the workingmen look at the stream of money that's running out of the City to pay alien landlords, for I heard you say the other day that millions of dollars' worth of City real estate is owned by outsiders. What good does it do us and the laboring men to send that money away from home?"

"Well, we've got to build houses, and we can't bring lots from Nevada or Alabama to build our houses on. I 'spose if you women could vote you'd confiscate every town lot owned by a man outside the town."

"Oh, no; I don't care who owns the lot. We wouldn't confiscate anything. But I should think

the workingmen ought to see that if they add ten dollars or a hundred dollars a year to the value of a lot, the money ought to go to them and not to the lot owner, and that if the owner had to pay that money to them instead of putting it in his own pocket he wouldn't hold the lot idle very long."

"And 'spose he didn't, what of it?"

"Nothing much; only, if all the owners of vacant lots had to put their lots to some use because they'd have to pay back to the people the value the people give to the lots each year, the workingmen wouldn't be worried about keeping money at home to make jobs. Do you ever notice the vacant lots as you go about town?"

"Notice 'em! A blind man'd notice 'em. I don't know which is worse, a vacant lot used for a dump heap, or one with lonesome, burnt-out walls standing on it, or one with tall billboards around it and pictures on the boards screaming about whiskey and beer and breakfast foods. There ought to be an ordinance against billboards. They ought to be taxed out of existence."

"It would be easy enough to tax them out of existence. They and the burnt-out brick walls wouldn't remain standing very long if we put a little single tax yeast on the lots."

"Single tax yeast! What's that? Some of that Henry George foolishness?"

"Single tax yeast is very strong. It raises buildings on vacant lots, grows jobs for workingmen, and raises money for public purposes without fining men for being industrious. Speaking of foolishness, the next time you see the minister coming don't slip a lighted cigar into your vest pocket and set off a pocketful of matches. It makes work for me, but I'm not advertising for work."

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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THE LAND OF YOUR CHILDREN.

A Sermon Delivered in St. Martini Church, Bremen, Germany, by Emil Felden, Pastor Primarius.*

Translated for The Public by Mrs.

Daniel Kiefer.

Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!

—Isaiah v. 8.

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Let me open today's discourse with a fable written by that great friend of humanity, Pestalozzi:

A child had a little tree which his father had planted for him. It grew as he grew; and he loved it as a sister and cared for it as he did for his pet rabbits and lambs. But the tree grew sick. Daily its leaves withered. The good child lamented,

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and daily plucked the withered leaves from the branches and watered its roots. But one day the tree leaned towards the child and said to him: "The trouble lies in my roots. If you can remove that, my leaves will become green again, without any other remedy." So the child dug at the roots of the tree and found a nest of mice there.

To this Pestalozzi adds:

The fool who sees the suffering of humanity, seeks to relieve it by removing the outward symptoms of misery from the eyes of the superficial observer. He who is wise, will, when he sees the misery of humanity, seek for the mice which gnaw at the tender roots from which come all humanity's blessings.

"The misery and suffering of humanity"—Does humanity really suffer?

There are those who deny that it does. They point to the increase of national prosperity; to the fact that places of amusement are well patronized; that the number of such places increases, etc. They do not see the thousands of unemployed who wander from city to city, begging; or if they do see them they conclude that all without exception are idlers and shun work, that they ought to starve in order to learn that they must work. They do not see the fathers of families whose lives are consumed in endless activities, and still make no progress. They cannot understand that the labor of women and children is the ruin of the family life. They cannot conceive why the laborer looks forward to old age with dread, in spite of old age pensions. Poverty to them is an indication of personal shortcoming. Where this is true of special cases, they generalize. Where as a result of poverty they see dirt and vice and crime, they confuse cause and effect. Every struggle to raise wages is to them a proof of the covetousness of the lower classes; every strike a crime; every striving of the masses towards higher culture and participation in the treasures of higher thought of the nation and the world, seems to them arrogant and ludicrous.

