

problems of economic and industrial distress, such as the great famines and floods that now periodically destroy population and wealth. He also would go far in preventing increment of wealth derived out of social development from going into pockets of private owners. He would tax after the manner urged by Henry George. No man in the Empire now has, or is likely to have, greater weight as a national adviser, for Sun Yat Sen speaks with the authority of a world-wide traveler and of a patriot who has put nation far above self. It is worth noting that Premier Tang Shao-yi says that he hopes for socialism's triumph some day; but he is not as ready to experiment with radical legislation now as is Dr. Sun Yat Sen.



Are They All So Sordid?

The Cincinnati Post (ind.), May 8.—Says Louis Post: "Men of the kind (the privileged) who go bravely to death in sinking ships when rescue appliances are inadequate for all, will as bravely give up their industrial privileges once they understand that privilege for some spells disaster for all." The editor of The Public fails to see the difference in the sentiment which fills a man at the moment when he sees women and children threatened at sea and the sentiment which moves him at the moment when "business is business." In the first instance, it is a sort of natural heroism; in the second, one of the strongest of human sentiments—greed. At one time, the man says: "There's not enough for all. Let the poor women and children have place in the lifeboat!" At another time he says "There's plenty for all. Let me have it, regardless of the poor women and children." To many of the privileged the greed of money is stronger than the desire of life, and there is no teaching them that surrender of privilege means safety rather than disaster. Often, royalty has honestly believed that society would go to smash without its royalty, and so our moneyed royalty thoroughly believes that the country would perish should their privileges be surrendered. What sort of demonstration other than what we've had must we have in order to make the privileged understand that "privilege for some spells disaster for all"? Privilege has resulted in an average wage under which decent citizenship is an impossibility. Privilege has created a condition under which there is no justice as between the rich and poor in the courts. Privilege has founded a class that preys upon the multitude. These things all men see or feel. The world has earnestly rejoiced (and been tremendously surprised) in that a few millionaires didn't take seats in those lifeboats. But they surrendered no privilege, no right that was not just as heroically surrendered by nearly 1,500 poor men who were dying with them. Death knows no privilege, nor do men recognize such in the presence of death. Neither Editor Post nor anyone else will see, as an effect of that ocean horror, a single privilege relinquished by the privileged. The lesson to be drawn from those last scenes on the sinking Titanic is simply that a rich man can be as brave in dying as a poor man. No privilege was given up. Nor as yet has any privileged one surrendered a privilege that means misery and death to women and children as surely as if they were on the stricken Titanic.

RELATED THINGS

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FULFILLMENT.

For The Public.

O Worshiper in this long hallowed place,
Unsteady now, and wan, with feeble voice,
Here vent your praise, and let your heart rejoice;
Your visage bodies forth the inward grace.

E'er long you'll heed the now expected call,
As finally your hands enwearied sink,
And passing lightly o'er the farther brink,
Your spirit's Father will reclaim His all.

Your many year-long labors fully done,
Your children, e'en, now gathered to the dust,
You worship here with monumental trust,
And scarcely know the work just now begun.

The wife of many long and faithful years,
You kissed farewell, ah, not these many weeks,
And as your question clearer knowledge seeks,
She 'waits you patiently with unborn tears.

Thus though your aged form be somewhat bent,
While yet remains the daily trivial task,
With little more of good or ill to ask,
Your lasting courage is not clean forspent,—

For see in yonder aisle the bride and groom
Of recent years, whom, both in deed and thought,
You from the school to faithful freedom brought,—
Thus lent your merit life in youthful bloom;

And see where towers the massive, rising plan—
Embodiment of some wild genius' scheme,
For whom your intercession saved the dream,
Averted ruin and preserved the man;

And, too, where many thousands daily toil
With better hope than then before you came,
And dared their over-lords for very shame
To further wring their blood in greedy spoil.

Ah, Sir, forget not in the day, that some,
Now children in life's morning, plain can see
In all your labor, faithful ministry
To Him who in the evening bids you come.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.



THE CHRISTIAN LAW OF CIVILIZATION.

From an Address by James E. Mills* on "First Principles of Political Economy" as a System of "Christian Economics."
Prepared in 1893.

