

make England worth copying instead of telling everybody to copy her.

But it is not the only possible theory. There is another view of our relations to such places as Egypt and India which is entirely tenable. It may be said, "We Europeans are the heirs of the Roman Empire; when all is said we have the largest freedom, the most exact science, the most solid romance. We have a deep though undefined obligation to give as we have received from God; because the tribes of men are truly thirsting for these things as for water. All men really want clear laws; we can give clear laws. All men really want hygiene; we can give hygiene. We are not merely imposing western ideas. We are simply fulfilling human ideas—for the first time."

On this line, I think, it is possible to justify the forts of Africa and the railroads of Asia; but on this line we must go much further. If it is our duty to give our best, there can be no doubt about what is our best. The greatest thing our Europe has made is the Citizen: the idea of the average man, free and full of honor, voluntarily invoking on his own sin the just vengeance of his city. All else we have done is mere machinery for that; railways only exist to carry the Citizen; forts only to defend him; electricity only to light him; medicine only to heal him. Popularism, the idea of the people alive and patiently feeding history, that we cannot give; for it exists everywhere, east and west. But democracy, the idea of the people fighting and governing—that is the only thing we have to give.

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Those are the two roads. But between them weakly wavers the Sentimentalist—that is, the Imperialist of the Roosevelt school. He wants to have it both ways; to have the splendors of success without the perils. Europe may enslave Asia, because it is flattering; but Europe must not free Asia, because that is responsible. It tickles his Imperial taste that Hindoos should have European hats; it is too dangerous if they have European heads. He cannot leave Asia Asiatic; yet he dare not contemplate Asia as European. Therefore he proposes to have in Egypt railway signals, but not flags; despatch boxes, but not ballot boxes.

In short, the Sentimentalist decides to spread the body of Europe without the soul.

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BRYAN ON ROOSEVELT.

Letter of William J. Bryan to Collier's Weekly of June 18, on Theodore Roosevelt's Home Coming.

The American people will extend a very cordial welcome to ex-President Roosevelt when he returns to the United States after an absence of more than a year. They appreciate what he has done in directing the attention of Europe toward

the public questions which are of universal interest. His notable speech of Paris made a profound impression, and his words are needed in this country as well as in Europe. It is now a little more than fifty years since Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the idea that the man is more important than the dollar; and the phrase that he coined will not die. Mr. Roosevelt's statement that human rights are superior to property rights is but another way of stating the same idea, and the truth that he stated is so obvious that we may well be surprised that it seemed to startle two hemispheres. However, all truth is startling when epigrammatically expressed, and it is sometimes necessary to express the truth in a startling way in order to call attention to it.

But aside from the interest that the people feel in what Mr. Roosevelt has said abroad, they will welcome him home because of the importance of the public questions at issue in the United States. The ex-President is a man of ideas, and he is able to give forcible expression to them. Whether one agrees with Mr. Roosevelt or not, one must be glad, if he believes in free speech, to have him express his views with characteristic clearness. Truth does not shun discussion; it grows in the open, and grows most vigorously where speech is free and the opportunities for debate are broadest.

Mr. Roosevelt has evidently found renewed strength in recreation, and political friends and political foes alike will be pleased to see him again in the political arena, and they will wish him length of days.

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A VISION OF DEMOCRACY.

From the Oration Delivered at the Unveiling of the Garrison Memorial Tablet in New York, May 30, 1910, by Thomas Mott Osborne.*

With the downfall of the Confederacy and the abolition of slavery there passed away the sway of the old oligarchy; are we free, therefore, to-day from the danger of an aristocracy arising in the midst of our democracy?

On the contrary, we are to-day in the hands of an aristocracy—an aristocracy as irresponsible in its brutal selfishness as the world has ever seen—a plutocracy built on special business privilege.

An aristocracy of family descent will have some noble traditions; an aristocracy of land will have obligations; an aristocracy of culture will have knowledge; but an aristocracy of wealth has neither traditions nor knowledge, and recognizes no obligation.