To such I do not address myself. In this congregation there are none such. I speak to those who have sympathy and comprehension for our people and their needs, and for the many issues of the social question, the questions of our time. I speak to those who, to use Pestalozzi's illustration, see the needless withering of the leaves of the tree; whose hearts ache at seeing it; who would like to help if they could; but who often despair in their helplessness.

Many of these, though they have eyes to see, are still like the child who plucked off the withered leaves and watered the tree. They try to solve the social problem, or at least to lessen the great need, by all sorts of puny means. Poverty itself seems to them an ineradicable evil. It has always existed, they say, it will always exist. They give alms; they found societies to abolish drunken-

ness and vice, to help the fallen, infants, mothers, orphans, sick and convalescent, etc., etc. It is just as if they occupied themselves trying to bale the water from the ocean with a tiny sea shell. Their efforts are as a drop of water on a hot stone, and the large amounts of money which they contribute for such purposes, vanish as completely. Their intentions are good, but we know that their work is only half done; indeed, much less than half done. They are satisfied with the superficial. We must dig deeper in order that we may discover the cause of the disease at the roots. Not the effect but the cause must be removed,—the cause, from which forever arises anew the suffering, physical and spiritual, of humanity, which prevents it from sharing, in every way, in the benefits of the great achievements of progress, and from rising to the heights to which it is possible for humanity to rise.

Because such results can be accomplished, it is our right and our duty to consider this subject here. To those of our time we say: "Be yourselves. Develop to the highest possible perfection the gifts and powers within you. Live your own individual lives."

This is the aim and object of real culture. It is also the aim of religion. Religion in its highest development will give to man the ability to grow more human, to grow stronger, more perfect, to become a just and happy man in every sense of the word. Not one man alone, not the powerful and rich alone, but also the lowest and the poorest; not only the educated, but also the toilers, not only the man, but also the woman, shall be able to attain this goal. To combat everything which hinders this, and to stand for all which will bring about this result, is a duty of religion.

Be not satisfied with the superficial. Go to the root of the matter! This is what the prophet Isaiah does in the text which I have quoted. "Woe to you," he cries to the lords of the earth. He issues a call to combat against them. Not only against such as make use of unlawful means, but also against those who use lawful means, who "join house to house and lay field to field, till there be no place," till they alone possess the earth. This in itself is reason enough for the prophet to proclaim against them, just the same as he does against the drunkard, the sinner and the hypocrite.

The land question is as old as humanity. There have always been the shrewd and powerful who have attempted to get control of the land. Only a little thought upon the subject enabled them to see that with the control of the land they could also control the people who lived upon it. Land is the first, the most necessary condition of life. Without it there is no possibility of work, of food or of shelter. Ancient law givers have recognized the importance of the land question.

Hammunrabi, a king of Babylon, more than 4,500 years ago established laws which in effect were to protect productive labor against the power of the landlord.

In Athens, we have the laws of Solon, in Rome those of Licinius, in Sparta the efforts of King Agis and Kleomenes against the attempts of individuals to become private owners of unlimited areas of land. Above all do we find in the laws which the Priest Ezra brought with him to Palestine from the Babylonian Captivity, in the Third Book of Moses, the most superb land laws for providing that the people should have enough to eat, and should live in security in the land. Justice was to be the rule in Israel. The land belonged to the Lord, by whom it was lent to the people. To all the people, not just to a few. For ages this opinion was current in Israel, and for this reason the prophets were always opposed to anything which was not in harmony with this rule.

Micah says: "They covet fields and take them by violence, and houses and take them away." Amos prophesies the wrath of the Lord upon those who do these things, and Isaiah rebukes the land speculator.