The law of equal right of access to the earth is the first great commandment—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all

*See this issue of The Public, page 559.

thy soul, and with all thy mind"—applied to conditions of life; and the law of service is the second great commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—applied to actual life. Christ taught that on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets—that is, all spiritual wisdom. So, all principles of political economy hang upon these two laws—the law of equal right of access to the earth, and the law of service.

The two are interdependent, the second like unto the first; as the second great commandment was declared to be like unto the first. There is no possible way in which to carry the law of love to the Lord, or the law of love to the neighbor, into conduct and conditions of men, other than by service to men. "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me." The law of service is the law of life, divine as well as human, for there is no rationally conceivable motive for creation other than to serve or bless men, and creation is service. It applies throughout human life, from inmost motive and desire down to the body, made up as it is of organs, each existing for its own function or service to the whole, and dependent on the service of the whole for existence.

On the plane of political economy, the law of service ordains *that every adult man in normal condition of body and mind shall serve his fellow men, and that service, and service only, entitles a man to share the service of his fellow men.*

Society exists by mutual service, and is, first of all, an organized system of service in which each acts for all and all for each. The individual is a center toward which converge unnumbered channels of the supply of the products and results of the labor of his fellow members of the great organism. The more advanced the society, the more numerous are the channels of supply, the greater the specialization of the parts or organs, and the more complete the harmony of parts, and the more complex and higher the organism. In the lowest condition of society, each man works, for the most part, directly to satisfy his own physical wants. He hunts, or catches fish, or gathers berries, to satisfy his own hunger. For the most part, I say, for human life cannot continue without some effort for others than self; for children, at least. As society advances, the labor of each individual comes to be exerted in some branch of service to the community, and the return to the laborer is the result of such service; and, in well developed society, each individual finds himself compelled by the necessities of physical existence to enter a vast, complex and highly organized industrial system, and to do his share of its work. The necessities of his social nature, his desire for honorable association with his fellows, and his love of influence among them, urge him on to doing well his part in his calling; and the strongest and deepest natural affections of a healthy character, the love of wife

and children and home, hold him to his work, and infuse into it the energy of love for others than self. The mass of workers work, first of all, for home; women, for the most part, directly within the household; men, for the household, though outside of it; and, in this sense, the world's work is for the world's homes.

A man's service to the community involves the best and deepest in the nature that comes to him by birth, and it does not end here. Faithful service begins, indeed, in effort to satisfy the laborer's own bodily, social and domestic needs, and is, in the beginning, self-centered; but the tendency of such work, in healthy conditions and under the guidance of higher truth, is to open the heart to the love of serving others. This love, together with the love of God, is the goal of human life. It is the second great commandment in effect upon the soul, and its coming to the heart is "birth from above." It is the main reason for existence of the vast industrial system in which the masses must, and all men should, spend the greater part of their active life.

As the youth, on coming to manhood, has a birthright to his share of the earth which his Father created for all men, so, too, he has a birthright to his place in the great industrial system, where he may serve his fellow men with the best exercise of his faculties, and with single-minded effort to do well his part, in entire confidence that, by the law of existence of the system, he will receive so much of the service, or products of service, of his fellow workers of the world, as is needed for the best development of his own manhood, and of the womanhood and manhood of the wife and children whom God may intrust to his care. The law of service is a law both of conduct and conditions. It commands the individual to do for his fellows, and it also determines the results to him of doing, or leaving undone. It is the organizing law of the industrial system, of its anatomy and physiology, of its structure and its functions.

If, therefore, there were no breach of the law of service, and it were nowhere thwarted by human perversions throughout the industrial system, its effects and results would all tend to develop the highest manhood of the worker. There would be nothing limiting or distorting in it; nay, more, there would be no lack which human labor could supply of whatever would conduce to the physical, mental and moral health and well being of the workers. Service, and all else, like the Sabbath, is made for man, not man for service, or for anything else. The worker is the lawful heir to the earth, and it is for him that the law of service organizes the industrial system.

