

land for ever so long, but he knew right well that Cleveland would some day turn him down. His is or was at least a cheerful temperament and he can make the most of his consolations as he prepares to leave the office his occupancy of which exalted into a coign of world-wide fame. And his chief consolation is that he has not failed in his main purpose. His idea has won out, in Cleveland.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A MAN IS PASSING.

For The Public.

A Man is passing. Hall him, you
Who realize him staunch and strong and true.
He found us dollar-bound and party-blind;
He leaves a City with a Civic Mind,
Choosing her conduct with a conscious care,
Selecting one man here, another there
And scorning labels. Craft and Graft and Greed
Ran rampant in our halls and few took heed.
The Public Service and the Public Rights
Were bloody bones for wolf and jackal fights.
Now, even the Corporate Monster licks the hand
Where once he snarled his insolent demand.
Who tamed it? Answer as you will,
But truth is truth and his the credit still.

A Man is passing. Flout him, you
Who would not understand and never knew.
Tranquil in triumph, in defeat the same,
He never asked your praise nor shirked your blame,
For he, as Captain of the Common Good,
Has earned the right to be misunderstood.
Behold! he raised his hand against his class;
Aye, he forsook the Few and served the Mass.
Year upon year he bore the battle's brunt
And so, the hiss, the cackle and the grunt!
He found us, striving each his selfish part.
He leaves a City with a Civic Heart,
Which gives the fortune-fallen a new birth
And reunites him with his Mother Earth,
Which seeks to look beyond the broken law
To find the broken life, and mend its flaw.

A Man is passing. Nay, no demi-god,
But a plain man, close to the common sod
Whence springs the grass of our humanity. Strong
Is he, but human, therefore sometimes wrong,
Sometimes impatient of the slower throng,
Sometimes unmindful of the formal thong,
But ever with his feet set towards the height
To plant the banner of the Common Right.
And ever with his eye fixed on the goal,
The Vision of a City with a Soul.

And is he fallen? Aye, but mark him well,
He ever rises further than he fell.
A Man is passing. I salute him, then,
In these few words. He served his fellow-men
And he is passing. But he comes again.

EDMUND VANCE COOKE.

Cleveland, Ohio.

HOME LESSONS IN ECONOMICS.

For The Public.

Sunday morning at the Breakfast Table.

Papa: Willie, you and Edith stay for Sunday school after church.

Willie: Oh, papa, then must we go to church too?

Papa: Certainly, to church and Sunday school both. Do you think I'm going to let you grow up like heathens?

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Some hours later. The early Sunday dinner is on.

Papa: Well, Willie, what did you learn at Sunday school today?

Willie: The golden rule.

Papa: Let me hear you say it.

Willie: Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you.

Papa: That's right. I'm glad to see you pay some attention to what you are learning.

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The dinner goes on. A little later the conversation between mama and papa and a visiting uncle drifts around to business matters, particularly to the discussion of a recent "corner," and the profits made by a certain daring young operator. With the lack of logic characteristic of the feminine mind, mama ventures a timid reminder of the fact that a number of people lost heavily, and that it was rumored several suicides occurring just then had some connection with the "corner."

Papa: That's business, can't be helped.

Willie: But oughtn't we do to others as we'd want them to do to us? Doesn't that mean we oughtn't to want to harm others? The golden rule says so.

Papa: That's all very well, but it's not business. A man would go to the wall pretty quick if he acted on that plan. You've got to *do* the other fellow before he *does* you, in business.

Willie: Then why do they teach us the golden rule in Sunday school?

Papa: Don't talk nonsense. Anyway, you children are talking much too much at table. Little folks should be seen and not heard.

G. I. C.

+ + +

HENRY GEORGE AND SOCIAL REFORM.

By Dr. Phil. C. N. Starcke of the University of Copenhagen. From "Gads Danske Magazin," for September, 1909. Translated for The Public by C. M. Koedt, Former Consul for Denmark at Chicago.

Seventy years have passed since the birth of Henry George. Only 70 years. And only 30

years since the publication of his famous work, "Progress and Poverty." The movement which his book has set agoing, and the change in the conditions of labor for social progress which it created, are so immense that one involuntarily starts on being reminded that it is only 70 years since Henry George saw the light of day.

