

for they will have some very hard propositions to answer, and will need to start with a pretty intelligent notion of what they are going to talk about.

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DESPOILED.

For The Public.

If I could read my title clear, among the wolves that yelp,
To just the fullness of my day, without a statesman's help,
I'd gladly pay what taxes a simple state might need,
Its honors well to shelter, its comfort well to feed.

Nor would I for my portion a vast domain demand,
Of either sky or water, or wide, unpeopled land.
A cottage on a hillside, a garden and a spring,
With many birds of welcome words, would be about the thing.

But all my days are deeded to men of many fees,
Who, of my loving labor, build their unlovely ease.
And all my nights are mortgaged in dark, unhappy ways,
To those who drive my drudging thro all my deeded days.

They taught me in the little school, whose memories are dear,
To love the institutions I've lately come to fear,
For, said the teacher, guilelessly, "Our native land is free,
And all our duty is to serve its progress loyally."

But service is a stupid thing if service shall but gain
From sore and shameful servitude but courage to complain.

And if our famed "equality" one pocket fatly fills,
And leaves a million empty, a nation's honor spills.

They give us law for logic, made up of bonds and bribes,
The kind some sleek attorney as "right divine" describes.

But when our hunger happens its prior right to claim,

They measure out, for trimmings, a year of ironed shame.

There isn't much to trouble an opportunist now.
They've got the land allotted, and won't an inch allow,

But if you want a mortgage—to exercise your wit,
And busy you, at cent-per-cent,—they'll gladly part with it.

If I could read my title, in all the din and dust,
I wouldn't want their millions, with human blood arust;

Nor palaces, nor plunder, nor perquisites of pride,

With all the things of manhood abandoned and denied.

But what I seek forever, is, where the truth is kept,

For all its holy guardians at lying are adept.

It isn't legislated in any halls of state,

And as for honest voting—who pays the highest freight?

If I could read my title—^lwhat is a title, pray?

Why, Fellow, they are holding it, and you're the stuff they weigh.

A vineyard on the hillside, a sungleam in the spring—

Well, if you're not tight-muzzled, they're just a song to sing.

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

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RICH MEN AND CHRISTIAN JUSTICE.

From a Lecture on "The Problem of the Unemployed,"
Delivered Recently at Waco, Texas, Under the
Auspices of the Carnegie Library Association
of That Place, by Henry F.
Ring, of Houston, Texas.

I recollect reading in the newspapers twenty years ago of a great boom in the vicinity of Birmingham, Alabama. We were exultingly told that the lands containing the coal beds and mineral deposits in northern Alabama had gone up in value from \$1,000,000 to \$50,000,000 in the space of six years. What did that signify? It meant that when capital and labor should attempt to utilize these coal beds and mineral deposits, when capital and labor should unite together, the one to furnish the tools, the other the labor with which to produce wealth from this raw material, then would a set of landlords step forward and block the enterprise with a demand of \$50,000,000 for the mere right of access to these free gifts of nature, or in lieu of it the payment of \$3,000,000 a year as tribute money, that being the interest of \$50,000,000 at six per cent. There lay the coal beds and mineral deposits untouched by man, fresh from the hands of the Creator, intended by Him, if He be the just and benevolent being whom we are taught to worship, for the equal use and enjoyment of all His children, and yet our laws say that capital and labor must pay a few forestallers \$3,000,000 a year for the privilege of applying to this land the hand of industry.

Labor's Scant Share.

And after such tribute money has been paid, how much will there be left for the wages of labor? The answer is: Just as little as labor can subsist upon, except as it is able to sustain wages by labor union combinations. Why? Because this monopolization of unused gifts of nature going on not only in northern Alabama but everywhere else, enables capital to drive a hard bargain with