But the industrial system, as it now exists on earth, fails of this its purpose, and the failure is world-wide. The mass of workers, those without unusual abilities, find themselves helpless victims of its exactions and limitations, their development

arrested, their manhood distorted by it. It is unnecessary to recall the evils that result from this failure of law to reach actual conditions of life. They stand out glaring and hideous whenever the light of the law itself is let on to the conditions; and to one who recognizes the law, the question is, What is the breach of law that causes all this failure, and perversion, and misery, and evil? * * *

The failure is in the distribution of the products of labor. From the nature of the relation of wants to production, the world's workers* need all the products of the world's work, and to them, by the law of service, they all belong. But some men do find means of securing the products of labor, or, what is the same, the service of other men, without rendering adequate service in return. Some of these means are classed as fraud, robbery, embezzlement, or other crime, and are restrained by law; but a very small part of the great diversion of the products of labor from the producer is due to recognized crime. The mass of men would quickly find ways to limit to narrow bounds the perversion of the economic system and the diversion of the returns of their labor from their own homes, if they could trace it to recognized crime. The great means of the diversion is privilege established by law and approved by the conscience of the masses themselves.

Privilege, in the sense here intended, is the ability, conferred by law upon a man or class of men, to secure the services of other men without rendering adequate service in return.

The chief privilege which nullifies the law of service, and robs society and individual manhood of its blessings, is the same that nullifies that other great law, the law of equal right of access to the earth, namely, the private ownership of land, the bestowal upon some men of the right to the earth, which is the property of all men.

The two laws—the law of equal right of access to the earth and the law of service—are the two central principles of political economy, flowing directly from the relation of man to God and to fellow men, and based upon his relation to the earth. Reasoning down from first principles, it follows that a breach of these great central laws of being must introduce wrong, disorder, and evil into the industrial system; and, reasoning up from conditions to causes, we can trace the world-wide economic evils and miseries of today to the same breach of central laws.

*To prevent possible misunderstanding, I repeat that by "worker" is here meant one who works with head or hand, with or without capital, for wages or the immediate product of labor, to satisfy bodily, mental, moral, or spiritual wants of men.



The man whom nature has appointed to do great things is first of all furnished with the openness of nature which renders him incapable of being insincere.—Carlyle.

LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

No. 4. The Lodging-House Landlady and Her Daughter.

For The Public.

Peter Scott was a homely and plain-spoken man who went about a good deal in various lines of business. He was apt to think that his personal responsibility towards others began and ended with his own family and friends.

"Really, now, every tub must stand on its own bottom," was the way he sometimes put it, when he was asked to "lend a hand."

In this frame of mind he was once moving around the Sacramento Valley, selling fruit trees to farmers and orchardists. The little but awakening adventure which this story makes public began to happen about 6 o'clock one evening in January, when he went up a stairway to the somewhat dilapidated "Regal Lodging House," in the foothill town of Oro, expecting to engage a modest room for one or two nights.

"Needs repainting," thought Scott, "but mighty clean everywhere. Hope my folks won't ever have to keep lodgers."

Then as Scott went down the hall to where a red bellcord hung over the register-table, he heard a man's loudly complaining voice from the rear of the building—a voice bulwarked by some alcohol, and by assured legal rights.

"Phoebe," it said, "I gotta have more money. Time that big girl of ours earned her own living. Fork over those three dollars you took in a minute ago."

Then Scott, flushing because of his unconscious eavesdropping, moved loudly forward as if he was just coming in, and jangled the bell riotously. He heard a gentle voice briefly answering the man; presently a quiet, gray-haired woman, full of dignity and refinement, came forward to show him a room, left in some disorder by its last occupant, who, as she explained, had just given it up.

The landlady called her daughter while Scott registered. The girl came, a tall, modest, studious young creature, smiling a shy welcome at Scott as she passed. She somehow reminded him of his own Malvina in the Chico High School. The thing "took hold of him in a new place," as he said later, and while the two women were busy in the room, he sat down and considered the situation.

"Poor stick of a man, but a nice sensible wife, and a mighty fine girl. Lots of hard times, no doubt, and temptations for her, too. Wish I had brought my wife along. She would know all about it at once; a man has to do lots of guessing. But that girl ought to have a chance; she's most as trim as our Malvina."

The landlady gave him the key. Scott surprised himself by saying that he wanted the room at