WORK'S DIALOGUE

SUTTON

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DIALOGUE

WITH

HENRY GEORGE,

BY

P. M. SUTTON.

1887

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1887

TO

HARRIET LEVERTON SUTTON,

WHO

INDUCED ITS WRITING,

THIS

ECONOMIC DIALOGUE

IS

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY

HER HUSBAND.

PROLOGUE.

CAUSES GROW.

HOW strangely causes grow. 'Tis all a growth, and yet there is a destiny. How wondrous strange came Liberty. And yet, in all its ways there was a course and purpose that showed divine direction. For centuries and centuries, Liberty hardly dared to speak, and yet it lived. It hid its head, but its heart still beat, and its soul still grew with fond desires. Religion denounced it. Tyranny threatened it. Still it lived. Hope, though blindly, still inspired it and made it feel a promise that it could not see. Thus inspired, it struggled on. It grew and found a place in the common heart of

mankind. At last it dared to speak. It was heard, and its voice was heeded. At Runnymede a King hailed Liberty! Six centuries ago beneath the blue arches of England's skies, the spirit of Liberty was formed into living shape and given its freedom. Freedom of life and of property was made the chartered guaranty of the King. Now it could breathe aloud. It could raise its voice. It could move. It could use its hands. It could inspire mankind. For full four centuries, and more, it had the freedom of the realm. Still it was not satisfied. It had no place to rear its temples. It had no place to call its own. It had no home. At last new inspiration came. It lifted men. It made them look, they knew not where. It made them see, they knew not what. It made them move. Into the sea! Into the coming winter! Into the dark beyond! God was there. Beyond was home. Through all the centuries; yes, through all the ages, He had kept a virgin home for Liberty. Securely, He kept it in patient and sacred waiting. Waiting at its birth. Watching its sleep in the cradle of

life. Cheering the joys of its childhood plays. Guiding the course of its youthful love. Reaching His hand to the full grown man.

Welcome! Oh, what a welcome! How warm was that December day! How animate Old Plymouth Rock! Hugged by the land, and kissed by the seas, it throbbed with love as it gave America to be forevermore a home to Liberty. Joyous Liberty! God has given thee a place to be thine own; a place to rear thine altars; a home. As He has done to thee, his faithful child, do ye even so unto thy faithful children.

Home! America! The gladdest words that tongue can speak; the sweetest songs that soul can sing.

PART I.

A GEORGE GOVERNMENT FORMED.

TRIED AND PROVEN.

REMARKABLE RESULTS.

CHAPTER I.

A CONFERENCE WITH MR. GEORGE.

I HAVE read Progress and Poverty, Mr. George. It is a great work. It marks an era. If I understand it rightly I desire to help you. There are some things in it on Taxes that I don't quite understand.

You believe in using Taxes with which to work reforms. I want to confer with you on that subject. You believe that "great changes" can best be brought about under "old forms." I took this from your book. Now tell me, please, in plain language, just what reforms you propose to accomplish through Taxation, and how you propose to do it. Make it very plain, please, and make it very simple to a common comprehension. I desire to understand the inmost idea of your philosophy.

George.—"I propose to raise wages; increase the earnings of capital; extirpate pauperism; abolish poverty; give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it; afford free scope to human powers; lessen crime; elevate morals, and taste and intelligence; purify government, and carry civilization to yet nobler heights."

Work.—That would, indeed, be a great reform. I do not see a single purpose but appeals to the highest and best impulses of the human heart. There is nothing evil, but everything of good in what you undertake. The poor who suffer may lift their eyes in hope. All who long for a purer life or a better government, can see the sign of better days. Crime is to be repressed. Morals elevated. We are to be given a more refined taste. A higher intelligence and a grander civilization. The mere contemplation of such prospects makes men think better of the world. I will join you. Tell us how all this is to be done.

How to be Done.

George.—"I propose a simple yet a sovereign remedy—to appropriate rent by taxation. We already take some rent by taxation, we have

only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent. Let land owners continue to *call* it *their* own land. We may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel."

Work.—I see you have it just as it is in your book. I cannot remember all the glorious reforms you propose, but I do recall some of them. They cheer the heart and fill the soul. What prospects we do contemplate! Raise wages. Extirpate pauperism. Abolish poverty. Lessen crime and raise morals. Now, how will putting all taxes on land abolish pauperism and lessen crime? How can one idea embrace so many purposes? How can one remedy cure so many diseases? The remedy to be so universal must be possessed of some wonderful substance. Its like was never known before.

George.—"When all is taken by taxation, for the needs of the community, then will the equality ordained by nature be attained. No citizen will have an advantage over any other citizen, save as is given by his industry, skill, and intelligence; and each will obtain what he fairly earns."

Picture of a George Heaven.

Work.—I see, you have it again as it is in your book. What will be the final outcome of all this?

George.—"*Words fail the thought. It will be the Golden Age of which poets have sung and high-raised seers have told in metaphor. It is a glorious vision which has always haunted men with the gleams of fitful splendor. It was what he saw, whose eyes at Patmos, were closed in trance. It is the culmination of Christianity—the city of God on earth with its walls of jasper and its gates of gold. It is the reign of the Prince of Peace.*"

Work.—Again I see you have it just as it is in Progress and Poverty, Mr. George, that is very beautiful. Little could be added. It fills every desire. It is the substance of every hope. It is a perfect picture of every fond ideal of the human soul. None are so poor but it will help them. Poverty in rags and want is often made to feel a deeper sense of things, and helped to see diviner sights. The suffering soul can read those words and then thank heaven. Men, who long have sought to see a better way and a better world, can behold in these, your beautiful

lines, a prophecy. The Christian pilgrim, worn down in fighting the battles of the Cross, and who is weary in waiting, can read this joyous prospect and see the second coming of his Lord. Poets can read this vision, and these gleams of fitful splendor, and be inspired. Artists can behold the city of God, the walls of jasper, the gates of pearl. and then paint pictures that shall never die. The earth will now look greener, its fruits taste much sweeter, its summers will be more balmy, it winters will be warmer, and the heavens will be brighter than they have ever been before.

CHAPTER II.

THE FORMING OF A GEORGE GOVERNMENT.

I AM deeply moved, Mr. George. I will do all I can, and faithfully, to help you. Let us go right at work. Let not one moment be delayed. I feel a deep desire that must be gratified. I am filled with a wonder that must be satisfied. Now the first thing in forming a new administration is to make estimates and present a Budget, that is, a statement of estimated receipts and expenditures. This we ought to do. Until we make such an estimate we cannot tell how much of the entire revenue will be needed for expenses, nor how much will be left to apply in satisfying other needs of society, such as "extirpating pauperism and poverty." We can quite easily make this estimate, for we can get from

the Tenth Census the necessary items of expense, also the amount of improved land. We will multiply the acres of land by the price of rent, and that will be our estimated receipts; we will add the expenses of the Nation for a year, to expenses of the States for the same time, and that will give us our estimated expenditures. By subtracting the necessary expenditures from our total of receipts, we will have the balance that can be employed in "extirpating pauperism and poverty." Now, you may take a pencil, for you are a mathematician, and I will take the Census, and we will figure this thing out.

Making a Budget.

What part of each farm shall we confiscate?

George.—Only that part which is left after allowing the owner full pay for all improvements. My whole plan is based upon the idea that the naked land belongs to the public, and, therefore, the public has a right to confiscate it. The improvements, however, belong to the persons who make them, and in confiscating the land we must be sure that the right to improvements is sacredly guarded. Where there is any doubt give the owner the benefit.

Work.—Very well. We will figure this out very quickly. I see by the Census, that all lands occupied as farms, amount to 536,081,835 acres, of which, 284,771,042 acres are tillable. I see that the whole number of farms is 4,008,907, having a total actual value of $10,197,096,776. Therefore, an average American farm has 134 acres, of which 70 acres are tillable, and which is worth $2,549, or $19 per acre. Now we will figure the cost of ordinary improvements on an ordinary average farm of 134 acres, with 70 acres tillable. The first item is the breaking of the 70 acres at $2 an acre, $140. Then there is an orchard of 100 trees. In money and labor they cost $100. Put the fences at $200, the barn at $300, and the house at $800, miscellaneous improvements, such as wells, tiling, vines, etc., $110. This makes even $1,650.

Improvements Too Low.

George.—I think you have valued the house and the barn too low. Eight hundred dollars would not build me a decent barn, and $300 would hardly more than build a dog house.

Work.—That is true. But you live in the city. Dwellings and barns, and all kinds of buildings

in cities and towns, are much more expensive, and much better, than people generally enjoy on farms. The average farm is worth but $2,560. So buildings must be moderate. We have put the improvements moderately low, I am sure. Perhaps the majority of farmers have better improvements. Still there are some who don't have as good.

George.—Now, what part of the value does this leave to the naked land?

Work.—About one-third.

George.—That is about what I thought. Many have criticised my policy who supposed I intended to take farm, improvements, and all. I simply propose to take the naked land, which will be about one-third of the value of all farms. That value was created by the public and, therefore, belongs to the community, and in confiscating it the commonwealth gets its own.

Work. — That all seems very reasonable. There are many farms on which the improvements cost more than the farms would sell for. A large part of the farms of this country have cost more in labor and improvements, than they would sell for in the market. Especially is this true in the Eastern and Middle States,

where the farms were chopped out of the forests, and where even then, the soil had to be made out of a surface literally covered with stones. I do not at all doubt but that all our farm lands have cost, in labor and improvements, more than two-thirds of their present market value. Still we will count improvements at two-thirds. Now we have a definite rule, so far as farm lands are concerned. We will now make our calculations. First we will compute on the farm lands. We want to tax that part belonging to the public so that the owner will pay thereon a fair rent. He will then be using his own improvements on a rented farm. He will thus be secured, as you direct he sacredly shall be, in the property which is solely the work of his own hands. This will be in fact renting land in "such manner as to sacredly guard the right of private improvement," which is one of the fundamental ideas of your grand philosophy.

Renting of an Average Farm.

Now what would a fair rent for the whole of a farm of 134 acres with 70 acres tillable? Now a dollar an acre on the whole piece would be nearly two dollars an acre for the tillable land, and

nearly 6 per cent. on its actual value. It seems to me that we ought not to go above that rate. Two dollars an acre is very fair rent for tillable land in any locality; and in many places and for many qualities of tillable land it is very high. A dollar an acre, however, on all lands will make an easy computation and will be a very fair rental value. If we could tax all lands for their full value, at a dollar an acre, it would give us $536,081,835. Only a third of this, however, belongs to the public, therefore, we can only tax that third and can only get as a revenue, one-third of that amount, which makes $178,693,945. This gives us all the revenue that will arise from a confiscation of rents on farm lands, after deducting the improvements which belong to the owners. We can figure this another way, and, perhaps, it will make it plainer. A farm of 134 acres, with 70 acres tillable, would rent for $140, at $2 an acre for tillable land. One-third of this, or $46, would belong to the government. Now there are 4,008,907 farms, and at $46 each, they would give us just $184,419,722. This way gives a little more. Still I think the other figures are as high as we ought to put rents, taking the whole country through.

Other Real Estate.

We now come to the valuation and taxation of city lots and blocks, manufactories, machine shops, mills and mines. We must make a new estimate of improvements. Improvements on this class of land are much greater in proportion to the value of the land than in farm property. The land in cities and towns has no value except its use for building purposes. The principal value is in the superstructure. As we have before remarked, on farms, buildings are comparatively cheap. In cities and towns the improvements are much more elaborate and therefore much more expensive. I am of the opinion that there is more than twice the comparative value in city improvements as in farm improvements. At the very centre of a great city, building lots may have a fabulous value. There the value of the naked lot may more nearly equal the value of the superstructure. As you leave the business centre, however, the difference increases, and in the residence portion of a city a $10,000 improvement is often made on a $1,000 lot. I think at any rate it would be safe to say that the naked land value in cities and towns is not more than one-fifth of the ag-

gregate value of land and improvements. All kinds of real estate including mills, manufactories, distilleries, business blocks and city residences are valued at $9,881,000,000. All mines are valued at $781,000,000. Adding the mines we have a total value of kinds of real estate outside of farms, and amounting to $10,662,000,000. You see it is "nip and tuck" between farms and other kinds of real estate. Farms, however, because of cheaper improvements, and greater land value, will yield us a greater revenue. The naked land value in this last $10,000,000,000 cannot be counted more than $2,000,000,000. We will tax this value, which belongs to the public, at 6 per cent. That will make this rent about the same rate that we have placed on farm values, and will give us a revenue of $120,000,000. This added to our revenues from farms will give us the enormous annual revenue of $298,693,945. This is indeed a great sum, and if properly and prudently expended, can be made to do a world of good.