Henry George has this in common with all great reformers of society, that he is filled with the deepest sympathy for those on the suffering side of life. With some, this sympathy leads to direct and immediate endeavors to redress the misery found. With others compassion transforms itself into hatred against those whose income is abundant, and wrestles with plans for reforms which merely take from one and give to another. Henry George is far removed from both. His doctrine is the manliest announcement of justice. Not benevolence, only justice, is able to elevate humanity. And he possesses the most luminous belief in the power of the ethical values. Justice and nothing else is able to solve the social question. It is both the most convenient and most effectual order of society.

The efforts men of a good heart unfold to redress the prevailing misery by giving alms, do not stop up the wells from which misery flows; they often miss their mark, since alms often fall to the unworthy. Private institutions, great organized humane measures, the whole humane relief legislation, which those liberally inclined have promoted so strongly, do not prevent that ever new and greater hosts of sufferers arise. These measures engage only with symptoms of society's disease, but do not enter into the causes themselves. They remain, therefore, in a social aspect, not only without result, but may even act hurtfully. One must especially hesitate at a benevolent legislation, because this is apt to deprive people of their self-esteem. To live off the benevolence of others is incompatible with independence; and to depend upon benevolence as an insurance, weakens men's virile sense of responsibility and tempts them to drift with the stream.

The only thing a man can demand is his right, which is precisely this, that the results of one's labor belong to him, and that no one must appropriate results where he has performed no labor. To guard justice is the business of society. The citizen can demand no more; it is his own concern to work, if he wishes to enjoy.

This principle, that everyone has a right to the result of his own labor, Henry George has in common with Social Democracy. But with Henry George this is a clear and fixed principle about the right to the produce labor yields; with Social Democracy it becomes the right, not only that labor be given a result, but a result of a fixed size. Social Democracy is forced to invoke the guardianship of the social power to manage distribution. It is concerned in reality not with the doc-

trine "the right of each to the results of his own labor," but to a right to be provided for. Thereby socialism enters into opposition to the doctrine of Henry George, as well in its practical social work as on its ethical basis. Socialism is not the same as the struggle of the lower classes to improve their condition. The struggle does not become socialism until it attempts to reach its goal through abolition of free competition. Socialism thereby expresses its doubt that a free working society can be arranged in a justifiable manner, and its doubt that the results of labor can be correctly determined.

But this changes the whole foundation. It is no longer justice, but a demand for maintenance, that is placed in the foreground. This demand is unethical, and stands in the class with mendicity. This is rendered conspicuous with great strength by Gustav Büscher, in a little pamphlet, "A Word to Socialists and Those Who Intend Joining Them" (Zürich, 1909. See *The Public*, vol. xii, p. 1071). Büscher is an adherent of Henry George, out of whose demands for justice he reproaches Social Democracy with both demolishing this belief, and creating a barren and hateful class struggle. Justice, he says, is not an empty term; justice never goes into the limitless, but has always a fixed proportion and a definite limitation.

When Social Democrats talk to the lower class about its right, it is never this or that certain right, but an undetermined right which ought rather to be called an insatiable demand to receive. As a consequence of Social Democratic agitation, society looms up before the underclasses as the great, wonderful power, which will produce all they are in need of. This is the obtrusive beggar's speech, the leader who in every property-owner sees a plunderer.

Like Henry George, Social Democracy labors for the reign of justice and love. But their discourse is quite different. The discourse of Social Democracy breathes hate and animosity against the upper classes. Henry George combines firmness and courage in demanding justice, anxious not to hurt the right of anyone. That to every right belongs a duty, to the right to have belongs the duty to work—this Henry George never for one moment forgets; while the violence in the demand to obtain the things one misses, leads Social Democracy to forget to talk about the demand one must make upon one's own self. During the hardest personal trials Henry George never forgot this. It never entered his mind to importune or appropriate gifts; he only endeavored to earn his own bread. Therefore he was ever far removed from the dream about a distributing social power, which should provide for the people; it was the right only he was intent on. Instead of talking about artificial arrangements for society, which through golden illusions of a far away future's paradise give comfort to

those who now suffer, he collected all his powers to demonstrate the fundamental injustice which creates the suffering in the existing society, and to strengthen the belief that as soon as the people obtain their rights they are in need of no charity.

