

of superior circumstances, so common now, will then be rare. And rare, too, will be that abjectness of spirit, so common now (though, happily, far from universal) in the condition of dependent poverty, and the difficulty of overcoming which is so well compared to the difficulty of making an empty bag stand up straight!

Another gain to the world from abolishing land monopoly is that war would then be well-nigh impossible. It would be so if only because it would be difficult to enlist men into its ranks. For who would leave the comforts and endearments of home to enter upon the poorly-paid and unhonored services of a private soldier? It was not "young Fortinbras" only who in collecting his army,

Shark'd up a list of landless resolute, but in every age and country war has found its recruits among the homeless among vagabonds.

And still another benefit to flow from the abolition of land monopoly is its happy influence upon the cause of temperance—that precious cause which both the great and the small are in their folly and madness so wont to scorn, but which is, nevertheless, none the less essential to private happiness and prosperity, to national growth and glory. The ranks of intemperance, like those of war, are to a great extent recruited from the homeless and the vagrant.

How numerous and precious the blessings that would follow the abolition of land monopoly! By the number and preciousness of those blessings, I might entreat civil government the earth over to abolish it. But I will not. I prefer to demand this justice in the name of justice. In the name of justice I demand that civil government, wherever guilty of it, shall cease to sell and give away land—shall cease to sell and give away what is not its own. The vacant land belongs to all who need it. It belongs to the landless of every clime and condition: The extent of the legitimate concern of Government with it is but to regulate and protect its occupation. In the name of justice do I demand of Government, not only that it shall itself cease from the land traffic, but that it shall compel its subjects to cease from it. Government owes protection to its subjects. It owes them nothing else. But that people are emphatically unprotected who are left by their Government to be the prey of land monopoly.

The Federal Government has sinned greatly against human rights in usurping the ownership of a large share of the American soil. It can of course enact no laws and exert no influence

against land monopoly whilst it is itself the mammoth monopolist of land. This Government has presumed to sell millions of acres and to give away millions of acres. It has lavished land on States and corporations and individuals, as if it were itself the Great Maker of the land. Our State Governments also have been guilty of assuming to own the soil. They too need to repent. And they will repent if the Federal Government will lead the way. . . . And if the Governments of this great nation shall acknowledge the right of every man to a spot of earth for a home, may we not hope that the Governments of many other nations will speedily do likewise? Nay, may we not in that case regard the age as not distant when land monopoly, which numbers far more victims than any other evil, and which is, moreover, the most prolific parent of evil, shall disappear from the whole earth, and shall leave the whole earth to illustrate, as it never can whilst under the curse of land monopoly, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?

Let this bill become a law and, if our Government shall be consistent with itself, land monopoly will surely cease within the limits of the exclusive jurisdiction of that Government. But let this bill be defeated, and let success attend the applications for scores of millions of acres for soldiers, and for hundreds of millions of acres for railroad and canal companies, and land monopoly will then be so strongly fastened upon this nation that violence alone will be able to throw it off. The best hope for the poor will then perish. The most cherished reliance for human progress will then be trodden under foot.

My reference to the speculator affords me an occasion for saying that, not only the lands which you let soldiers have, but also the lands which you let railroad companies and canal companies have, will get into the hands of land speculators. That is their sure and speedy destination; and it is in those hands that land monopoly works its mightiest mischief, and develops its guiltiest character.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Address by Lawson Purdy at the yearly meeting of The Federation of Church Clubs in the City of New York at Cooper Union, Nov. 16, 1906.

For many years Church people thought that the Church had nothing to do with "Social Problems." They said that it was the mission of the Church to preach the gospel and the

gospel only, and that the pulpit was no place for politics. In these days sentiment has greatly changed, and from many pulpits our duties as citizens are expounded, and not infrequently we are advised that some political party or candidate for office stands for righteousness and that all good citizens should support the party or vote for the candidate.

Somewhat more faintly we still hear the old injunction, "The Church should preach the gospel and the gospel only," and under that plea there lies a truth, seldom clearly expressed and often entirely obscured. The difference of opinion is chiefly due to failure to distinguish the temporal from the eternal. Candidates for office, here to-day and gone to-morrow, details of administration, expediencies of legislation—these are unmoral, transitory, temporal. The laws of God are eternal. It is man's duty to discover and obey them. To fail brings punishment, swift and sure, upon us and upon our children, unto the third and fourth generation.