Counting Expenses.

There will be, of course, some expenses that will have to be paid out of this revenue before

we can expend it in the "extirpation of pauperism and poverty." It will be impossible to cut down very materially, the present expenses of government. Our schools will have to be maintained, the poor houses kept up, the cities cleaned and supplied with water and light, roads will have to be kept in repair and many new ones constructed. It would be an endless task to determine the amount needed for all these necessary expenses in every State, and territory, and county, and township, and school district, except that Gen. Francis A. Walker, with whom I believe you are acquainted, has done all this work for us. Excepting machinery, he is the Ricardo of America. You will find it all tabulated on page 25, Vol. VII., Tenth Census. In the aggregate these necessary expenses are $312,750,721. This does not include our national expenses. Last year these expenses amounted to $260,226,935. These expenses cannot be curtailed to any great extent at present. Adding these two sums together will give us our estimate of the necessary expenses for the coming year. Now we have all the data necessary for the formation of a Budget:

The George Budget.

Now here is our Budget.

Estimated Receipts.

Taxes on all farm lands, at $1 an acre, making about $2 an acre on all tillable lands, and about 6 per cent. of actual value, after deducting all improvements	$178,693,945
Taxes on ground value of all other real estate, at 6 per cent. of actual value	120,000,000
Total	$298,693,945

Estimated Expenditures.

National expenses, same as last year	$260,226,935
State, county, city, town, school, poor house, road, and other taxes, in States and Territories	312,750,721
Total expenditures	$572,977,656

Recapitulation.

Total receipts	$298,693,945
Total necessary expenditures	572,977,656
Deficit first year	$274,283,711

CHAPTER III.

GREAT TROUBLE.

GEORGE.—Is there not some mistake in our figuring ?

Work.—If there is, we can readily find it. The total value of all kinds of taxable real estate, together with improvements, is worth in actual value, about $20,000,000,000. There can be no possible doubt but that two-thirds of this value, even in farm lands, is in the improvement which labor has put on the land. Nor can there be any doubt but what a much greater proportion of all other kinds of real estate, or the value thereof, is in its improvements. We could not, by any reasonable calculation, compute the value of the improvements of the entire $20,000,000,000 at less than $15,000,000,000. That, under your theory of government, would leave but $5,000,000,000 belonging to the public. I say

that lands in this country, less improvements, are not worth $4,000,000,000; but we will count it $5,000,000,000. Six per cent. on this $5,000,000,000 would give us an annual revenue of $300,000,000. This would give a little more than half enough with which to pay the necessary expenses of government. My friend, we are brought face to face with immutable facts. We have taxed the whole country the last dollar we can tax it, under your theory of government, and here we are, at the end of the first year, over a quarter of a billion behind on expenses. We have taxed all farm lands a dollar an acre. This has made the tax about $2 an acre on all tillable lands. In order to get out of debt next year, and be left in anything like a respectable financial condition, we will have to tax all tillable farm land at the rate of $6 an acre, and city and mining real estate in the same proportion.

The Farmers' Rebellion.

This failure in our revenues is only a small part of the trouble upon our hands. The farm owners all over the country, are in rebellion. They have figured this thing out. They have found that in this country there is over $43,000,000

000,000 of wealth. That they have only $10,000,000,000, or less than one-fourth of the entire amount. They also find that they have only one-half of their distributive share of wealth. They have $2,500 to a family, while the people living in cities and towns have $5,000 to each family. They now see that we are trying to rob them, and that we are doing so in the interest of $20,000,000,000 of wealth in moneys and chattels belonging to speculators. They are becoming convinced that we are a set of scheming scoundrels, bent on robbing them of their homes. They are preparing to defend themselves. There are 4,000,000 of them.

Ropes and Shotguns.

They are buying ropesand shotguns. They are hanging our tax collectors to the trees. We are getting in a worse condition than was ever seen in Ireland. In the midst of all this trouble, the poor are pounding at our doors. They want us to "extirpate pauperism and poverty." The poor crying women and little moaning children are hanging to our coat tails, and begging for shelter and bread. Then there is another trouble. Our confiscation

of rent has, in no wise, repressed existing wrongs. Jay Gould is robbing railroads, the Bulls and Bears are slashing prices, railroad managers are squeezing people, distilleries are making whiskies just the same, and the saloonkeepers are dealing it out. All this robbery is going on with no more reference to rent, than the winds upon the ocean. Thieves are prowling the country. Burglars are blowing open safes. Robbers are waylaying their victims. There is a perfect anarchy everywhere. Everything seems to be incited to desperation by the rebellion we have on our hands. How are we to put this rebellion down?

No Way Out.

We have no money. Our only source of revenue is armed against us. Where can we get an army? The rich will not fight and never would. You can't get wage labor to help rob these farmers. They would sooner help confiscate the money and the chattels of the rich. So you see there is no source from which we can draw troops. There is no earthly source from which we can draw revenue. We have no allies; we have no friends. Every

one doubts us and despises us. We have lost both the good will and the confidence of mankind. We are out of money; and without an army. We have a rebellion on our hands and have no means, nor troops, with which to put it down! *Mr. George, we are busted!*

The Real Picture.

Let me see! How was that beautiful description you gave of the place to which your methods would lead us? It was like the beautiful picture with which Claude Melnotte deceived the fair Pauline. Where have gone those gleams of fitful splendor, the walls of jasper and gates of pearl? Where are those beautiful things that were seen by Him, whose eyes were closed in trance, at Patmos? How easy it is to dream of fond delights and wake to find but misery. Let me change your beautiful description. Let me transpose its similes. Let me write it upside down and turn it wrong side out. Here it is:

Words fail, and thoughts confuse the mind! It is the Dark Age of Rapine and of Murder! A hair-raising vision which men have with snakes in their boots. What He saw on the mountain top when the Devil lied to Him. It is the culmination

of madness; the land of confusion, with prison walls; the reign of the Devil on earth! It is DESTRUCTION, DEATH, DAMNATION!!

Look at this description, and then at what surrounds us. Does it not far more accurately describe the situation in which your government has placed us, than your gilded picture of visionary prospects?

George.—It does seem so. I guess I started out before I made my reckoning. I sailed a sea that none before had ventured. I had no chart, and I had no compass. I met an unexpected breeze. It brought a storm that raised the waves so high I could not ride them. They drove me on the immovable rocks. My ship, it appears, is stranded; and *I, it seems, am busted!*

CHAPTER IV.

SOURCE OF WEALTH.

GEORGE. — Tell me, have I been so wrong? And is it true that rents on all land values, counting out improvements, will not pay our ordinary expenses? If that is so, then I am done, and my great book is but a farce. This cannot be. Whence comes the wealth? Whence can it come save from the ground?

Work.—Your whole mistake is in that thought. You keep your eyes upon the ground. The ground is but one element of production. You may call it a machine.

Rent in Bread.

A farmer hires a machine, that is, he rents an acre of land. It costs $2. He hires another machine, a plow and team, to plow the

land. That costs $1.50. He hires another machine, a seeder with a team, and seed, to seed it. That costs $2.50. He hires another machine, reaper and binder, to harvest it. That costs $1. He hires another machine to thresh it. That costs $1. He hires another machine to grind it into flour. That costs $3. Then he hires another machine to knead it, and still another to bake it into bread. That costs much more. Now it is in food, the cheapest and most common kind of wealth. Eight machines have been employed.

First. An acre of land.
Second. A plow.
Third. A seeder.
Fourth. A reaper.
Fifth. A threshing machine.
Sixth. A mill.
Seventh. A kneading machine.
Eighth. A bake oven.

The use of each of these machines will average as much as the use of the land; and there has been a large amount of labor we have not counted at all. The farmer raises twenty-five bushels of wheat. It makes, at least, 1,000 loaves of bread—the plainest kind of food.

This bread is worth $100. Rent forms but two per cent. of this most common kind of wealth.

Rent in Milk.

A milkman owns thirty cows. He rents a forty acre pasture. It costs him $80. This for the season would be 35 cents a day. The milkman's cows, each day, give 400 quarts of milk. He sells it readily for 5 cents a quart. In all he gets $20 a day. This costs much hard labor—late to bed, early to rise. Many hands must milk at morn and eve, and all the day is occupied in peddling through the town. Here is the simplest kind of food. The gentle cows eat the grass that grows upon the hills and drink the water from the brook. At evening and at morning the dairyman gets all the wealth in milk. In this most simple kind of wealth, which comes each day from out the ground, rent is not a fiftieth part.

Rent in Beef.

One and a half acres grows a calf. In three years it makes a beef. The rent is $9. This beef, when served as food, makes 400 steaks worth 35 cents a piece. This make $140. Be-

sides these steaks this beef furnishes 100 pounds of roasts, worth when served, $25. Then besides the steaks and roasts, the beef furnishes 100 soups. These soups, when served as food at say ten plates each at 10 cents each plate, will bring $100. In food alone, the beef brings $265. This, however, is not all. We have still the hide, the hair, the horns and hoof and tallow. The hide makes a set of harness worth $35. The horns make handles for a hundred knives, and the hoofs make many a bottle of Peter Cooper's glue. Leaving out all save food and hide, we have $300. Again you see in all this common, every day wealth, rent forms hardly a thirtieth part.

Rent in Cloth.

So a farmer with a bit of ground and a sheep, may make a fleece of wool. This fleece, unwashed and as taken from the sheep, is worth $2. Half of this is rent. Now we follow this dollar's worth of rent—this fleece of wool. It goes to the carder, the spinner, the weaver, the dyer, the dresser, and, then to the tailor. Now it would take a small farmer's whole crop of wool to buy it.

An Irish peasant, beneath his window, sows a bed of flax. It grows and its warm blue blossoms look like Irish eyes. Finally it ripens. It makes a bundle of stocks. They yield a handful of fibre. It is bleached, and hetcheled, and spun. It is woven, and fitted, and worn. What grew 'neath peasant's window is now the white robe of a saintly father. It is now worth many a dollar, and, of rent, there is scarcely a penny.

A negro with a mule, a plow, a hoe, and a little patch of ground, raises two pounds of cotton. He gins it and presses it, and mails the packet in the postoffice, to an eastern spinning mill. It is only a handful of raw cotton. It is worth a trifle, and of that trifle, rent forms the smallest part. The spinner takes the packet from the mails and spins it into threads. Now it has some value. The weaver takes it next and makes a piece of cloth. Now it has two values. Then the finisher take the cloth and bleaches it, and dresses it, and stamps it in bright and beautiful colors. Now it is worth several values. Finally, the modiste takes the cloth, with its wondrous texture, its lovely designs and beautiful colors, and fits it to some graceful form. It is now a pretty dress and may

be worth $5; and, in this common dress, the rent is scarcely a nickle.

With a mulberry tree and some silk worms we make a few cocoons. They bring a song. We take them to the filature, and, once in skeins, they bring a price. Artistic fingers take the threads and work a lace, and, now, they bring a fortune. All the rent in that lovely lace is not worth a snap from the fair fingers that made it.

Rent in Whiskey.

A farmer with a horse, a plow, and a quarter of an acre of land, may grow ten bushels of corn. It is worth $2.50. The rent is 50 cents. The distiller takes it and makes a barrel of whiskey. Now it is worth $50. The saloonman makes it into cocktails. Now it brings $200. The rent would scarcely more than buy enough cocktails to treat the farmer and his neighbors.

Land is the source of all sustenance, but you are wrong when you say it is the only source of wealth. Wealth is every production that satisfies our desires. Sustenance, though a necessity, is but one of a million of natural desires. An acre of land planted in potatoes, will furnish sustenance for a whole family. The animal needs

sustenance. Man, however, is supremely more than animal, and sustenance is but the beginning of his desires.

Land a Machine.

My friend, where all are free, and men have brains, rent is but a bagatelle. Land is only one of many good machines.

George.—Land a machine? God made the the land!

Work.—God made the wood, the iron, and the materials that make up the machine.

George.—But man made the machine from raw materials and gave it all its money value.

Work.—So man made the farm from raw materials and gave it all its money value.

George.—The machine wears out and has to be replaced.

Work.—So does the soil.

George.—The land will exist forever.

Work.—So will machinery.

George.—Man may inherit land.