Unlike the Social Democrats, he does not find the deep injustice in the liberty of individuals. On the contrary, for Henry George liberty is the condition for the richest possible unfolding of all powers. The injustice is caused by some having a monopoly, which enables them to appropriate the results of others' labors without working themselves. This monopoly Henry George found in the fact that private people can appropriate the value which land obtains simply by the growth of society. This value no individual can increase by his labor, nor decrease by his neglect. He can through his labor create other values of thousands of dollars on or in land, but these disappear again with his labor. To these he has a full and unimpaired title. But land value as such arises, grows and disappears with the development of society, and this value therefore can be claimed only by society as a whole. It is on account of appropriating this social property, that the individual diminishes the opportunities of life for his fellows, and forces them to work for him on conditions he determines.

This is precise and clear language, and it resounds now over the whole civilized world. The grievance over this injustice is not borne in envy of wealth; the demand made is not to live and be cared for by others, but to be enabled to build one's existence upon own industry, perseverance and ingenuity. Fetter the people, assign them their places each for himself, and take care that each one's appetite is appeased in the evening, if he has obeyed your commands during the day,—that is Social Democracy's road forward. Let men be free, let them work free, act free, and in the evening consume the bread they themselves were able to earn in the course of the day—one more, the other less—but take care only, no one appropriates the bread of others,—this is Henry George's teaching.

At the present time the state takes from all, because it has given away to some what it owned itself. Therefore, on the evening, the bread is torn from the hands of the many and placed in the hands of the privileged few. How this is accomplished, and how this will cease when justice has been satisfied and society received the produce of its work as the individual of his, Henry George has shown so clearly as to be easily understood the whole world over. Therefore Henry George's birthday is celebrated everywhere, not with official celebrations and solemn parades, but through that flow of joyful hope from the many whom his teaching has strengthened in the belief that it is possible to realize justice, and whose conviction he has grounded in the fact that it is along the

road of justice that proud and free peoples win happiness.

* * *

HE WHO WOULD REAP, MUST SOW.

For The Public.

"By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy bread,
Thou and thy sons forevermore."

Thus ran the edict the first man read
As he stood alone on a primal shore;—
Whispered by every passing breeze,
Thundered where mighty torrents pour,
Sung by the grass, the flowers, the trees,
Voiced by the ocean on its shore,
Flashed on the clouds in lines of fire,
Carved on the mountain's granite crest,
Limned where the lights of day expire
In gold and crimson in the west.

"The land I give, and the boundless sea—
All the riches they hold I give to thee.
But by the sweat of thy brow thou shalt make sweet
And earn the bread that thou wouldst eat.
As thou tillst the soil or sailst the deep,
Remember, that thou must sow to reap.

"Guard thyself that thou dost not reap
That which thy brother in sorrow sowed.
He who hath earned, alone shall keep;
Thou needst not carry another's load.
Let each have only his equal share
Of the treasures stored in the earth's broad
breast;—

Then thou shalt live as a free man dare,
And do thy work as to thee seems best;
And thy sons shall not labor pale and gaunt
That a few may have an unearned toll;
And thou shalt not feel the sting of want
That sears and dwarfs the human soul."

R. E. CHADWICK.

BOOKS

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

A History of the United States and Its People. From Their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In Sixteen Volumes. Vol. V. Published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland. 1908.

Now that all the historical currents leading on to the beginning of the Republic have been traced to their confluence in his preceding volumes (p. 524), Mr. Avery begins the history of the United States as a nation with an interesting account of the economic and political conditions out of which came the Revolutionary War. It is interesting at this time to notice that one of the usually overlooked factors in causing that war was the effort of the landed class of Great Britain to reduce the William and Mary land value tax of four shillings in the pound, by substituting for it, in part, the stamp tax against which the American colonists protested.

Not to the stamp act or the tea act, however,