The laws of God that govern the world of men are part of the gospel, part of the good news that this world is wide enough and rich enough for all mankind. If the Church preaches this gospel there will be wrath in the hearts of some who sit in high places and heap to themselves riches they have not earned, and of those who have the wish without the power. But those who have a sense, however vague, of social wrong will flock to hear the message.

WHAT ARE SOCIAL PROBLEMS?

We ask: "What are Social Problems?" The Lord's Prayer gives us the answer and at the same time points to their solution. "Our Father who art in Heaven. . . . Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." It is His will that His kingdom shall come to bless us all, that His will be done for the good of us all. whatsoever holds back the coming of His kingdom and hinders the doing of His will, is a Social Problem. The foundation on which we must stand in every attempt to solve these problems is clearly put before us in this prayer, taught us by our Lord Himself. "Our Father," He bade us pray—"Our Father." God is our Father. All men are brothers, equal sharers in his spiritual gifts, equally entitled to his earthly bounty. There is here no title to privilege, no warrant for coercion. To justify a resort to force even in defense of life we are obliged to turn

from the gospel to what is called the first law of nature, self-preservation.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

There are two kinds of Social Problems. Those which depend primarily upon anarchistic methods for their solution, and those which must be solved by society acting through organized government. The two, however, must act and react upon each other. Some unjust laws produce economic results which no individual effort can counteract, and without individual effort we cannot have just laws. When the anarchistic, that is the peaceful, voluntary, cooperative method will suffice, we should never resort to law. Laws do not enforce themselves and have little educative value. I will give you an illustration of my meaning. We all object to advertising which disfigures beautiful scenery, and legislation has been sought to cure the evil. I am told that very much has been done in England without law. A society has been formed which has a very large membership, so large that it must be respectable. When any member complains of an advertisement to the secretary, the complaint is investigated, and if well founded the secretary notifies the advertiser that the society deems the advertisement offensive, and unless it is removed the matter will be laid before all the members. The withdrawal of the society's patronage is sufficiently feared to make its protests uniformly effective.

You will see at once that such a society is a tremendous lesson in brotherhood to all the members, and at the same time educates their taste. These benefits no law could impart.

It is only through legislation, however, that we can deal with the legal devices by which wealth is diverted from the producers to the owners of privilege. These are the great Social Problems. Until these are solved our puny efforts to eradicate vice and crimes of violence are futile. Yet these problems are called by some of our wise editors, "economic questions," which must not be made the sport of politics. When they are discussed in our pulpits the sermons are called "political," and the preachers are bidden to preach the gospel and the gospel only.

These great questions are being studied and discussed as never before. Too few of the leaders of the Church are prominent in the work. It is not too late for the Church to lead; but if it does not, if it blocks the wheels of justice, the members of the Church will be responsible for setting up another barrier between mankind and the

blessings the Church was founded to bestow.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHURCH HAVE PRÉVAILED.

In time past the Church organization has again and again conserved unrighteous institutions and protected wrongdoers, as in France before the Revolution, in this country before the Civil War, and in Russia to-day. Yet despite the frequent failure of many Church dignitaries to condemn legalized injustice and wrong, the divine principles of the Church have mightily prevailed.

The great truth of the gospel that all men are brethren and therefore all are created equal, now, thank God, imbedded in our Declaration of Independence, has been responsible for the abolition of slavery in all Christian lands.

The early fathers of the Church urged masters to free their slaves. *Hermes, Prefect of Rome under Trajan, embraced Christianity with his wife, children and 1,250 slaves, whom he freed on the day of their baptism, Easter day, with ample

* Enc. of Social Reform.

assistance to enable them to gain a livelihood. He himself afterward suffered martyrdom with Bishop Alexander, who had been the means of his conversion. . . . Ovinius, a French martyr, freed 5,000 slaves."