The foundations of this plutocracy lie in the tariff on the one hand, in the exploitation of our public utilities, on the other, and, single-taxers will add, in our system of land monopoly. It has

*See Public of June 3, page 516, and Public of June 10, page 536.

run our party organizations; it has supervised legislation; it has dominated our State and Federal governments; it has made so many multi-millionaires that the world recognizes such as no longer individuals, but as members of a distinct social class.

Strong voices have been raised of late against the more violent aspects of the situation, and in some States remedial legislation has been secured; yet in the very citadel of aristocracy—the tariff—the embattled protectionist still bids defiance to all comers; and the ultimate consumer—the great public—cries in vain not merely for justice but even for an acknowledgment of its very existence.

We are warned that the agitators are jealous of wealth and are injuring business. For one, I am frank to say that we ought to be jealous of wealth that has been amassed at the expense of justice; and that a business which rests upon fraud or special privilege had better be not only injured but destroyed; for such wealth and such business are not upon firm and lasting foundations. It is upon something more elementary than business interests that our Republic rests. As Lincoln said: "I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the Colonies from the Motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."

To sum up this part of the matter: Aristocracy and Democracy, like Imperialism and Democracy, is a self destructive combination. The two together cannot stand; one will inevitably destroy the other. Unless we fight successfully against special privilege and scatter its benefits, so that the weights shall be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all shall have an equal chance, then will our system of government be fundamentally altered; for aristocracy and democracy can never permanently exist together; one or the other you may have, but you cannot have both.

Would that another Garrison were here, with the courage "to call men and things by their right names"—a voice like his to re-echo through the land, arousing the conscience and stimulating the courage of the Nation! . . .

Brethren: We are trying out, in this country a new system of government—democracy. We have not been long at it, as the world moves. We have had splendid results, and we have survived at least one deadly peril. We have problems before us worthy of any number of intellects to solve; but we cannot solve them, we cannot succeed, we can never retain our proper place in the world's history unless we keep our democracy pure and

unsullied; keep our faith in the splendid results of individual and national freedom; unless we keep on believing, in the noble words of Gladstone, that "it is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." And above all we must make our deeds square with our professions. We must yield to others the liberty we claim as our own God-given right.

Also, brethren, we have all been selfish and careless in allowing the few to take unto themselves what belongs to the many. Gently but firmly, with the utmost personal consideration for those whom we have permitted to forget their places, we must give back to the people what belongs to the people. We must each do his share to bring about that triumph of democracy which Lincoln foresaw.

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THE FIELD.

Robert Jones in the London Labour Leader.

To a certain land there came once a traveler. He had lived cheerfully, and his instincts were not perverted by bad theories or dwarfed by good ones. In this land he felt lonely. He saw a laborer in a field, and leaned over a fence to watch him. The lord of that land passed by, and he also watched.

"I grieve over that laborer," said the lord of the land. "I find work for him in my field, and he lives in abject poverty. I cannot understand it."

"Perhaps," said the traveler, "it is because this is your field."

"No," said the lord of the land, "for you see I find work for him. He lives on work."

"It is a curious land," said the traveler. "Personally, I live on food, clothing, hope, and liberty."

"This is a mere laborer," said the lady of the land, who had joined them; "and besides, I give him a blanket annually. But I suspect he drinks."

"It is a strange land," said the traveler. "I drink myself. Don't you?"

The lady of the land put up her golden pinch nose and said, "Sir!" This was a form of courtesy in the land.

The lord of the land explained in a kind voice. "We certainly imbibe at times—a little champagne—"

"But this creature, I suspect," said the lady, "swills beer." And she sighed, being also kindly.

A charitable person joined them just then. "It is true," he said. "He had what is called half a pint yesterday." The lady sighed again.

"Look," said the traveler, quickly, "the laborer is nearly exhausted. Let us help him."

"Be careful," said the lord of the land, "or you will destroy his sense of responsibility."

"And," said the lady, "make him less deferential, or even presumptuous."