But what do the words of the prophets concern us? Shall they who lived in entirely different circumstances than do we, be our authority? Woe to him who goes to the Bible for authority in such matters! It is true the authority of the Bible is accepted in certain moral questions: murder, adultery, stealing. Then too one likes to quote the Bible when the people are admonished to meekness, and contentment and submission and obedience toward their superiors. But on the land question even pious Christians refuse to accept the Bible as authority, especially when they themselves are land owners or land speculators, or even if they have expectations of inheriting land from relatives.

But let us not consider these. Whether one accepts the Bible as authority or not, it is very significant that this great book which comprises the accepted religions and moral teaching of centuries, is most emphatically opposed to anything which will take from all the people the benefits derived from the land and deliver them to individuals. It is most important too, that a people of such religious and moral principles as the prophets, should have expressed themselves so clearly against the great wrong of unlimited private ownership of land. They did this without citing any authority for it, because they had to do so; because conscience and sense of justice and love of the people forced them to do so. In the same way we do it, because we must, we cannot do otherwise.

We have again learned to fasten our attention upon this earth. The "Kingdom of God," shall

it become, that is, the kingdom of happiness, of love and of peace, a home for every human being.

For this reason we must oppose everything which stands in the way of this result, everything which will prevent the coming of the "Kingdom of God."

Have not the most enlightened of all ages always tried to make of this earth a better place for their fellow men to live in and work in? Observe the human mind which has been embodied in machinery. Listen to the sound of the wheels, the belts, the hammers. Human arms are not the motive power. We have made steam and electricity to serve us. With their help one man can produce more in one hour than ten men can in ten hours without it. The possibility of the amount of production is unlimited; the improvements in means of exchange and communication are so remarkable that not so very long ago they might have been considered visionary. Would it not appear that all this should lead to improvements in the condition of the laborer, lightening his labor, shortening the hours of toil, and making voluntary poverty an impossibility? Must not such fundamental material advances bring about an uplift for all humanity? Would it not make youth joyful, maturity happy, old age care-free, give us sanitary dwellings, lessen disease, wrong and crime, or entirely abolish them, with man and woman a unit in their striving for high ideals—the kingdom of happiness approaching? Such in fact was the vision, the realization of which the new discoveries and inventions led our people to hope for.

But the dream has not been realized, humanity did not know how to protect itself against the tribute levied upon it by the landlords. Neither did our people understand how to protect themselves. For as it was in Israel of old, "The land is the Lord's, and therefore belongs to all the people, and not to the few"—so was it at one time in Germany. But there came a time when, from mistaken ideas, the land was made an object of speculation, to be bought and sold, like any other article of trade. It was forgotten that land was something different; that it could not be increased according to the need for more; that it is absolutely necessary to all life and labor. The greater the increase in population—the annual increase in Germany is estimated at almost a million—the closer they are crowded together, the more valuable does the land become.

Those who were not able to get possession of the land were forced to pay tribute to the landlord—ground rent—which is ever increasing, and which must be paid before labor can get its wages.

The increase in the value of land in the last hundred years has been enormous; enormous is the tribute paid to the owners of this land, and this tribute absorbs the benefits arising from all progress, all discoveries and inventions. It has

been calculated that in a certain district in Berlin where in 1830 the land was worth 50,000 marks, it is today worth more than 50 million marks. The bare land of Berlin composed almost entirely of sand, is valued today at 4 milliards. So that for every working day, the ground rent amounts to 500,000 marks. This sum must first be paid to the landlords, before the people who live and work upon the land can have the reward of their labor.

What was the cause of this great increase in the value of the land? Was it the labor of the few who own it? Did they invest large amounts of capital, the result of former labor, in it? Did they make improvements which were of benefit to the community? Oh no, the landlord has done nothing. Without labor, without trouble or care on his part, his possessions have increased in value. Those same people who pay him tribute, they and their fathers have made the increase in the value of his land, by their effort, their labor and their thought.

The mother gives birth to the child in agony. The parents rear it with great care and many sacrifices. To the landlord this child is but a means of increasing the value of his land. It has been calculated that in Charlottenburg the birth of every child adds 2,500 marks to the value of the land.