In one country after another slavery died out or was abolished by law. In many cases men were moved to free their slaves voluntarily, and the reason was beautifully given by the Count of Valois, who in the Fourteenth Century freed his serfs with these words: "As the human creature who has been formed in the image of our Lord ought to be free by natural right, . . . let these men and women be free."

The Church not only presented the principles of equality in her daily services, but exemplified them in her own practice. She was the one great democratic institution of the early centuries and the Middle Ages. The clerical order was the one profession in which it was possible for the humblest to rise to the highest place.

OUR PRESENT DUTY.

The simple principle the Church has given us of equal natural rights is sufficient to solve all problems now, just as it availed to abolish slavery in the past; but we shall solve no problems without a fervent love for our fellow-men and a thirst for righteousness.

God's beneficent laws bring home to us day by day our own personal responsibility for crime, poverty and sickness. It is charged that at the last election there were crimes against the franchise, and we know that men were assaulted, maimed and killed. Their

blood is on our heads and we must pay the penalty. Some men may be convicted of bribery and intimidation and their lives ruined by terms in prison. You and I are responsible for the corruption of the franchise, for the contamination of perjury and fraud. You and I have spoiled the lives of those men who must waste their days in jail.

We have failed to make the use of money in elections difficult by a Corrupt Practice Act, for which there have been good models these many years. We have failed to use approved means for ascertaining the people's will through simpler and safer methods of voting. We cumber our ballots with so many offices to be filled that we need the services of professional politicians to do our nominating for us. We offer hundreds of millions of dollars of the people's property to be struggled for as prizes of success at the polls. We have made the school which has taught the political worker that it is right to bribe and intimidate. We send a few men to prison, and say: "The guilty are punished." The most guilty will never suffer arrest. The most guilty are those who know the most, for the measure of knowledge is the measure of responsibility; but they will pay the penalty. We must all pay the penalty, for we are members one of another, and God is not mocked.

There are poverty, dirt and disease in sweat shops and tenements, and the moral and physical contagion surely invades the homes of the rich and clean.

The attitude of the Church toward Social Problems must be this. The Church must say to each one of us: "Thou art the man."

HOW IS OUR DUTY TO BE DONE?

We cannot all have expert knowledge of all questions. Indeed, only a few can know a great deal about even one function of government; but we can all hold fast to the Church's principle of equality and brotherhood, and test all questions by that principle.

It is important and very desirable that we should all do some serious reading, and study what has been done in other cities, States and countries. They have something to learn from us and we have much to learn from them. Reading and study of what other men have thought and accomplished is of little worth, however, unless we think ourselves, and thought is the hardest work in the world and that which pays the best.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, on his return from Europe the other day, gave us an application of the Christian principle of brotherhood. He said: "Whatever is increased in value by the increase of

population of a city, should belong to a city." That is a true thought and one that should be pondered well.

We have been so solicitous to protect "mine and thine" that we have neglected "ours." If we conserve "our property" we shall make long strides toward a better protection of "mine and thine." It is not to be forgotten that the law of life is "service for service." If anyone gets something for nothing, some of us, or all of us, are robbed; and he who appears to profit, suffers most of all. When no one receives more than he gives, we shall have realized that great principle which should find a place in every program of social betterment. Upon this principle the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor is based, and it is thus expressed in the Association's platform:

When the divinely intended, opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

The prayer of faith is a mighty force, and all these things shall be added unto us when the whole Church shall pray the petition of our "Litany for Society" said to-night:

Help us and all humanity so unreservedly to acknowledge Thy social law that all society may rise to that supreme ideal which Thou didst give to earth when the Eternal Word was clothed with the life of man.

THE REAPER.

With apologies to Longfellow, recommending that he also apologize.

For The Public.

There is a Reaper whose name is Debt,
And, after plunder keen,
He gleans the farm and shop in his net,
And the fools that grope between.

"Shall I do aught that is fair," said he,
"To the toiler and grower of grain?
The clip of the coupon is sweet to me,
So I'll raise the rate again."

He gazed at the fools—poor, silly wights,
As John D. heaps their sheaves.
(It is for that Lord of Parasites
He them of their wealth relieves.)

"My Lord hath need of these fools' small pay,"
The Reaper said, and smiled;
He smiled because he saw how they
Were easily beguiled.