labor. For this reason, and this reason alone, they cannot deal with each other on equal vantage grounds. We have seen that this would not be the case, however, but for the price everywhere demanded for valuable unused land. Now, let us go back for a moment to that partnership between land, labor and capital, to which I have called attention. For illustration, suppose the wealth produced by the partnership be created by the application of capital and labor to those coal beds and mineral deposits in northern Alabama, valued as we have seen at \$50,000,000. In the division of wealth produced we have shown how, say, six per cent of this \$50,000,000, or \$3,000,000, must go to land as economic rent. Or, in other words, \$3,000,000 a year must be paid to land owners directly as rent or accounted for as interest on purchase money for the bare privilege of utilizing these gifts of nature. Now, in the division of the wealth produced why is labor entitled to any portion of it? Clearly because labor's industry has contributed to its production. Why is capital entitled to any part of it? Because capital has furnished labor with tools with which to develop the mineral deposits. The capitalist who owns the tools can trace his title back to the creator of them, to some individual or set of individuals whose industry produced them and from whom he had purchased them. The title, then, of both labor and capital to a portion of the wealth produced from these mineral deposits originates in human industry, and it is a sacred title. Why should the land owner get any portion of this wealth, to produce which capital has supplied the tools and labor has done the work? This owner claims the right of making capital and labor pay him interest on \$50,000,000, or \$3,000,000 a year, for the mere privilege of access to this raw coal and raw ore. Ought we not to scrutinize most carefully his right to extort this immense tribute? And if he can show no natural or moral right to it, does not society countenance the robbery of labor in permitting him to do so? Where does his title originate? We find that six or seven years before, he paid some one who claimed to own the land in which these mineral deposits are found, \$1,000,000 for the raw natural element for which he now demands \$50,000,000. Was this additional value of \$49,000,000 in six years produced by his industry? Was it produced by the industry of any previous owner of those natural elements? Did it cost \$49,000,000 to discover these mineral deposits? We trace his title back a little further, and find that perhaps a hundred years ago it originated in a grant to John Jones from the government—that is to say, the people who inhabited this country a hundred years ago and who constituted the government, said: "We will divide the land and we will give John Jones this particular tract for his private property." But did those people create that land and

the coal and iron in it? Can it be shown that they had any better right to it from the Almighty Creator than the people of this generation have? Was the earth intended by the Heavenly Father for one generation to dispose of forever, or as an abiding place for all generations? Was Thomas Jefferson right or wrong when he wrote: "The earth belongs in usufruct to the living; the dead have no right or power over it." By what authority could people living here a hundred years ago, long since dead and gone, confer upon John Jones, also dead and gone, a right which would enable John Smith to-day, by tracing a paper chain of title from him, to extort from capital and labor a tribute of three million dollars a year for the bare privilege of getting to that coal and iron, and making it useful to mankind? Who dares blaspheme the name of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe by saying that that coal and iron were not intended by Him for the equal use and enjoyment of all His children—the humblest babe born to-day in a garret equally with the child of the proudest duke who ever lived?

Man is a Land Animal.

Is not man a land animal? Can he live without land? Can he any more rightfully be deprived of access to land than he can rightfully be deprived of life itself? Can he any more rightfully be compelled to yield up to a forester, a so-called owner of land, a portion of the fruit of his industry for the mere privilege of getting hold of the raw material elements than he can rightfully be compelled as a slave to yield it up to a master? To compel him to do so in one case is as much a robbery of labor as in the other. Why then is not the humblest babe that God sends into this world naturally and by inalienable right entitled to access to land on equal terms with all his fellow beings? Mind, when I say access to land, I do not include access to improvements on land, or access to anything produced by human industry, a title to which can be shown originating in human toil; I simply mean access upon equal terms to the free bounties of nature as they lie upon the kind bosom of mother earth, untouched and undisturbed by the hand of man. What I produce by my industry is mine. What I obtain by exchanging the products of my industry or the products of another's industry is mine. What my father or my grandfather produced by his industry was his, and if he has given it to me, it is mine. In all these cases, human industry is the origin of property right, and property rights originating in human industry must be held sacred, else there would be no incentive to human effort. Do not the values produced by the individual belong to the individual producing them? Do not the values produced by the community belong to the community producing them? Is there anything wrong, immoral or communistic in this idea?

And yet it is the sum and substance of the Henry George philosophy.

The Remedy.