If a canal is dug, a bridge built, or a railroad or a new road projected; if a community procures gas, water, electricity, in new localities, at once the value of the surrounding land begins to rise. The labor of all the people has done this, but who pockets the reward of this effort of the community? The landlord pockets it.

When in 1871 the Germans returned triumphant from the battlefield they thought they might look forward with certainty to greatly improved economic conditions in the Fatherland as the fruit of their success. But to their great disappointment they were made to recognize that their warfare and sacrifice had borne other fruit as well. As a result of changed conditions there was an enormous rise in the price of land, vacant, and with buildings upon it, and as a consequence their rents were advanced. Not the work of the owners of these sites and buildings accomplished this change. They, for the most part, remained quietly at home. It was the sacrifice of life and property of the masses, and of the soldiers on the field of battle, which brought about this increased value of the land. . . . The result of these facts is indeed bad. The annual increase of a million population desires to play, to enjoy itself, to live and to work. How can this be done? The land is owned by only a few. Woe to these late comers. . . . The masses go to the cities, here they are uprooted, homeless, far from friends and relatives, associated only with companions sharing the same fate. Do they

find homes in the city? No. Here too the land is owned by the few, and even the land on the outskirts of the city is owned by land speculators, who organize just for the purpose of "joining house to house and field to field," and held by them such time as the people who must live and work there, are in such a condition that they will pay the most exorbitant rents. These homeless ones move about, they hunt for dwelling places for themselves and their children. Woe to them if they have many children! Great are the trials which these must encounter in order to be permitted to live anywhere. But all must pay heavy tribute to the landlord. . . .

Because the cost of living quarters is so high and consumes the lion's share of the income, many content themselves with apartments that are too small. Seventy per cent of all the families of our nation live in one or two room apartments. And how many apartments are officially designated as over-populated, that is, occupied by so many people that there are at least six to each room! What an atmosphere must prevail here! What a breeding place for disease—for instance, tuberculosis! Thousands of dollars are spent annually by philanthropic persons to stem the ravages of tuberculosis. Most often it is useless. This dread disease, as well as many others, can be successfully combated by a thorough reform in the living quarters, and this in turn can be done only if it is preceded by the right kind of reform in land value taxation.

It is clear that those who live in these overcrowded dwellings are in great moral peril. The children are crowded together as closely as possible, neither the old nor the young, the healthy nor the diseased, nor even the sexes are separated. And there arises the terrible, and in its effect, demoralizing lack of proper sleeping quarters. In order to lighten the heavy load, sleeping places are rented to men. This crowds the family still more, and tends to demoralize it. Or perhaps the mother or even the children must become bread winners. How much authority does that father possess who must thus depend upon the few pennies his children can earn? How is any family life possible under these conditions? Is it surprising if the father of the family prefers to spend his time at the saloon instead of the crowded unpleasant home?

And more than this, if the people must give up so much of the fruits of their labor just for a place to live, then too little will remain to supply their other needs, such as food, clothing, laundry, heat, not to speak of any kind of recreation or the opportunity to indulge in any higher mental enjoyment.

High-priced dwellings, high-priced necessities of life, and added to this, wages lower than they

should be. For before labor receives its wages, there must first be paid (excepting interest on capital) to the landlord upon whose land the factory or workshop stands, the ground rent. So the laborer actually never does receive the full amount of the wages he has earned.