Work.—His brother may inherit gold.

George.—The land yields rent.

Work.—The gold a greater interest.

George.—Land gains a public value.

Work.—So do all things else.

George.—In land there grows a common wealth.

Work.—And from all the common wealth farmers secure but half their share.

Rent Makes But Half Enough.

In all, we create each year about $5,000,000,000 of wealth. Of this one-tenth is needed to run our schools, to keep good our roads, and pay all other necessary public expenses. Of all this wealth, we thus create each year, land rent, aside from improvements, could make hardly more than a twentieth part. Land rent alone, if all our lands were rented, with private improvements all deducted, would pay little more than half our necessary expenses.

George.—"To be or not to be, that is the question!" If to be so quickly done for, what was all this ever begun for? Why came those dreams of splendor? Why saw I those walls of jasper? What put in my brain the picture of the beautiful city? What was it that told me rent would reform the thief and put down gambling? Strange world, and stranger are the

powers that make and unmake people. Yesterday the world knew me as a prophet; to-day, I am done for, and, forever.

PART II.

LOOKING OVER THE RUINS OF A GREAT NATION.

SOME SERIOUS REFLECTIONS.

FINDING THE FALLACIES OF A FALSE PHILOSOPHY.

CHAPTER V.

SOBER REASONING.

MY FRIEND, let us sit down together and look over your philosophy, and find wherein it is at fault. It seems to me that you have caught your inspiration from other countries where landed wealth grinds and oppresses the poor. The real problem you seek to solve, is the humanization of wealth. In the working out of this problem, great good must come. In attempting, therefore, its solution you are entitled to great credit. The mistake you have made has come from your failure to find the oppressive wealth of this country. The character of wealth is not American. Its character has been given it by kings. About all the kingly character that is left in America, is displayed in our wealth. It retains all its royal nature and is

the same as when it came here from the lands of kings and princes.

The Character of Wealth.

Wealth has always been a courtier and a protege of nobility. It apes royalty. It seeks power. It builds castles. It dresses in gorgeous robes. It courts homage. There are many grand exceptions, but this is the rule. Now this wealth, in the old kingdoms and empires, is, as a rule, in lands. This has come because wealth there has aped the nobility that, at one time, owned all land. There is some little wealth in this country, of that character and, so far as we can, we should discriminate against it.

The oppressive wealth of America, however, or its greatest part, is not in land. Let me show you how this is. We had in 1880, $43,000,000,000 of wealth. Ten billion dollars were in farms on which were living 20,000,000 of people, having as a distributive share of wealth, $500 each, or about $2,500 to each family. Among these 20,000,000 of people, all, or nearly all, are fairly well supplied with the comforts of life. The people are intelligent, industrious, prosperous and happy. About $3,000,000,000 of all our

wealth is invested in 3,000,000 ordinary houses in cities and towns, in which live 15,000,000 of people. They are laborers and traders. Now we have counted 35,000,000 people and about $13,000,000,000 of wealth. The other $30,000,000,000 are distributed among the other 15,000,000 of people as follows: First, in elegancies that sneer at labor; second, in monopolies that enslave it; third, in wealth that is hidden away as a miser hides his gold.

How Wealth is Distributed.

Think of this, my friend. A little over one-fourth of the people have nearly three-fourths of all the wealth, and use it to humiliate and oppress the balance of the country. Think of this. One in four has $25,000; the other three, $2,500 each. This one uses his tenfold wealth to humiliate and oppress the other three. This is America. In England, the eldest born inherits the wealth of the whole estate, but he is charged with providing for the whole noble family of which he is the head. There wealth is made to feel a responsibility. In America wealth knows no responsibility. It is too generally a heartless,

tyrannical outlaw that debases its owner and curses the world.

We have divested ouselves of kingly influences only by degrees. The Revolution freed us from the English Crown. The Rebellion relieved us of local despotism. About all the kingly character we now have left is in this $30,000,000,000 that humiliates and oppresses the poor with its royal power. Thirteen billion dollars of capital are invested in farming, manufacturing, and mining, which produce annually over $4,000,000,000 of wealth. The other $30,000,000,000 are employed in humiliating and oppressing the creative industries of the country.

The True Aim.

Now, my friend, we want to devote ourselves to this kingly wealth and find some way to humanize it, that it may prove a greater blessing to those who have it, and a more general blessing to mankind. I want to go with you all over the effects which must follow from your policy of confiscation. I beg you to be patient with me, for I do most sincerely desire that you shall see the truth of this matter, in order that you may direct your great powers toward the accomplishment of practical and beneficent results.

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CHAPTER VI.

UNJUST DISCRIMINATION.

LET me show you the effect your plan of confiscation would have on two different races of our American people.

Jew and Gentile.

We will take the Jew and the Gentile; not for the purpose of making any invidious distinctions between two races, but because one is largely a race of land owners and the other is not. The Jewish people are expert in trade. They excel in traffic. Their wealth is in gold and goods. It is always ready for a good bargain. Our Gentile people are far more largely land owners, farmers, and manufacturers. As a race they are producers. They are no wealthier than our Jewish people. As a race I think they are not so wealthy. They have put their

money in lands and in factories. They are helping to develop the country and its industries, and thus contribute to the general welfare and prosperity of all.

Inexcusable Injustice.

Now, can you say to me or to the country, that these farmers and these manufacturers are not entitled to just as fair and generous treatment as our Jewish people? If so, then you can readily see that it would be inexcusably and wickedly unjust to confiscate the hard-earned wealth of the farmer and leave the wealth of the Jew untouched. The Jewish people have given to the world many of its greatest men; and, by the way, it gave us one great economist—David Ricardo—whose Jewish instincts enabled him to see, more clearly than any man of his time, the true methods necessary to the success of the English nation. While never refusing a good bargain, they are, as a rule, prosperous and happy, and be it said to their credit that a Jew is seldom an object of public charity. They love wealth, its power, its pomp, and its pleasures. I think, however, that as a race they would spurn and

refuse the unjust advantage that your policy of taxation would give them. In a similar manner you will see that everywhere, and in every line and kind of business, your philosophy discriminates against the best wealth of the country and in favor of the worst.

Land Owner and Money Loaner.

Now, my friend, if you think the comparison between the Jew and the Gentile a strained one, let us take a more common illustration. We will take land owners and money loaners. You may select the locality. Take any city or county East, West, North or South; take any of the country towns in the Middle or Western States. Who are the land owners and who are the money loaners? If you will walk down the streets of any of these country towns with me I will point out to you the two classes. This is a bright, warm morning. Everything is cheerful, everything pleasant. Do you see that team; a good solid team; it is hitched to a good, strong wagon. It belongs to the brawny-handed, honest-faced gentleman in the front seat. The hearty looking, happy-faced woman sitting with him is his wife. The two good looking girls in the back

seat are his daughters. They have come to market. They have twenty dozen eggs and a 100 pounds of butter. It is the net product of their cows and their poultry for a month. This man is a land owner. He has a 160 acre farm.

The Other Side.

Now let us look at the other side. There on the corner you see a magnificent block. That is the First National Bank. Do you see that magnificent palace on yonder commanding eminence, with its deer parks and its drives? That is where the president of the bank lives. Look down this broad way. There in that fine red brick, with its cupola, its porticoes, situated in that beautiful lot, with walks and flowers and fountains, is where the vice-president lives. Then look again on yonder hill. See that less pretentious, but still beautiful and commodious and large white house, with its green blinds and the red barn, the tall cedars, the green lawns. That is where the cashier lives. Many of these fine residences, you see scattered elsewhere about the town, are occupied by the directors of this bank. All this wealth is in plain sight. It is only a small part, however, of the wealth they

really own. The president is said to be worth a half million. The officers and directors are all so wealthy that they enjoy every luxury and pleasure that money can buy and still lay by thousands and thousands of dollars every year out of the increase of their wealth. Not one of them ever gathered an egg or made a pound of butter, or did a day's work at manual labor. Not one of them ever created one dollar which they enjoy, or which they hoard and hide away. And yet, my friend, you have so brooded over the wrongs the people of other countries suffer, and so overlooked the wrongs of your own countrymen, that you are absolutely lost to American conditions. You would rob this farmer of his home and let these money loaners go scott free.

The Land Owner and the Merchant.

If you think the comparison between the land owner and the money loaner to be in any way exceptional, we will take a still more common one. Look, if you please, at the land owner and the merchant. Take any average county in any state. You will find about 2,000 farm owners. You will find nearly the same number

of lot and home owners in towns. You will also find about 200 merchants, including every class and kind. All these people have helped, each in his own way, to develop the country. The farm owners have produced the greater part of the wealth. The merchants, however, have far more than their due proportion of this wealth. Their houses are better furnished; they ride in better carriages; they drive better horses; they wear better clothes; they have more leisure; they afford their children better opportunities.

Opportunities Compared.

The farmer's daughter goes to the country school and, if bright, she becomes a school teacher. The merchant's daughter goes to the city and learns music, painting, and all the finer accomplishments. The farmer's boy studies arithmetic, reading and writing, and becomes an intelligent laborer. The merchant's son studies language and logic and traffic, and becomes an accomplished financier. Now admit the necessity of these two classes. Admit also that each has earned, and honestly, his wealth. Still is it not very plain that the farmer is as much entitled to his wealth as the merchant, and

would it not be very unjust to make the farmer pay taxes for both? Would it not be folly and madness to take the farmers' lands and not the merchants' goods?

Native and Foreign Born.

My friend, here is another feature of your plan that I think you have never considered. Two men are born the same day, one in America, the other in Germany. Each lives in his own country till forty years of age. They both make money and buy land. The American owns a $2,500 farm and so does the German. We will suppose, now, that your theory of taxation is adopted in this country. The German farmer immediately sells his farm, puts the $2,500 in his pocket and comes to America. He settles right beside our American farmer. He rents a farm of the same kind that the American owns. He pays as rent of the land value of his farm, a sum equal to the tax that the American farmer pays on his own land. Each one has the same benefit and each one pays the same price. The American, however, has nothing whatever aside from the farm. The German has the same kind of a farm and also the value of his Germany

lands with which to outdo his American neighbor. Thus the American farmer would not only be robbed of the value of his bare land by his own country, but would be made to compete with a foreigner who has more money. An iron monarchy would be more just and generous to the Germans, than your America to an American. Farmers in all other countries could then sell their farms and come here and secure an advantage over 4,000,000 American farmers, wronged and robbed by the land of their birth. The destruction of Rome by Nero, if he did destroy it, was not more inexcusable than would be the destruction of sacred rights which this plan of yours would surely work. The Golden Palace, Nero built for himself, upon the ruins of Rome, was like the fortunes that unscrupulous speculators would everywhere make, out of the demoralizing effects of such a plan. While promising to lead the people into a better life, you would only lead them into greater hardship and suffering.

CHAPTER VII.

PRIVATE RIGHT IN LAND.

MY FRIEND, what led you to think of confiscating land, more than any other wealth?

George.—Because "natural justice can recognize no right in one man to the possession and enjoyment of land that is not equally the right of all his fellows—there is no power on earth that can grant a private right in land." Man is entitled to what he makes. His creations are his own. God made the land as He made the air and the water. That, therefore, belongs to God, and not to man; and man can no more usurp ownership over land than over air or water.

Work.—This, my friend, seems very reasonable, and to one limited by a narrow philosophy, might seem true. 'Tis for this reason I have

desired to explain these matters to you. There is very much that is like this in all your reasoning. Now I want to show you how entirely and absolutely wrong you are. I want to show you that there is not the least foundation to base this plausible theory upon. You are so certainly wrong that you cannot help but see it, and if you are the honest man I believe you to be, you will admit it. God made the world. This far we agree. For whom did he make it? He made it for man. To whom did he give it? He gave it to mankind. For what purpose? For their use. How shall they use it? As they may agree among themselves.

God Not a Tyrant.

You see, my friend, that God is not a tyrant. He has made men after His Own image. He has left them as free as Himself, in all matters within their control. The use of the earth for their own benefit, is within their control, and they are left free to use it as they may agree.

The use of land is all that ownership implies. No one can appropriate anything more than the use of any part of the earth. One man may change the form of a part; a nation may change

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The use of land is all that ownership implies. No one can appropriate anything more than the use of any part of the earth. One man may change the form of a part; a nation may change

the face of a country; and a generation, the face of the world. The precious metals may be brought to the surface, and the surface itself may be changed; but after the man, the nation and the generation have come and gone, they have not added or taken from the world, even a single atom. This use of land is made a private right, by all men releasing their common interest and giving it to the individual. Thus every man has a private right to his horse, to his house, to his children. All that title conveys in anything, or to anything whatever, be it lands or goods, is a quit claim from the balance of mankind. This can be given to the use of a field of land to one man, his heirs and assigns, forever, as well as to the use of a horse or a cow.