"They all shall go to fields of light,
When John collects his tolls.
His Sunday School shall lead them right,
And leave naught but their souls."

And mothers gave to shop and dive
The buds their love doth need,
For fools agree that some must live
As slaves to lust and greed.

It was in fear of prison locks
The Reaper fled one day,
For Demos came with ballot box
And coaxed the fools away.

C. F. HUNT.

"Harry, did you not hear your mother calling you?"

"Course I did."

"Then why don't you go to her?"

"She's nervous. If I should go too quick, she'd drop dead," and Harry went on with his playing as if nothing disturbed his mind.—Albany (N. Y.) Journal.

BOOKS

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The City the Hope of Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., author of "Taxation and Taxes in the United States Under the Internal Revenue System." New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, \$1.50 net. Sold by The Public Publishing Co.

The work of a scholar who is also a practical man of extensive experience in civic affairs and a fundamental democrat.

Municipal reformers usually seek only enough reform to prevent vulgar grafting. They are plutocrats, or aristocrats, not democrats. But Mr. Howe is no longer that kind of a municipal reformer. "From belief in a business man's government" he has "come to a belief in a people's government;" and "from a conviction that we have too much democracy" he has "come to the conviction that we have too little democracy." A study of history has forced him "to the realization that the progress of civilization has been a constant struggle of liberty against privilege;" and personal study of municipal conditions, both in this country and abroad together with several years of actual political experience in the administration of the city of Cleveland, has forced him to believe that democracy has not failed by its own inherent weakness so much as by virtue of the privileged interests which have taken possession of our institutions for their own enrichment."

Mr. Howe finds as a matter of fact that "we nowhere have a democratic government;" that what "we really have is government by special privileges and big business men." Our cities are really not governed even by political bosses; these "are but representatives of privileged interests." The demand of the municipal reformer for "a business men's government" is unnecessary; because "we already have a business men's government, supplied through the agency of the boss."

The city is considered by Mr. Howe in this study of democracy, not alone because he knows the city, but also because we have entered upon "an urban age." The coming of the city "has destroyed a rural society" and "turned to scrap many of our established ideas."—a revolutionary change which makes every American city a democratic ex-

periment station and the city as the type of social life the hope of democracy.

And what is a city? It is not "a lot of cross streets on which houses are built," even "though paving is laid in these streets, and sewers are made," and "people live in the houses and move through the churches and theaters." We might as well call a world's fair a city. "But when within this human group, out of its common interest and common need, conscience is born and responsibility awakened; when will power and intelligence are civic forces, focussing on a united purpose and a definite ideal; when in addition to self-consciousness and family-consciousness there arises a city-consciousness, that instinct which is willingness to struggle for the common weal, and suffer for the common woe—then, and not until then, does the city spring into life."

On the question of city functions versus individual functions, Mr. Howe correctly draws the line at necessary monopoly. "Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly, especially where it offers a service of universal use." It is to disregard of this principle and to tax evasions that he traces municipal corruption. While he concedes that "franchises and tax evasions do not explain all of the corruption of our cities," he insists that they do explain "the organized, systematized corruption," the rest being "unorganized, miscellaneous, occasional."

Home rule is another subject to which Mr. Howe gives special attention. He advocates the divorce of the city from the state for all the purposes of local affairs. One phase of his argument will doubtless surprise persons who think of municipal home rule as an innovation. "Home rule," says Mr. Howe, "is but an attempt to regain those powers which the State has assumed, but which were originally enjoyed by the local community." It "aims to reclaim to the city," he continues, "those functions of government which passed into the hands of the State at a time when the city was coming into existence, or which have been assumed by the State at the demand of the boss or the party."

It is gratifying to find so profound and practical a student of city life, frankly saying what most other writers are either too dull to notice or too discreet to mention, that "the housing problem" is due not to geographical peculiarities, but to exorbitant land values forcing inordinate economy in space; and that ultimate relief can be secured by reducing land values and increasing house accommodations, through the "taxation of land values and the abandonment of all taxes upon buildings and improvements."

This method of taxation is expressly advocated in the chapter on "The City's Treasure," in which the city itself is described as a wealth producer.