But see! trade and manufacture flourish and business is prosperous. New inventions and discoveries make labor less arduous. The laborer, according to current opinion, is getting good pay. Immediately there is as a natural consequence, an increased demand for the products of the farm and the factory, and also for dwellings. And also, as a natural consequence, the value of the land rises—the land, without which no grain can be grown, no houses built, no factory erected—the value of the land rises in an unwholesome relation to the rest. The ground rent consumes the entire advantage gained, so that the people are again confronted with a state of “overproduction.” Now commerce is stopped, production is limited, wages go down, laborers are discharged, terrible suffering occurs; this is called a crisis, before which the people stand more or less helpless. Helpless they stand and idly! Idly, too, they look on while the few possess themselves of the treasures of the earth—the ore, the coal, the mineral, which are under the earth, and which, according to ancient usage, belonged to all the people in common, and which they in their unbounded thoughtlessness allowed to be given into the hands of this individual or that one, only to buy them back again at great sacrifice for themselves. In this way a few have become owners of the coal lands, with the result that in order to fill the owners’ pockets the people, who have turned over to them this treasure, must pay much more than a just price for their coal. Our coal is sold for less in foreign countries than we have to pay for it, and in this way they aid our competitors in foreign countries. They buy up mines, but not to work them, not to give employment to their fellowmen, not to produce more coal. No; just as a shipload of grain was sunk in the Danube River in order that the price of bread might be kept up, so are the people still taxed, so is the laborer doomed to hunger, that the price of coal may be kept at a certain height. What do they care if by such means commerce is in great distress—that their countrymen freeze? They only want to fill their pockets. This is their only aim. Nothing else interests them. Mammon, profit, dividends—these are the gods they serve. May we not say to such, “Woe unto you,” as did of old the prophet Isaiah?

But, my friends, how can we change this? Does humanity not yet appreciate the great wrong that is done when that which belongs to all is owned by the few? O, yes! We have seen that this was recognized by the ancients and also in medieval times. Nor is the idea a new one to our own

time. More than a hundred years ago the great French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote:

The man who first took a piece of land, and fenced it in, and said this land is mine, and found people foolish enough to believe him, is responsible for the present state of society.

And what does Tolstoy say:

The solution of the land question is so urgent because the assumed right to the private ownership of large areas of land is the cause of not only the economic suffering, but also of the political disorder, and above all, of the degenerate moral state of the nation.

One could quote many more like expressions of other great thinkers. The greatest service which has been rendered to this cause was given by the American, Henry George, and by those who follow in his footsteps, who inspired by love, exhort humanity to free itself from the fetters with which it has permitted itself to be bound.

But neither wise sayings nor beautiful speeches alone can help, nor merely reading such nor listening to them. Action alone will help to solve the question. Fichte is right when he says:

To stand and lament upon the demoralization of mankind without lifting a finger to lessen it, is weakness; to blame and scorn men without telling them how they can improve, is unfriendly. Act! Act! That is the purpose of our existence.

So, let us, as far as lies in our power, do our share towards the accomplishment of the work, with the result in view that each may have the full fruits of his labor, which are rightfully his; that in this way misery and suffering and lack of employment shall grow less and mankind shall thus become possessed of the means and the ability to solve the various problems of our time, something which is often prevented by the lack of money.

So, on the combat! Let us not superficially remove the withered leaves, but dig at the roots and remove the cause which is eating at the life of the tree! The battle is for a holy cause. It is for the welfare of the nation, for its morals, its religion, its highest development; for the future welfare of all mankind. It is the battle of Justice against Injustice, of Love against Hate, of Health against Disease, for the highest ideals—for God.

It concerns itself with your welfare and with the welfare of your posterity. “You shall love the land of your children,” says Nietzsche. Let us try to understand the responsibility of this thought! Let us look with contempt upon those who live in idleness by despoiling their fellow men. Let us proclaim that it is immoral to take for private use the fruit of the labor which has been performed by the community.

Isaiah, who denounced the land speculator of his day, shows us the beautiful prospect of a reign

of peace and love. Jesus proclaims the Kingdom of God, in which the wounds which have been inflicted by fate and by man upon his fellowman shall be healed, where happiness and peace shall reign.