As Free as Air.

I read in your book, these words: "The equal right of all men, to the use of land, is as clear as their equal right to breathe the air." Let me explain how absolutely unreasonable is this proportion which, at first, seems so very plausible.

This proposition, in its plain meaning, would

prevent any nation from occupying any part of the globe, except in common with all the other nations of the earth. There could be no such thing as nations, at all. English, French, German, Turks, and Chinese, would be wandering up and down the face of the earth, breathing the same free air and trying to dig with the same freedom, a living out of the ground. Mr. George, you absolutely misconceive what is meant by private property in land.

Common Consent.

By common consent the different nations wisely occupy separate parts of the earth. Each nation's authority over its own separate part, is that nation's private right. In precisely the same manner the people of free nations agree, among themselves, to occupy separate and distinct tracts of land. They have a right, not only to do this, but they may also agree that this private right of occupancy may be made absolute, and that it may be bought and sold as other rights.

The right of private occupancy and use of land must be conceded. We cannot use land as we breathe the air. We must have separate

fields to plow and sow, and separate pieces of land on which to live. So you see you are fundamentally wrong. You have caught a high-sounding aphorism and have mistaken it for an axiom. Many a man has accepted the saying, "There is no God," and narrow reasoning lead many to accept it as true. Greater breadth and sounder reason show both its untruthfulness and its unworthiness.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOME.

GOD has given the birds and beasts a love for that which leads them toward a family life. He teaches them to seek the privity of home. They all seek, for the purposes of their young, a private place from all the world. The bear appropriates a hollow tree in which to rear her cubs. The wolf, a hole in which to rear her whelps. Reptiles, even, appropriate some private place unto themselves, in which to rear their young, and they all defend this privity against the world. God teaches the bird to take a mate and find a secluded place, and there to build a nest, —a home,—and there, with its mate, to live apart from all the flock, and rear its birdlings.

In man, the Great Creator, has made this same love a ruling passion. We bend all other forces

to serve this ruling love. Man, however, cannot rear his child in a season. He seeks a wife, not for one summer, but for life. He builds a house, not for one child, but for all. This love, that is made temporary in the brute, is perfected in man, and becomes a part and parcel of his whole life.

The Ideal Home.

He wants a part of the earth which God gave him and the rest of mankind, and of which there is an abundance, set apart to him and to those he loves; a place large enough for a house in which to live, and a field broad enough on which to subsist; a place where he may plant some trees, and cultivate some vines, and sow some flowers. He wants a place which the world concedes to him and his family, for their private occupancy and use. A home that he can feel, is sacred to himself, his family, and his God. A place where not even the state, or nation, nor any earthly power, shall molest his rightful occupancy without his leave. A God given home. Nothing short of this permanency and this security, can give a home, the charm

that every true man desires his home shall have. This much all mankind should seek, and grant.

Other Countries.

In other countries where kings and noblemen have usurped all lands and the great multitude are refused separate places, then, and there, they may, in terrible desperation, feel there is no human right in land. Still were they to think, they would know that their suffering comes from being themselves denied a proper right in land.

Here, in our own America, the multitude have homes, and we should help all to secure them. Three out of four farmers, own their farms. Let us help the fourth to a farm. Fully three out of every four—of the 10,000,000—American families, own their homes. Let us help the fourth to a home. America can now give every family 200 acres of land. If half farm, and the other half manufacture and traffic, all can now be bountifully supplied. Let us hold to all we have that is good, and assail that, only, which is bad.

CHAPTER IX.

TWO MILLION LABORING HOME OWNERS.

I WANT you to sit down close to me, my friend. I want to tell you something, Mr. George, that is true. I want you to hear me. I want to reach your great heart with a tale that is true. There are 2,000,000 poor laboring men who are praying to God to-night, that you may see them. They have wives and little ones that they love better than their own lives. By close saving and very hard work they have bought little homes of their own. Their labor seems lighter now since they secured those homes; they don't have to move any more; they don't worry when at work for fear some landlord may intrude upon, and harass their families. They go home with lighter hearts when the day's work is done.

They have a prouder place to go to. Look at that laboring home owner! He is just at his own gate; he is just coming home from work. See the little darling that comes to meet him; see his little daughter; isn't she beautiful? Eyes of Heaven's own; beautiful tresses, soft and light. Her lips—Oh see her clasp his neck! That pays him. In they go. Did you ever see more happiness? He holds her on his knee. "Papa," says she, "you love me?" "Yes, darling, I love you." "And, you love mamma?" "And you love our home?" "Yes, papa loves our home." Even that little child feels proud that they own a home. There are 2,000,000 just such homes. They are all these poor men have. Could they have this little, in anything better? Why quadruple the tax on these poor men's homes and take the tax off the millionaires' gold?

Mr. George, these 2,000,000 fathers, with their wives and little ones, kneel every night and pray that no such robbing schemes as yours, may ever curse their homes. Hear, I pray you, these prayers. Let them touch your great heart. Then turn your face to the real enemy, and let these poor home-owners alone.

CHAPTER X.

LEASEHOLD RIGHTS.

GEORGE.—It is not my purpose to interfere with the home. I have abandoned my first idea that land can be used like the air. I have also abandoned the idea that there is no power on earth that can grant a title to land. I concede now that there must be a right to the separate use of land, and that to properly divide its use, there must be an ownership, and this ownership must be given exclusive right and title, in order that the land may be properly controlled and divided. I now propose that this ownership and title shall be given to the government, and these lands shall be "leased to highest bidders on such conditions as will sacredly guard the right to private improvements."

Work.—You can now see how easy it is to be carried away with some glowing thought and then upon reflection, find this thought barren and impracticable. You were very emphatic and enthusiastic in declaring there was no power on earth that could give a private right to land, and that its use should be as free as the air we breathe. My friend, this ought to teach you a most valuable lesson. Upon those who are given the power of eloquence there is placed a grave responsibility.

Led Into Error.

Your eloquent words have led thousands into deep error who now must be humiliated to see you compelled to abandon the high sounding positions you so eloquently assumed. You must temper your eloquence with reason. Be sure that which your eloquence inspires leads in the right direction. You have very much improved your ideas, and I desire now to show you that the same reasons which have compelled you to abandon your first two fundamental principles, must also drive you to abandon the idea of a leasehold interest. Why must a man have a leasehold right to the field

he cultivates? Because he will not plow and sow unless he knows that he will be permitted to reap. This has driven you out of the air, out of the idea of universal common use of land. It has driven you to accept the policy of a field for each man.

CHAPTER XI.

CROPPING IS NOT FARMING.

YOU seem determined, however, to stop short of fee-simple ownership. You, therefore, stop with a single crop. This you must also abandon, because cropping a piece of land and then leaving it, is not best for the land nor for him who crops it. In order to secure the best return from cultivation, the farmer must have the land a series of years. He must replace the soil and wait on successive crops to yield him recompense. The most profitable and healthful kinds of produce are fruits. To grow fruits, the farmer must plant trees and cultivate them a series of years before they yield him any recompense. He must also be permitted to rotate his crops, and to plan his fields with reference to his horses and his cattle. This requires

also a series of years. He must also plan his fields, his orchards, his house, with reference to his children, whose growing strength each year, gives him a greater amount of help. Now you will see that all these plans which are necessary for the most profitable use of land, can be best consummated under a fee-simple title. Thus a fee-simple title will be better for the farmer while he lives. But this is not all. There are benefits beyond this. A fee-simple title enables a farmer to shape and plan his farm that it will remain a permanent help and blessing to his family when he is gone. There is, in fact, no compensation secured from land, so important to mankind, as the security and sacredness it gives to an earthly home. Anything short of an absolute right to privately occupy and hold the land on which a home is situated, against the world, is only an approximation of what a home should be. A blow at the private ownership in land, is a blow at the security and sacredness of home.

CHAPTER XII.

PRIVATE RIGHT OF IMPROVEMENTS.

I AM very greatly pleased to see how reflection and study brings you to the acknowledgment of necessities. You finally see and recognize that a farm is very largely the work of the owner's hands. You see how the hairy-breasted pioneers in the Eastern and Middle States, chopped their little home out of the mighty woods. It was only after years and years of the hardest kind of labor that a spear of grain could be made to grow. Even after the wood had been cut away the soil had, from year to year, to be replaced in order to make it productive. By far the greater part in farm values are made by labor.

In study and reflection you have seen these things, and so you say land shall be leased

"under such conditions as will sacredly guard the right to private improvements."

Now I want to show you that these private improvements cannot be properly protected by a leasehold interest. There are many sacred rights in improvements that cannot be appraised. Many of these rights so inhere between the owner and the land, that when the owner is separated from the land, these rights must perish. Every improvement an owner puts on land, has to him a particular value that would be worthless to anyone else.

True Value of a House.

A person builds a house. It has a general value. This is measured by what it cost in money. To the builder, however, it has another value which is measured by the study and time employed in perfecting the plan. It is further measured by the benefits this plan bestows upon the objects for which it was made. The house was built for the special comfort of a particular family, and it will not afford the same comfort to another and different family. In building a house we consult the wife and the children. The ideas of all are combined and incorporated

in the plan. Different apartments are made for different children. These apartments are so arranged that the older ones may be together and the younger ones kept most convenient to the parents. When the house is done it affords an accommodation to the family that plans it, which it cannot afford to any other family. This accommodation is all the compensation a house provides. This is its purpose. By this its true value is measured. Taking from a family these accommodations and giving only the cost of the house in money, is robbing the family of the dearest and most sacred right the house affords. This is only a single example among many.

So With a Farm.

Every farmer has his own particular way of caring for his stock. He plans his barn, his groves, his fields and his yards with reference thereto. All these have to him a value besides their mere cost in money. So you see you cannot protect this sacred right to private improvements with anything short of a fee-simple title.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOME ASSOCIATIONS.

THERE is another reason why putting lands on which houses are built, up at public auction, would be unjust and cruel. Most homes have other values that cannot be made a matter of barter and sale. A very plain old house may be the home of an aged couple who have lived in it all their married lives. All the children were born there. Some of them are dead and buried there. The others have gone out for themselves. Now the steps at the door of that old house, have, to this aged couple, a valuable history. It is of no possible interest to anyone else. To them, however, it is very dear. In their old age it is a comfort for them to sit on those old steps. They are no more comfortable than other steps. They have, however, a special

comfort to this old twain. They recall to them, a lifetime of tender associations. The old well may be a very ordinary one. Every child, however, has drawn and drank its waters, and to this old father and mother the waters of this well are just a little sweeter than any other on earth. There are the trees they planted, beneath whose branches the children played. They are the dearest trees now, to this old couple, in the world.

To Whom Associations Belong.

These associations belong to these old people; they have been painted upon the walls, grafted upon the trees, planted in the grounds, until everything about and around that plain old home, speaks to this old couple, tender words of comfort and of joy. You cannot guard these sacred rights by any plan or system which puts this old home under the merciless hammer of a public auctioneer.

Any system of government that does not look to the highest possible development of home life, and the fullest enjoyment of home blessings, is fundamentally defective. The most vital elements of human character require a life-time to

develop. The most grateful compensation human efforts can secure, are inseparably connected with that sacredness which the permanency of home-life can only give.

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLIC VALUES.

TELL me, Mr. George, what objection you can urge to the giving of every family, a permanent home, to be theirs, forever?

George.—My objection is this. That it gives to that family one value which alone belongs to the public. From the nomadic races, to the present time, civilization, in its progress, has created a public value in all lands. This value, be it small or great, belongs to the public and not to the individual, because; as the individual is born in the world, he finds this value a part of the world itself. He has not created it any more than he created the world, and he has no more right to appropriate the one than the other.

Work.—That seems very reasonable; and, without consideration, a willing mind might be

readily induced to accept it as self-evident truth. Reflection, however, and observation will show you that this public value is no more in land than in other kinds of property. Each successive generation has left to its successor, a fund of created wealth.

Distribution of Inherited Wealth.

Now this wealth which is left to each generation, must be distributed in order to be enjoyed. How shall this be done? You say, by the government. Who is the government in a free country? The people. How shall the people distribute this wealth that comes to them from a preceding generation? It must be done by certain rules and regulations which the people in their sovereign capacity, agree to and adopt.