How shall this derangement of the wheels of industry, this blackmail upon enterprise, this robbery of labor, this eager and fatal competition among laborers for employment, this slavish fear of the loss of employment in the midst of abundant unused opportunities for employment—how shall this curse which our present land system has fastened upon the productive industries of the world be removed? I reply: By doing justice, by being honest; by recognizing in our laws one of the inalienable rights of man; by recognizing in every human being, in every generation, the present as well as the past, the inalienable right of access to the bounties of nature on equal terms with every other human being. How shall this right of access on equal terms be secured? Simply by making every individual who claims a right of exclusive possession of a tract of land, pay in the form of a tax approximately what the use of that land is worth, exclusive of all improvements on it or anything done to it by the hand of man. This is the Single Tax applied to its fullest extent.

Its Practical Application.

I have not the time to go into the details of its practical application. Its complete realization will not come suddenly or by revolutionary methods; it will be approached gradually, even as it is now being approached in the German Empire, in Denmark, in Alberta, and in some of the Australian colonies. It involves no change in the tenure of land, and land will continue to be bought and sold as at present. Not one land owner in five would suffer the slightest pecuniary loss if the system were suddenly adopted to-day. His loss in one direction would be more than offset by gains in other directions. Yet it will probably be reached by degrees. As people become more enlightened, laws imposing taxes on the products of industry and which fine men for giving employment to labor, will be gradually repealed, and taxes levied on land values will be gradually increased. Thus the entire unearned increment produced by the public will finally be turned into the treasury of the public. Three-fourths of the working farmers in a country like ours where there would be so much unused or but partially used land, would pay no taxes at all, either direct or indirect. This would be so because the lands occupied by them would have little or no economic rental value. The deficiency would be made up by the increased tax on mineral deposits and on land in great centers of population where it now sometimes sells at the rate of \$15,000,000 an acre, exclusive of the improvements upon it. The land values of Greater New York alone exceed the land values of all the land in actual cultivation west of the Mississippi River. There are no sky-scrapers in the neighbor-

hood of Wall Street as valuable as the ground on which they stand. The building of storehouses, residences, tenements and office buildings would be encouraged, and rents would therefore fall. The investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises would be stimulated because capital then could only be profitably invested in the products of labor or in the employment of labor. It could no longer be used for the purpose of blackmailing labor as in the purchase for investment or speculative purposes of unused or but partially used land. The machinery for collecting taxes, now so cumbersome, would be greatly simplified, and the cost reduced. The demand for labor would be enormously increased, and wages would steadily advance. What I have said in this brief summary is true. Investigation and reflection will satisfy you on this point.

Is It Right?

And now, in conclusion, the thought occurs to us: What about the pecuniary loss which we admit that perhaps one land owner in five must sustain when the fundamental human right to which I have called attention is finally recognized in our Constitution and laws? Can society rightfully thus sacrifice the interests of the few for the benefit of the many, even though none or hardly any of the few be actually impoverished thereby? I will ask you a question in reply: Can the few rightfully permit personal interest founded on a public wrong to stand in the way of public good? I say, No. And I further say that many if not the great majority of these wealthy few will some day gladly submit to the sacrifice. Not in our day, perhaps not in our children's day, but some day.

The Rich Man's Heart.

Nothing so stirs the human heart, changing the interest and objects of a man's life, bringing joy to his soul and inclining him to yield obedience to the best impulses of his being, as the clear perception of a great moral truth which he had before overlooked. And men of wealth and power, regardless of personal pecuniary interest, as well as men in the humbler walks of life, are ever being thus impressed and thus affected by the truth which I have tried to explain. A notable example in point is that of Mr. Joseph Fels of England, the Fels-Naptha soap man, a name known to every housewife. He recently pledged \$250,000 for the advancement of the Henry George cause in England and in America. And this is but a portion of the benefactions along the same line which he has made and contemplates making. But better than that, he is devoting to the cause the energies of a life still full of strength and vigor. He might, as many in his situation do, steel his heart to the needless poverty on every hand and the suffering and sin which flow from it, give the remnant of his years to the pil-

ing up of more wealth, and then lie down and die with a little narrow soul never broadened and made great by earnest love for fellow-man. He might try to drive away ennui with golf, with listless globe-trotting journeys, or rounds of aimless social dissipations or childish displays of ostentatious wealth. No, he is playing a nobler game, and a far more interesting one. The appeal of the helpless, the miserably poor, the child wearing its life away amid the clang of looms or in the dungeon darkness of the mine, has reached his ears. Life has greater interests to him and deeper happiness and deeper joy than the pursuit of selfish ends and pleasures can ever bring. And such lives, such consecrations of wealth and energy to humanity's cause, will become less and less exceptional as the years go by.