We, too, my friends, long for this Kingdom. But do not let us idly yearn for it; let us work for it, and without doubting there will in reality be such a Kingdom. Shall we reap the seed which we have sown? I do not know. But I do know that it will some time be harvested. That is our faith, our hope. Surely the truth will at last be triumphant, and in spirit we send greetings to that distant future, and say with the poet:

Greetings to you, Blessed Day, when the dreams
of truth shall come true;

When freed from idle desire and hatred, Peace
shall reign over the wide earth.

Long have we waited for thy coming,
Let the Great Day break upon our sight.

BOOKS

AN AUSTRALIAN INDICTMENT OF ENGLISH CIVILIZATION.

The Old Roof-Tree. By "Ishbel" [Mrs. Fred Martin]. London. Longmans, Green & Co. 3s. 6d.

"The Old Roof-Tree" stands for the impressions of an Australian in the mother-land. The writer, Mrs. Fred Martin, gained some vogue in this country by her earlier books, "The Silent Sea" and "An Australian Girl." The older countries often resent as crude, the criticism of younger ones, much as a grown-up person has been known to resent the inconvenient candor of a 10-year-old. But Mrs. Martin is not crude. To the charm of a rarely finished style she adds wide knowledge of literature and life, both British and Continental.

The book is cast in the form of letters from Ishbel to her brother Mark. At first (it is August) only the pleasant features impress the visitor. Gradually (with the shading of autumn into winter) she becomes more and more profoundly impressed with the social injustices upon which the oldest and ripest civilizations are based.

Picture after picture passes before us. The venerable cathedral town, with the starved girl ending her miseries with the laudanum bottle within sound of the cathedral bells, and on the next page the dean's wife whose utmost worry hangs on an unsettled question of precedence at dinner. And all looked at through those clear Australian eyes that will look beyond the veil of convention which is thicker in an old country than in a young one.

Ishbel passes through a stage of despair, wondering 'mid all this social confusion whether this

can be indeed a world forsaken to our own devices. When hope does come back to her it is only through a realization that other forces are at work among the increasing number of those in all sections of society who are awakening to the truth that the continuance of the present social conditions means the deterioration and the ultimate ruin of the race, be these conditions in England or anywhere else.

ALICE HENRY.

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LYBARGER'S TARIFF TALK.

The Tariff. What It Is. How It Works. Whom It Benefits. Protection, Revenue, Free Trade. By Lee Francis Lybarger of the Philadelphia Bar, and author of "Land, Labor, Wealth." Published by L. F. Lybarger, 408 Betz Building, Philadelphia, Pa. Price 25 cents.

Mr. Lybarger has a happy faculty of thinking aloud so that others can think with him, and interestingly so that they will wish to. It is very taking, and this book is an excellent example. A heart to heart and head to head talk, it makes abstractions concrete and arguments alive. With the sophisms of protection it deals in a way that shows them to be self-destructive.

It was as a senior at high school that this dyed-in-the-wool and Pennsylvanian protectionist became a free trader. He did it quite unexpectedly by the simple process of using his mind. He had always believed protection necessary, but never knew why, and when in preparation for a school debate he looked for a why in the authorities he couldn't find any. So he decided to startle the school with a why of his own, and set out upon a search for it. To his amazement and chagrin, however, he discovered not only that protection isn't necessary but that free trade is.

In the course of his intensely interesting book of only 180 small pages, Mr. Lybarger demolishes the "infant industries" argument, exposes the "foreigner pays the tax" flim-flam, and shows that tariffs for revenue and for protection are destructive each of the other. In this righteous work he gets a grip upon the reader's interest which is comparable only to the convincing effect it must have upon the reader's mind.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Laws of the State of Illinois, enacted by the Forty-sixth General Assembly.**

—**Socialism as an Incubus on the American Labor Movement.** By J. W. Sullivan. Imprint: The Volunteer Press Print, 38 Cooper Square, New York. Price 50 cents.

—**The Seven That Were Hanged.** By Leonid Andreieff. The Tucker Series. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet st., E. C., London. Sold by Edwin