Under the old English rules and regulations of distributing inherited wealth, the estate was given to the oldest child. Our laws now very generally give the estate to each child alike. If a man may grant his children the use of his property while he lives, why shall he not be free to give it to them when he dies?

Now each generation, as I have said, leaves to

its successor an equal wealth in land and other property. Three-fourths of the land value, however, was created by former generations, the same as personal property. So only about one-eighth of inherited wealth is in the naked, unimproved land. Now what does it matter whether a man inherits an estate in gold, or an equal estate in land? The interest of the gold will buy the use of the land, so he, who inherits the gold, inherits all the benefit that land can give him. So you see, that in this matter of public values which have come to us from civilization, since the nomadic races, are, in only a small degree, confined to land.

CHAPTER XV.

REAL AND SOCIAL VALUES.

AGAIN, public values are created in personal property as much as in land. You have a gold watch; I have a brass one. Both are equally good time keepers; the same labor was expended in making each one; both are equally strong and equally useful for the purposes for which they were made. Yours, however, is worth $100; mine, but $10. Wherein is the difference? What gives your watch a value of $90 more than mine? The public, that is society, and that alone.

Two men go to a new country. Each has $1,000. One buys 160 acres of land; the other buys a stock of goods. They both struggle along as people have to in a new country. They both work hard and live plain. The country

grows. The farmer finds sale for his produce. The growing country gives the merchant a growing trade. The farmer works the harder of the two: but both do an honest, straight-forward business. Forty years pass by. The country now is old. Land is worth about as much as it ever will be. His land and improvements are worth $100 an acre. His farm is worth $16,000. The merchant however, is worth $100,000. Now which has been benefited most by the public? But for the growth of the country, the merchant would be a pauper. He has gained more every year by the development of the country, than the farmer. The interest on his wealth would secure him the use of a half a dozen 160 acre farms.

You entirely lose sight of this important truth. The only values that society—that is the public—does not give, are on those things which alone are necessary to sustain animal existence. The value of everything else is given by society and by public improvement. Our clothes, our carriages, our furniture, pictures, books—the value of all these things is given to them by the public.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCHISES.

YOU seem to be impressed especially with public values in land because they continually increase from one generation to another. Are you not aware that this is not strictly true? The lands in Oriental countries, which were once very valuable, have now little or no value at all. So you see that these public values do not inhere in and become a part of the land. Other public values survive generations. Every corporate franchise of any value, survives the charter members and continues through generations. The East India Company affords a remarkable example.

A railroad is built through a new country. It gets its right-of-way for a song. Starts towns along its line. At the beginning it has little

value aside from the cost of the materials and the right-of-way. Every person, however, who settles in one of its towns or buys a farm along its line, adds a value to this road. It remains as long as the country remains settled. Generation after generation its value increases with the general wealth of the country. Still this railroad is personal property. Its value, however, is as much a public value as that of any real estate.

A printer comes to a new town with a one-horse outfit in a one-horse wagon. He starts the "Weekly Tribune." At the beginning the paper has no value aside from the cost of the materials in the office. Twenty-five years pass by. The "Tribune" is the leading daily paper. Aside from the value of materials in the office, the paper itself has a good-will value of $100.000. This good-will value is wholly a public value. It continues from father to son, and may continue through generations. A remarkable example is afforded in the New York Herald.

CHAPTER XVII.

WHO ARE ENTITLED TO THESE VALUES.

YOU lose sight of the fact that these public values are now as equally and equitably distributed as they would likely be by your plan. In some respects our laws might be very wisely amended. Amendment of laws, however, should affect only existing evils, and should not be made to demoralize that which is good.

In all these values, those who have contributed most to their accumulation, are best entitled to enjoy them.

Your plan would give to every foreigner who would come to this country, the same right to the enjoyment of all these values, that the native born residents would have. This would be very unjust, for the united work of the native born

citizens has created these values and they should, therefore, have superior rights in their enjoyment.

A Barren Scheme.

With the best possible motive, and for a most worthy purpose, you have proposed an utterly fruitless and barren scheme.

Many of us have been deceived by it because you have painted it in bright colors. When we come to examine it, and look into it, we find that it everywhere discriminates against the real friends of labor and in favor of its oppressors. Had you proposed some plan to confiscate the wealth of the rich, whether in lands or gold, and to give it to the poor, there would be a sense of justice in the scheme.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MANY WISE PLANS.

YOU turn away, however, from the mountain range, with its excessive inequalities, its mines of gold, and its barren wastes, and make war upon the rolling prairie with its green fields and shady groves. If you proposed to confiscate unused lands belonging to corporations, to aliens, and all other speculators, and giving it in homes to the homeless, you would have proposed a purpose that would strike a tender chord in the human heart. If you proposed to place a limit on individual wealth of all kinds, there could be seen in the plan both wisdom and justice. If you proposed to reserve all mineral deposits to the government and to limit fee-simple title to the wood, the water, and the soil, a good purpose would be proposed and no hardship would

be entailed. Had you proposed to confiscate railroads and telegraph lines and turn them over to the government, many could endorse the proposition. Any one of these many plans, would more naturally tend to an equal distribution of wealth than what you offer, and none of them would so greatly interfere with rights that all humanity regard as sacred.

The one and only plan you offer, is so barren of relief and so threatening to rights we most cherish, that it must cause all considerate men to absolutely abhor it.

CHAPTER XIX.

ARTISTIC BUT FALLACIOUS.

I RECOGNIZE in your writings a genius of high character. They display a rare warmth of poetry. Many of your creations display an ability for design. Your pictures, many of them, show the colorings, and the shadings, of an artist. You draw in one place, a picture of wealth, in another, a picture of want. In this you have done much good.

In reasoning upon these pictures, however, you lose yourself. You argue that as all wealth comes from land, therefore, the owner of land has made these pictures. The fault of the reasoning is that all wealth does not come from land. Want and poverty result from a dishonest appropriation of wealth after it is created. All good things come from God. Our misuse of

them makes our misery. It is the misuse of created wealth, rather than the misuse of land, that makes misery among the American people.

There has never been but one author whose writings remind me of your own. You will be surprised when I tell you, but I mean it as no offense. Your book reminds me much of the writings of Jules Verne. In his "Trip Around the Moon," he discusses astronomy, mathematics and natural philosophy, with a cleverness that shows the highest degree of learning. His computations seem accurate, his demonstrations plausible, and a willing mind might readily believe his demonstrations true, were it not for the fact that he is all the time demonstrating that which is known to be impossible. So you, in discussing political economy, show a knowledge of the meaning of its terms; you use them with cleverness and skill; your demonstrations seem plausible, and you picture conclusions so as to make them afford most delightful prospects. The difficulty with your philosophy is this: the methods by which you reach these delightful prospects, are all impossible.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PROBLEM.

FROM the figures which we have already taken from the Census, we can see the real situation, and from that learn the true problem.

Twenty million of people on farms have $10,000,000,000 of wealth in lands and improvements. That is $500 each, or $2,500 for each family. Each farmer also has $500 worth of personal property. It is thought, however, that the personal property on farms will no more than pay the incumbrances that have been placed upon them. So $500 each, or $2,500 to each family, is about a fair estimate of the wealth of our 20,000,000 of farming people.

There are about 30,000,000 of people living in cities and towns, and they have $33,000,000,-

000 of wealth, or $1,100 each, which gives to each family $5,500, or more than twice as much as is possessed by the farming population. Counting public buildings and churches out of the $33,000,000,000, still there are $30,000,000,000 of wealth distributed among the city and town people, giving them just twice the distributive share possessed by farmer.

A Strange Paradox.

The unequal distribution of this $30,000,000,000 gives us nearly all our trouble. The larger the town or city, the more unequal is the distribution, and, strange to say, where we find the greatest superabundance, we find the greatest amount of poverty and want. How this superabundance of created wealth can be made to supply the wants of poverty, is the true problem.

The real problem is in regard to these $30,000,000,000, not the $10,000,000,000. The $10,000,000,000 is doing the best work that is done anywhere on earth. The $30,000,000,000 is giving us infinite trouble. Now we can afford to let *well enough* alone. The $10,000,000,000 is the salt that must save us. That needs no attention. All that it needs is fair play. The $30,-

000,000,000 needs attention, and it needs it very badly. We want to look it over; we want to see who has it; we want to know also how they came by it; we want to find out what they propose to do with it; we want to learn why this double wealth quadruples want.

The Millionaire a Miser.

Here is superabundance. Think of it; superabundance breeding want! Where there is the greatest superabundance there also is the greatest want. The poor perish by starvation where the bread of life is piled in piles and mountain high. There is the problem. It is not the science of rent. It is the science of superabundance. We want to learn why superabundance leads men to gamble rather than work? Why more than enough begets only a desire for still more and more? Why plenty breeds only a passionate greed for miserly possessions. We want to learn that the millionaire is a miser. As to all his superabundance he is a miser. Beyond an abundance his hoarding is but the work of a miser. In miser's bags a nation's bread is hid away from the poor who cry for food. The wheat is gathered in with honest hands; and

then the miser comes, and takes not his share, nor what he needs, but grabs it all, or all he can, and bears it off, and then he hides it and lets it lay till he is dead—thus the harvests rot, while men and women starve. This is not Progress and Poverty, it is the Miser and Misery.

Managing the Miser.

Confiscation of land by taxation, would not touch the miser. He still could grab, and hide, and hoard, and wring his hands in joy, and laugh at misery. We must reach the miser, count his gold, and make him know that mankind will not be a party to his greed by protecting him in his miserly hoardings.

PART III.

A TALK ON WAGES.

SOME VERY BAD FRENCH.

LOW WAGES.

THE REAL CAUSE.

CHAPTER XXI.

A TALK ON WAGES.

MY FRIEND, you are looking well considering what has happened. I have called again to set you right in reference to wages. If I understand just what you say, you are certainly misaken. Define to me what you regard first principles in wages.

George.—"It is as plain as the simplest demonstration that the corollary of the law of rent is the law of wages." Corollary means depending on. So wages depend on rent. A certain fund is divided between rent and wages. Kill rent and wages gets it all. "Or, to put it in algebraic form, it is thus:

Produce=Rent-|-Wages-|-Interest.

Therefore,

Produce—Rent=Wages-|-Interest."

Work.—You are quite an algebraist. Vieta, who perfected that "symbolical science," was the French mathematician, who read the Spanish Cipher and was brought before the Pope for being possessed of the Devil. Your French mathematics has, I think, somewhat confused you. Your French is rather faulty, or, at least, your English version. Your translation is defective. I have the text, in French, before me. By your leave, I will correct you. Here is the original. The French from M. de Levaleye:

Produce=Rent–|–Wages–|–Interest–|–Profits.

Here is your translation:

Produce=Rent–|–Wages–|–Interest.

You see you chopped off.....Profits.

Interest and rent very remotely affect wages, but profits is the leech that saps the life of labor. The renter earns his rent and pays it as interest to the owner of the land, and wages cut no figure. The produce, which you formulate, and which goes to wages, is created by labor. Labor should have it all and would get it all, except that it is wronged by profits.

In 1880 agriculture here invested $10,000,000,000. Manufacture and mining, $3,000,000,000. Agricultural produce was $2,200,000,000.

Manufacturing and mining produce was $2,200,000,000. It is thought that independent laboring mechanics, artists, authors, inventors, and other kinds of independent labor, produce $800,000,000. We will call it so though it is not reported. Interest on capital invested in manufacture and mining, would be about $200,000,000. Rent of all lands, counting out improvements, cannot exceed $300,000,000. Wages in manufacturing and mining, were $1,000,000,000. So in known quantites we have—

Produce, $5,000,000,000, =

Farm	$1,900,000,000
Independent labor	800,000,000
Rent	300,000,000
Interest	200,000,000
Wages	1,000,000,000
Profits	800,000,000
	$5,000,000,000

Now you can see how much more directly profits affect wages than rent. Wage labor in manufactures above, produces six times what all lands and mines would rent for, after deducting private improvements, and rent would not be more than a third of what capital takes from this wage labor in profits.

The question of rent, you see, of all land values, deducting private improvements is an in-

significant consideration when compared with the question of labor and wages.

The $300,000,000 of rent, wage labor has nothing directly to do with. It no where touches wage labor in any of its rights, and only very remotely affects it. On the other hand, wage labor in manufacture and mining, creates with its own hands, $2,000,000,000 of wealth, but receives in wages only half that amount. One-tenth pays interest on all investments, and nearly $4 out of every $10 is taken from wages by profits.