The Single Tax Christianity.

Nineteen hundred years ago there came into the world a Power stronger than all our laws, which with irresistible force is changing the hearts of men, and inclining more and more of them to act justly and love righteousness. In His day, chattel slavery was universal. Though no word of condemnation fell from His divine lips, it could not survive the force of His gentle teachings, and it passed away forever. His priests and ministers may not expound the single tax or socialism or any specific economic reform, but with more and more insistence they are ever proclaiming a truth, which when once firmly lodged in the minds and hearts of their hearers, will as surely cause the overthrow of industrial slavery as it caused the overthrow of chattel slavery. For Christ said: And the second law "is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And in the only prayer He taught us, these words were used: "Thy Kingdom come * * on earth as it is in Heaven." Whose kingdom? God's kingdom. Can you conceive of God's kingdom being upon earth when a portion of His children are allowed to corner his gifts and extort blackmail from their brothers and sisters for the bare privilege of using the bounties of earth? The thought is abhorrent to an enlightened sense of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

One who arose from the dead has taught us the true source of happiness here and hereafter; and year by year, despite all surface indications to the contrary, mankind in ever increasing numbers are realizing the force and truth of His teachings. We do not obtain permanent happiness by seeking for it; we do not find it in material success or material things. The peace which passeth all understanding comes only with that renunciation of self which Christ demanded of all His followers. He tolerates no half way service. He taught us that the best life and the noblest of all is one which has love for its mainspring, in which love for God is expressed in love for man—not in

empty words of prayer and praise, but in a burning zeal to help and serve our fellow-men; and in the bottom of our hearts we know that this is true. In the light of His words, how empty and pitiful do the lives of the Caesars and Napoleons, the kings and emperors, the great financiers and statesmen, who live for self-aggrandizement alone, seem in comparison. If we were great enough to grasp the true proportion of things, we would only pity such as they. Overlooking real pearls and diamonds and suppressing the noblest impulses, they intrigue and hate and rage and fight in a scramble for bits of colored glass, mere bubbles, unsatisfactory if attained, and which in the presence of death vanish into nothingness. The world is growing wiser. The spirit of the gentle Nazarene is speaking louder and louder. To that spirit, to the real spirit of Christianity, in calmness and confidence we appeal, knowing that its triumph will be our triumph.

BOOKS

Note.—In reviewing Prof. Munro's work on "The Government of Cities" (p. 476), published by the Macmillan's, we unintentionally conveyed the impression, by an awkward form of statement, that a manufacturing defect in the one copy of the book before us runs through the entire edition, thereby rendering the index, to a great degree, valueless. This criticism probably applies to no other copy.

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DATA FOR INVESTORS AND SOCIAL STUDENTS.

Moody's Analyses of Railroad Investments. Containing in Detailed Form an Expert Comparative Analysis of each of the Railroad Systems of the United States, with Careful Deductions, enabling the Banker and Investor to Ascertain the True Values of Securities by a Method Based on Scientific Principles Properly Applied to Facts. By John Moody. First Annual Number. 1909. Published by Analyses Publishing Co., 35 Nassau Street, New York, and Fred C. Mathieson & Sons, 16 Cophthall Ave., E. C., London. Price \$12 net.

The scope and importance of this book are impressively indicated in the preface, which describes the railroads of the United States as embracing about 230,000 miles of main-line trackage, as representing over \$16,000,000,000 of invested capital, as giving employment directly to nearly 1,700,000 persons and indirectly to 500,000 more, as transporting about 1,000,000,000 passengers and nearly 2,000,000,000 tons of freight annually, and as receiving for services upward of \$2,500,000,000 annually, of which \$800,000,000 is distributed as "profit" in the form of interest and dividends. Inasmuch as this vast industrial network, though owned by a large number of individuals (from one to two millions), is controlled