You see, Mr. George, that such an oversight as you have made, in dropping profits out of your demonstration, could not have happened if your mind had not been insanely bent on rent.

CHAPTER XXII.

WHEAT AND MEAT.

JUST see to what mad results your philosophy would lead. For instance, rent no more affects wages than the price of meat affects the price of wheat. As rent and wages are both elements of produce, so wheat and meat are elements of food produce, though much more nearly related. A supply of meat decreases the needed supply of wheat. That is, the more meat consumed the less wheat will be required. Therefore, according to your philosophy, the corollary of the law of meat would be the law of wheat, or, to put it in algebraic form, it would be thus:

Food=Wheat-|-Meat.

Therefore,

Wheat=Food—Meat.

Now two farmers compete. One raises wheat; the other meat. The wheat man takes his wheat to the mill, gets it ground and sells the flour. Out of every eighteen bushels the miller takes eight bushels for toll. The wheat man regards this as robbery and complains to the country of the exorbitant rates of toll. Political economists tell him, in the language of your philosophy, that his remedy is solely against meat. Then this man goes home and kills his neighbor's hogs and cattle. His neighbor being thus driven out of the meat business, goes to raising wheat, and the miller gets two grists where before he got only one. Thus you see your remedy doubles the evil and cures nothing.

Just so with wages. Now $2,000,000,000 of wealth is created each year in manufacture by wage labor. Of this $2,000,000000,, labor gets but $1,000,000,000, only half. Profits and interest gets the other half. Profits get $800,000,000, interest $200,000,000. The farmer and the traffic he immediately maintains, affords the market for the produce of manufacture. Making war on farming makes war on the demand for manufacture. It also drives many out of the business and increases the supply of wage labor. By

confiscating land and putting it up for rent, you would place it all within easy reach of speculation, and capital would soon monopolize farming as completely as it now monopolizes manufactures. So you see, by turning away from the speculation that every year grows rich by robbing wage labor, and by raising a hue and cry about rent, you let the guilty escape and turn the crowd into a mad and fruitless chase after rent, which is comparatively innocent and harmless.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ADAM SMITH.

MY FRIEND, if you pardon the presumption, I will read you a lesson from one of the old masters. I am aware you think the old masters behind this age of ours, and in that you are right in the main, but wrong in the particulars. Nevertheless, some of the old masters in political economy saw some things pretty clearly even a hundred years ago. I must insist that Adam Smith, the father of this science, saw the cause of low wages much more clearly than yourself. A hundred and ten years has only put scales upon your eyes.

Adam Smith, the grand old Scotchman, gave the world his Wealth of Nations, the same year that America gave the world the Declaration of

Independence. Here is what he says in regard to wages:

"The fund destined for the payment of wages, the revenue and stock of its inhabitants, may be of the greatest extent, but if they have continued for several centuries of the same, or very nearly the same extent, the number of laborers employed every year could easily supply, and more than supply, the number wanted the following year. There would be a constant scarcity of employment and the laborers would be obliged to bid against one another to get it. If in such a country *the wages of labor have ever been more than sufficient to maintain the laborer and to enable him to bring up his family, the competition of the laborers, and the interest of the masters, would soon reduce them to the lowest rate consistent with common humanity.*"

There is the law of wages in a nut-shell. Low wages is the result of two causes—an over-supply of laborers, and the interest of employers in profits. These two causes tend to reduce wages to the "*lowest limit consistent with common humanity.*"

America, as a people, is two centuries old. For two centuries everything has conspired to

produce an over-supply of wage labor. First, there has been the natural supply that comes from the natural increase of population; second, America has been made the asylum for the oppressed wage laborers of all lands, even to the "Heathen Chinese," and wage labor has flooded our shores from every nation on earth; third, the government, with good intention, but with most unfortunate results, instituted a Patent Office and put patents on all kinds of labor-saving machinery. This has resulted in a regular flood of machines, brainless laborers, who neither eat, sleep, or dress, and that do cheaper work than any man can do. This system of patents has enabled capital to monopolize the entire power of labor-saving machinery. Capital has turned the whole working force of machinery against wage labor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LABOR SUPPLY.

BY a little examination we can see the sources from which we get our over-supply of labor. If we had no other source than our natural increase by multiplication of population, we still would have an over-supply. That is, population increases faster than industries develop. Everybody multiplies and replenishes the earth, but it is only a few who develop industries. Natural increase of population, therefore, outruns our industries. This natural increase of population is generally considered the chief source of labor supply. This, however, is only one of three prolific sources in this country.

Labor-saving machinery has come into this supply. In the last twenty years labor-saving

machinery has in a single establishment, engaged in the manufacture of agricultural implements, displaced 1,545 men; and 600 men and labor-saving machinery, are doing the work of 2,145 laborers. In the manufacture of small arms one man and labor-saving machinery does in one day, what twenty years ago, took fifty men to do. Boot and shoe manufacturers testify that one employe with machinery, now does what formerly required five to do. In manufacturing carriages, one man with machinery, does the work of three men. In the manufacture of clothing, one man with machinery, does the work of six men. In the manufacture of woolen and cotton goods, one operator with machinery, does the work of a score of men. Ten years ago it was supposed that this machinery in wool and cotton factories was perfect, but as perfect as it then was, it has even since then been made double in value, and now enables these factories to do the same work with half the help required ten years ago. All in all, it is thought by most competent judges, that machinery has reduced the number of laborers required, one half.

Now, on top of all this, come the immigrants from all the nations of the earth. In the last six

years they have averaged 500,000 a year. From 1870 to 1880, our natural increase of population, aside from immigration, averaged less than 1,000,000 each year. Immigration during the last six years, has been about half as great as our native born increase. Immigrants are largely adults. They have easily twice as many adults as are ordinarily found among the people. This immigration has in these six years afforded employers as great a supply of adult labor as our entire native increase of population. Now when we know that the natural increase of population, aside from immigration, outruns the demand for wage labor, we can see what an abnormal supply we have when immigration doubles this natural increase, and while machinery is constantly reducing the need of manual labor. A labor-saving machine in an old industry, is a dumb but most efficient laborer. Ricardo had the good sense to see this, and the honesty to admit it. When an invention institutes a new industry it is different. Such inventions, however, are very few.

CHAPTER XXV.

RICARDO'S RULE OF OVER-SUPPLY.

DAVID RICARDO'S life affords one of several instances in the history of England, wherein Jewish blood has developed into marked superiority. Like his race, he was a man of the world. His education was limited. He had a genius, however, for the laws of business. He developed more than any other man, England's systems of currency and foreign exchange.

Finally he wrote a comparatively brief but most concise work on the "Principles of Political Economy." This work reviewed Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." Ricardo generally endorsed Smith, but corrected certain principles which subsequent experience had disproved. Ricardo died the year before J. Q. Adams was elected president.

John Stuart Mill, who was of the Ricardian school, and who developed in detail, the principles stated by Ricardo, says of that author: "He cultivated and he acquired habits of intense, and patient, and comprehensive thinking, such as have been rarely equalled and never excelled."

Over-Supply and Under-Supply.

Now Ricardo states in his rule of over-supply, that the aggregate of an over-supply is worth less than the aggregate of an under-supply. He illustrates it thus:

"If 100,000 loaves were sold every day in London, and the supply should, all at once, be reduced to 50,000, can any one doubt that the price of each loaf would be considerably more than doubled? If, on the other hand, 200,000 loaves instead of 100,000, were daily exposed for sale, could they be disposed of without a fall in price far exceeding the proportion of the excess of quantity?"

He then takes the different crops of English wheat and shows that an over-supply always so reduced prices as to make the entire crop worth

much less total, than small crops that were insufficient to supply the demand.

This rule applies with remarkable force in case of labor. If 100 more carpenters are wanted and cannot be had, carpenters' wages rise very perceptibly, but if there are 100 carpenters out of a job, wages go down to the bottom. Our over-supply, and constant increase of over-supply of labor, has kept wages down to the lowest bottom to which our "common humanity" would submit.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE INTEREST OF THE MASTERS.

DR. ADAM SMITH saw with his clear Scotch perceptions "The Interest of the Masters," and mentioned it as an element in reducing wages to the "lowest rates which are consistent with common humanity." In another place he speaks of how these masters combine against labor, and says:

"Whoever imagines on this account, that masters rarely combine, is as ignorant of the world as of the subject. *Masters are always and everywhere, in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination, not to raise wages of labor above their actual rate.*"

Now, Adam Smith saw, a hundred and ten years ago, that the employers of labor are "always and everywhere" combined to keep wages down to an arbitrary standard.

David Ricardo, with his clear Jewish insight, saw the same thing.

Since that time, a few college professors have been trying to convince the world that Smith was wrong, but they have only shown, in Smith's own words, "their ignorance of the world and of the subject."

Now, the interest of masters is, very naturally, all one way. They have everything in their power because the supply multiplies faster than their needs.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HOW WAGES ARE KEPT DOWN.

I DO not believe that very many of these employers desire to be even unjust to labor. But this tendency to crowd down wages cannot be helped. The interest of the masters absolutely forces this tendency, and with present laws cannot be stopped. It is an easy thing for masters to combine, as Adam Smith says, and he says that to suppose they do not combine shows an ignorance of the world and of the subject. It is natural that masters should not combine to raise wages. Wealth is human, very, and in working for increase, it looks always to its own interests. No employer can make any money by paying his help more than other employers pay. So capital very naturally fixes an arbitrary standard and all employers tacitly

agree not to raise it, unless compelled to do so. They cannot agree, however, not to lower this standard. This puts the tendency of wages into the hands of the few unprincipled employers. There is the trouble. An unprincipled employer, when he finds he is unable to cope with fair competion, will seek an undue advantage by crowding the wages of his employes down, and that too without any regard for rights, human or otherwise.

The Employer's Method.

If his employes strike, he will employ another set that are always waiting at the door, and the governor of the state will send troops to help him install the lower line of help. Now then, this unprincipled employer has lowered the arbitrary rate of wages. He has got a new set of cheaper employes and the governor is protecting him. Now what is the result? Why some other employer of the same class, follows suit, and the governor protects him. Then another does likewise, and so, all the more unscrupulous employers fall into the lower line. At last, all others have to come down to this new and lower arbitrary rate. After they all get set-

tled down to this new rate, the meanest man in the lot makes still another break. His men strike, and he calls in a still cheaper set that have congregated around his door; again the governor sends troops, and again he gets cheaper labor. Then again, in regular order, all the employers, one after another, fall into the lower line of rates. In this way, there is a constant tendency, everywhere, to get cheaper labor and to fix lower rates of wages.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WAGES IN IRON MANUFACTURE.

THIS inevitable tendency of the "Interest of the Masters," in crowding down wages, is most clearly illustrated in our iron manufactures. No class of manufacturers have been more prosperous; none have been better protected. If Protection and Prosperity would have raised wages anywhere, it would have done it among our iron industries.

For a score of years the farmers of America, have cheerfully paid an average of 3 cents extra on every pound of wire, and railroads have paid extra prices for rails, in order to develop our iron industries, and we have been taught that the development of these industries would surely accomplish two results. First, it would cheapen produce and, second, it would raise wages.

There is no doubt but it has had a tendency to increase the strength and stability of American production. In that it is worth, perhaps, all it has cost.

This progress in wealth, however, has produced poverty. My friend, in this you are right. In 1870 our iron manufacturies had a capital of $121,000,000. They produced a net product of $62,000,000. They employed 77,000 hands at an average yearly wage of $526. In 1880, after ten more years of protection and prosperity, these industries had a capital of $230,000,000. They produced a yearly net product of $105,000,000. They employed 105,000 hands at an average yearly wage of $396.

Does Protection Protect Labor?

In 1870, out of a net product of $62,000,000, they paid wage labor $40,000,000. In 1880, out of a net product of $105,000,000, they paid wage labor but $55,000,000. The net product was increased $43,000,000. Of this increase the employers kept $28,000,000 and gave wage labor $15,000,000.

In 1870, each $100 of net product was divided as follows: Wages, $65; profits and interest,

$35. In 1880 it was divided as follows: Wages, $52; profits and interest, $48.

In 1870, wages got nearly two-thirds of the net produce. After ten years of protection and prosperity, wages get only a trifle more than half. In ten years more, at the same rate, wages will get only a third, while profits and interest will get two-thirds.

And, my friend, you ought to see that your howling at rent, no more affects the situation than does the barking of a bright-faced dog at the pale-faced moon.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ARBITRARY PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

IF free trade were generally adopted, unjust speculation would have free sway. There has never been a time from Adam Smith down, that protection, in some form or other, was not demanded by the best writers and by the necessities of the times.

Ricardo, who believed generally in free trade, saw that even England must have protection in some things.

Protective tariff, however, is arbitrary, and there is no doubt but that it raises the value of manufactures very materially. It gains a nation wealth. Now this wealth thus secured by this arbitrary law, should be made a general blessing, and, if need be, by other laws equally arbitrary. Now, I want to say that there is, in

my judgment, but one theory on which a protective tariff can long be justified, and that is upon the higher standard of wages required to meet the elements of the higher civilization of American labor. But if American labor is to be driven out of American shops and its places filled with the cheap labor of Europe, the protective tariff ought to be taken off promptly and with emphasis. If American labor is to be driven out of these shops and to the frontier, then give them and the farmers generally, the cheapest produce possible. We don't want a protective tariff over European goods, if our goods are to be made with European labor. If we must have European produce, let it come direct from Europe. If there is to be a tariff to protect labor, it must provide a method by which labor will get the benefit. If not, all unscrupulous employers will put their feet on labor and then, with their backs braced against an immovable tariff, they will crowd wages down in order to widen their own margin of profits. A protective tariff, loose at one end, puts all the rise on produce in the hands of the employer, and he is very likely to keep it there.

CHAPTER XXX.

LOWERING THE CIVILIZATION OF LABOR.

THIS over-supply has had just the effect that Adam Smith said it must have. It has reduced wages to the "lowest limit consistent with common humanity," and seems to have inaugurated a system of lowering the civilization of labor.

On this Prof. Laughlin, of Harvard, in his additions to an American edition of the work of John Stuart Mill, says:

"This, moreover, is exactly what has been done by the Irish who drove the Americans out of the mills of New England, and who are now being driven out, probably, by the French-Canadians, with a standard lower than the Irish."

The opportunities afforded Prof. Laughlin, and

the great care which he always uses concerning facts, leave no doubt but that manufacturers have undertaken to change the civilization of labor in New England, to a lower and then a still lower standard. There never was a more striking exemplication of the doctrine of Adam Smith.

David Ricardo also held that wages tended "to that which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and perpetuate their race."

Wages has but one limit. That limit is humanity. This sense of humanity is high or low, according to the state of civilization.

In the order of the civilization of the laboring classes, we may enumerate the average weekly wages of blacksmiths in the different nations: United States, $11.70; Great Britain, $7.50; France, $5.81; Germany, $4.00; Russia, $3.75. Counting cost of provisions would raise Europe's wages somewhat.

Now as the schools of New England raised the civilization of the laboring class, their necessities increased and forced wages to rise. Humanity demands necessities and cannot be put off. It strikes and raises the devil, if denied these necessities.

The manufacturers of New England, began filling their shops with a lower civilization that could be more easily satisfied, and, now it appears, that the civilization of the Irish, demands more than they are willing to pay, and they are getting in a still lower civilization.

Unless this tendency can be repressed, there can be no question as to what will follow. Wealth will everywhere monopolize the best developed localities. It will fill these localities with ignorant help and crowd intelligent labor to the frontier. Increase from immigration will outrun the increase of native born population. Our whole tendency will be downward.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ANOTHER VIEW.

AS American labor has been driven out of the New England workshops, it has been compelled to "Go West." In economic language, it has been driven to the margin of cultivation. Here, it seems to me, is an injustice that cannot be permitted without violating every honest consideration of labor, and of the common welfare of our country. I ask you, in all fairness, if this does not tend to the greatest injustice, and also, to threaten, in some degree, the stability of our republic.

The American laborers have, by the work of their hands, given wealth to their employers, and, furthermore, they have given the public its improvements. They have built the school houses, endowed the colleges, erected the

churches, paved the streets, macadamized the highways, developed the fields, and beautified the parks.

Now we will grant that they have no legal interest in the accumulated increase they have given their employers, still have they not a vested right to enjoy, and have their children enjoy, the public improvements which their industry has built?

I am not inclined to extravagant language, but to see these Americans, in their later manhood, themselves and their children, driven away from the churches, the schools, the beautiful fields and parks, they have helped to make, only to give place to ignorant, unappreciative immigrants, ought to stir the blood of every true American citizen.

A system of laws that recognizes such a practice is pernicious, and, furthermore, it is dangerous. If any one must go the frontier, let our laws impel the immigrant to go; for he comes, or should come, to learn and to help maintain liberty. He can never learn liberty except he first, learn what it has cost. This he cannot learn by being thrown into the enjoyment of blessings which the labor of freemen has devel-

oped. He must go to the frontier. There he will learn something of what our fathers endured. He will learn something of what liberty has cost. He will have time for study before having to take a responsible part in the affairs of the state. He will be farther away from the influences that make a science of corrupting the minds and hearts of immigrants. He will be where he can grow into a good American citizen. A system of laws that would impel the immigrant to the frontier and help American labor to enjoy the blessings it has created, would be just, and, it seems to me, it would be wise and politic. We want to wed American labor to the very ground. We want by our laws, to encourage proprietary labor.

Your plan, my friend, gives no relief, or hope of relief, from any of these grinding evils. Confiscate all the land in New England, and still there stand the factories. There operate still the speculators. There still they will employ cheap European labor and drive intelligent American labor away.

CHAPTER XXXII.

WEALTH EXPELLING INTELLIGENCE.

THIS over-supply of labor is producing inevitable and deplorable effects. Let us look at the tendency of the conditions vouched for by our most conservative writers, American labor has been driven out of New England workshops to make place for the Irish, and now the Irish are being driven out to make place for a lower civilization.

What motive impels this expulsion of intelligent labor? It is a motive common to wealth everywhere, and one that is everywhere driving intelligent labor away from wealthy localities. The rich like servile help. It takes off its hat and bows down as wealth passes by, and wealth likes it. It lives, too, on the leavings of wealth, and the rich like that. So, with machines,

which need the aid of but very few brains, the rich can get along with a low grade of help, and make more money and live a great deal more like lords. As the rich are driving intelligent labor out of New England, just so are they driving it out of the cities. Just as soon as the industries of a locality develops wealth, that wealth turns around and disowns, and disinherits, and drives out of the country, the men who gave it existence.

The Tendency of Wealth.

Now, this is not overdrawn; it is to be seen everywhere, and is the natural tendency of wealth in every country and every clime. We need expect nothing else unless we can find a lawful means by which to reach the avarice of the rich. If we do not reach and check this expulsion of intelligent labor from improved localities, labor will be driven to the frontier and away from all opportunities of improvement. Wealth will control all machinery and will make every kind of manufactured produce. Every laborer who will not bow down to wealth, will be driven to farming. This will soon fill the land with small farms similar to France. This will multiply

produce. The low civilization of labor in the manufacturing districts, and consequent low wages, will require a smaller supply of this forced increase in farm produce. Farm produce will fall to its lowest limit, and farmers will have no recourse but to cut off luxuries and come down to bare necessities. This is not a pleasant picture. I wish my eyes did not behold it; but there it hangs in the New England heavens. It is but a reflection of whither New England tends.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A PICTURE OF LORDS AND SERFS.

M. DE LAVELEYE, the French professor, who is, probably, the most hopeful of all writers on political economy, and who delights in showing a bright side to everything, finds great satisfaction in comparing a French laborer of the present, with the French peasants in the reign of Louis XIV. In describing this peasantry, he quotes the following description, taken from La Bruyere:

"Spread over the country are to be seen certain wild animals, of either sex, black, livid and sun-scorched, chained to the earth which they dig and turn with unyielding persistency. They have what may be called an articulate voice. When standing erect, they show a human face. In fact, they are men. At night they retire to

their dens, where they live on black bread, water, and roots. They spare other men the trouble of sowing, digging, and reaping their food, and so ought not to lack this bread which they have sown."

The reign of Louis XIV., is described in history as "the most brilliant period of France."

Splendors of the Lords.

Another historian, writing of the same reign, says:

"At no period of the history of France, did the great and rich display such splendor in every department of life."

And, at this time, when France reached its highest splendor, its labor was living naked, in dens like wild animals! This shows the extreme that may exist in a great and splendid country, between the splendor of the rich and the misery of the poor.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PUBLIC POLICY.

THE freedom of contract is permitted by law, and this freedom is regarded as a common right. But there is a limit to this right of contract. All contracts are void, in law, when opposed to public policy. Marriage is a civil contract. It is a social agreement. Now, a contract to annul that agreement is void. Other contracts can be annulled by an agreement of parties. Why cannot the marriage contract? Because, say the people, "we, the public, have an interest in all marriage contracts that forbids that they shall be annulled." It is opposed to public policy. So all contracts that are opposed to public policy, are null and void.

Has not the public an interest in wage labor, and should it not define a policy in regard to it?

Can lawyers, judges, and statesmen, say to the world, as honest and honorable men, anything else than that the public has a vital interest in wages, and that it ought to have an intelligent and well defined policy with reference to it. Need I suggest to lawyers the law of champerty, of usury, of undue influence, of public domain, and numerous other laws in which the public has asserted an interest and defined a policy? Do these any more concern the public than wages? The public has an interest in seeing every honest laborer secure such a share of the wealth he creates, as will enable him to become a good citizen, and to make good citizens of his children.

Contracts that crowd wages below a basis of good citizenship, are opposed to public policy, and could be held null and void.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BARE NECESSITIES VS. CITIZENSHIP.

I HAVE suggested a rate of wages fixed on the basis of public policy. I have suggested that public policy could fix the rate so as to afford an employe and an average family, the necessities, not merely of life, but of good citizenship.

Now, let us see how much that would raise the standard above bare necessities of life. Good citizenship is, of course, an indefinite standard. The requirements of good citizenship are means enough to afford, first, necessities; second, education; third, a fair share of ordinary luxuries; fourth, a reasonable amount of leisure. Everyone of these elements of expense are demanded by public policy.

An American is expected to educate his chil-

dren. This means not only school, but it means church and society. If a laborer's daughter is promising, she must be given such a degree of culture as will make her a lady. The laborer's boys must be prepared for American responsibilities. They must be dressed so they may go in society and appear respectable. The laborer must entertain such company as the proper social development of his children requires. This demands some of the luxuries of life. Then the laborer must have time aside from holidays, even, to look personally after the affairs of his family.

Now, common intelligence and good citizenship demand all this, and public policy demands both intelligence and good citizenship. So I say there is a well defined difference between the basis of common humanity and public policy. One is a basis of subsistence and the other a basis of good citizenship. In the enforcement of this basis of good citizenship, the people have every possible interest. It is the foundation on which our republic stands. It is a proper matter of public policy, and our laws may properly declare all contracts violating this standard, to be null and void.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A LEGAL LIMIT.

MR. J. S. MILLS says:

"The simplest expedient which can be imagined for keeping the wages of labor up to the desirable point, would be to fix them by law; and this is, virtually, the object aimed at in a variety of plans which have, at different times, been, or still are, current, for remodeling the relations between laborers and employers. No one, probably, ever suggested that wages should be absolutely fixed, since the interests of all concerned often require that they should be variable; but some have proposed to fix a minimum of wages, leaving the variations above that point to be adjusted by competition."

Nothing could have suggested such an idea except public policy. It is interesting to see

how the different states are trying to enact arbitrary laws with reference to labor. All these laws are based upon the right of the state to assert an interest in wages, and to define a policy with reference thereto.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ARBITRARY RATES.

I AM aware that very many college professors will look upon any one who suggests fixing rates of wages by law, as an economic crank. Still, if these learned gentlemen could but inform themselves "of the world and of the subject," they would see, as did Adam Smith, that wages are now fixed at bare necessities by the masters; who have only a single interest, and that is the increase of their wealth.

I would not presume to suggest any absolute theory whereby the standard of wages could be fixed by law. I will say this, however, that when it comes to a question of right, the people possess it. And, I will say more, while it seems impossible to fix even minimum rates by law, either directly or indirectly, I still believe that

the whole matter might, in each state, be better left to a state board with local adjuncts, than to be forever, wholly in the hands of the masters. Representatives of the whole people could not very well adopt a worse system than that now enforced. Now, the masters drive the wedge of selfish interest over the head of the laborer and crowd him down to the lowest limit humanity will suffer. Representatives would be more likely to put a wedge of public interest under the feet of the laborer and raise him up, as nearly as possible, to a standard that would afford, not merely the necessities of life, but the necessities of citizenship. There certainly might be devised some legal authority for considering and determining interests so vital as are involved in the just compensation of labor. It will be interesting to examine briefly, what is being done in repressing unjust speculation by arbitrary laws.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RATES OF TRANSPORTATION.

THE principles involved in the matter of arbitrary legal rates, have been gone over by the American people, and they are settled in favor of legal standards. When the farmers of America, rebelled against the arbitrary rules of transportation that had been fixed by capital, many very learned gentlemen came forward promptly, to explain the remedies afforded by competition, under the laws of supply and demand. There is a class of learned professors who can always be relied upon to explain the methods of capital in elegant Greek that nobody understands.

The American people had the good sense to see that the laws of competition had been superseded by the masters of transportation,

who were "always and everywhere combined." The people saw that it was only a question as to whether the masters representing only one interest,—that of increasing their wealth,—should regulate these rates, or whether it should be regulated by law and by commissions, representing the interests of all. That question is now settled. Passenger rates are now very commonly fixed by law, and freight rates limited, and then further regulated by commissions.

An absolute rate of wages would be difficult, because of the difference of abilities of laborers to earn money. It is not impossible that a minimum might be fixed at the standard of the necessities of citizenship. Then all who could not earn such wages, could go to the frontier. This would send the ignorant immigrant to the frontier where he belongs, and leave the American laborer to enjoy the public benefits he has helped to create, and where, by his intelligence, he can assist in those co-operative methods which are only possible when labor is well informed.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ARBITRARY LAWS FOR REPRESSION OF IMMIGRATION.

CONGRESS has begun by attempting arbitrarily to repress immigration.

In "An act to prohibit the importation and migration of foreigners and aliens, under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its territories, and the District of Columbia," Congres has shown that it sees the danger.

This law strikes particularly at the Chinese and prevents manufacturers from going to China and making there a contract wherewith to supply their shops. It don't prevent, however, cheap European labor from coming here, nor does it prevent manufacturers from employing it after it has come. It is a start, however, and shows the right disposition, and promises relief.

This country cannot become an asylum for the oppressed of all lands. It is not big enough. It is not a question of arms, but of legs. It is not whether we can embrace all, but whether we can stand as an example for all. So long as we protect our standing, we shine a living light into all the dark recesses of the earth, and our light carries joy and hope into all the world.

France had two revolutions and failed. Still, she saw our light and her heart was brave, and, at last, her hopes were realized.

Our work for the oppressed of all lands, is to solve the problem of free government. It is to demonstrate the truth that Voltaire, Mirabeau, Robespierre, and Lamertine, tried in vain, to teach.

France has a population of over 36,000,000. We have, by successfully maintaining free government, blessed all these people. The failure of the two French revolutions would have enabled kings to make the world believe free government impossible. But, notwithstanding these failures and the unsuccessful efforts for free government, in Germany, Italy, and Poland, America remained a living demonstration of both

the feasibility and the wisdom of free government.

Her millions of grateful freemen have symbolized America as "Liberty Enlightening the World."

Tyrants cannot break the force of our light except to assail our standing by flooding our shores with ignorance and vice. Self-protection by us, is the hope of the world. We must repel this flood.

CHAPTER XL.

OTHER ARBITRARY LAWS OF STATES.

COLORADO, Maryland, Missouri, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York and Ohio, provide by law, that employers of female help shall provide seats for such females to occupy, when not engaged in labor. Any violation of these laws is made a misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment. It is very just to punish a man with imprisonment, who fails to look after the comforts of his lady employes, and it would be equally just to punish with imprisonment, men, who will not pay wages sufficient to enable his male employes to provide comforts for their wives and daughters.

California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri,

New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, West Virginia and Wisconsin, all provide by arbitrary laws, that owners of mines and workshops shall observe arbitrary rules with reference to the comfort, health and safety of employes, and violations are, in almost every case, punished by fine or imprisonment.

Providing for the Family.

Now, when law begins, as it is beginning, in all the states, to compel wealth to be human, there is no telling where it will finally bring up. It has already gone into the mine with the miner, and into the shop with the mechanic, to see that the wants of these laborers are properly supplied while at work. Now the law will not have to make a very long stride towards the front before it will be able to go home with the laborer, and see that his family are properly provided for.

Oregon, Texas, Dakota Territory, and several other states, forbid any interference with employes.

None have provided that masters shall not oppress labor by unjust contracts, except Michigan. Hurrah for Michigan! Michigan provides

that "Employers taking advantage of the poverty or misfortune of employes, or employes seeking employment, are guilty of a misdemeanor."

No one can fail to see the justness of the Michigan law. It is not only just, but it is right; and right wrongs no one. Even the employer has no right to complain of a law that only tends to make of him a more generous man. Such a law should be adopted in all the states. The welfare of the people requires it. No reasons against. All reasons urge.

CHAPTER XLI.

STRIKES.

IT is a sad, commentary on our civilization and our laws, that for so glaring a wrong as labor suffers, there is no legal remedy, and no effective disposition to provide one. It is strange that men can sit without raising their voices, or their hands, to help those who are being wronged, and yet condemn them for using the only means left to them.

What does it avail to tell strikers that they lose more than they gain? Men become desperate at injustice, and desperation don't stop to calculate costs.

I deny, however, that strikes have made the laborers condition worse. They have caused great losses and much suffering; and there have been strikes that were most ridiculous and ab-

surd. Still, all in all, strikes have bettered the condition of labor.

The driver of a balky mule can at last control him, but if kind treatment alone will make him work, the meanest driver in the train, will then find it in his heart to be kind.

No man likes to be kicked, nor to have his business kicked. When an employer finds that kindness and liberality will avoid trouble and loss, interest touches his pocket and that reaches his heart. Strikes have made employers far more liberal and considerate than they would ever have, otherwise, been.

Still, we should have arbitrary laws by which to reach wealth and make it accord labor its just dues. When that is done, a strike would be lawlessness. Now it is often a necessity.

Let all, who deplore strikes, exert themselves in securing such laws as will afford labor a remedy without the strike.

CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL WALKER.

PERHAPS no recent writer, of what might be called the orthodox school of political economy, has, in recent times, taken so liberal and as advanced grounds as General Francis A. Walker.

In discussing the question of labor-saving machinery, I regret that he has to acknowlege that he purposely left out the question of its monopoly, because monopoly is the one vital question concerning it.

In speaking, however, of strikes he makes an excellent point, and tells a living truth in excellent language. He says:

"Strikes are the insurrections of labor. Like insurrections in the political body, they are a purely destructive agency. There is no creative

or healing virtue in them. Yet, as an insurrection may destroy political institutions which have outlived their usefulness, and have become, first, senseless and then pernicious, thus clearing the way for an afterwork of harmonious construction; so a strike may have the effect to break a crust of custom that has formed over the remuneration of a class of laborers, or to break through a combination of employers to withstand an advance of wages, where the isolated effort of an individual of the wage class, acting with imperfect knowledge and under a fear of personal proscription, would be wholly inadequate to accomplish those objects."

Strikes Essential.

Further on, he says:

"I cannot conceive how anyone can look at the condition of the manufacturing operatives, as they were left after the repeal of the iniquitious combination acts in 1824, and question that the early strikes in England, were essential to the breaking up of the power of custom, and of fear over the minds of the working people."

There is much good practical sense in this New England professor.

In the days of Adam Smith, and for a hundred and ten years since then, wage rates have been left to the one selfish interest of unscrupulous employers. It is time that this "crust of custom" be broken up. It is pernicious and threatens the perpetuity of the nation. If nothing but strikes make the people, then let them come.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PATENT RIGHTS.

MY friend, you are not alone in failure. There are some rare examples of how your predecessors have led labor into trouble.

I remember one quite well. When labor-saving machinery began being invented, I remember the reasons economists then gave us, and the prophecies they made us. Said they:

"An invention is a labor creation and belongs to the inventor."

For once they sought the lawyers and had them draw a deed, and got Uncle Sam to sign it, deeding inventions to inventors. Now they gave this reason:

"We must encourage these inventions, 'tis labor's sure salvation. One man with a spinning machine, can do a hundred times as much as he

could do before. So machinery will everywhere strengthen the arm and multiply the fingers of labor."

Some, who became enthusiastic, said:

"Thus labor, by its own creation, will improve on the Almighty; lengthen its arms, multiply its fingers, and carry labor's brain force even into inanimate matter."

Then they prophesied these results:

"Labor will be King. With the inventions of his brains, he will move the world. He will multiply his powers and thus multiply his earnings. Brains will then be needed. Labor will be enriched, and in everyway elevated. Laboring men will be Franklins—rich in goods and philosophy.

This was not so beautiful as your picture of the "City of God, the walls of jasper and gates of pearl," still it seemed more reasonable, and, yet, was equally deceiving. The world has proved this prophecy even more fully than we have proved yours. It is now proved that the deeds go not to inventors, but to employers of labor. Less labor is required and a lower class can do the work. Labor's prophesied salvation has proved its damnation.

CHAPTER XLIV.

NAKED AND NON-EATING LABORERS.

LABOR'S inventive creations have bred a dumb generation that supplants its creators. Labor by its genius has undermined the demand it sought to stimulate. It has forged for its masters the rusty chains that shackle labor.

The prophecy of your predecessors was like your own, in this, that it prophesied the opposite of what was the truth. Labor-saving machinery cut off the fingers of labor. With the brains of a heathen to pull its slides and stoke its fires, capital can make a full supply of all produce demanded. The iniquitous patent right deeds have given capital a complete monopoly of a power that robs and ruins labor, and that, moreover, fills the country with a horde of patent right peddlers, who with patent deeds, rob and

ruin honest unsuspecting men, and grow rich on government swindles.

Think, my friend, of those New England American laborers! With the earnings of their hands, the parks, the schools, the churches, and all public improvements, were made. See them with their wives and their children, driven from the enjoyments and advantages which their own hard work created. These patent deeds are what have done it.

Confiscating rent would not change the possession of this machinery, nor prevent intelligent labor from being supplanted by the Chinese. Put your confiscation on the chattels of the robber. Confiscate these machines with which capital cuts off the fingers of intelligent labor. Put these machines where laborers can get them. Where intelligent laborers, co-operative laborers and independent laborers, can save enough to buy them. Then will labor secure the benefits of its own creation.

CHAPTER XLV.

ABOLISH THE PATENT OFFICE.

THE United States Patent Office ought to be abolished and it wants to be done "right quick." It was started to serve a good purpose, but it has been turned, body and soul, against the very class it was intended to benefit.

I say the Patent Office is body and soul against labor. I would not say *soul* except that after seeing and knowing how it has given capital the profits of machinery and a perfect monopoly of its use, it takes no step to remedy the evil. All its numerous Reports read as though millionaires had written them in the interest of capital and against labor.

The whole idea of giving a patent right on inventions is wrong in principle as well as pernicious in its effects. An invention is simply a

discovery. Some person, by experiment or otherwise, discovers how a man may do twice as much work. That is a discovery. Another person, by experiment or some other means, discovers how a tree may be made to bear twice as much fruit. That is a discovery. A general discovers a movement that makes an army more effective. That is a discovery. Now, one is no more an invention than the other. A method in agriculture would not be patented, nor a movement in army tactics. They are just as useful as an improvement in machinery. The most glaring wrong is this: It gives the inventor of an improvement, absolute control of all that which he improves.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ACCIDENTAL DISCOVERIES.

THESE discoveries are often the result of accidents. Adam Smith, a hundred and ten years ago, observed this. Said he:

"In the first steam-engines, a boy was constantly employed to open and shut alternately the communication between the boiler and cylinder, according as the piston ascended or descended. One boy, who loved to play, observed that by tying a string from the handle of the valve to another part of the machine, the valve would open and shut without his assistance, and leave him at liberty to play with his fellows."

Now, if that playful young lad had made the discovery in America, a patent would have been secured for him by some New England yankee,

and that yankee would now control the working of all the steam engines in the country. Every complicated piece of machinery is the result of a succession of discoveries. Our patent right system gives the one making the last discovery the control of all the discoveries that preceded his. The whole system is an outrageous mistake.

Improvements Monopolize the Patent.

The reaper, as first invented and patented, had a straight sickle. Later, a notched sickle was invented. That was patented. This was such an improvement that the old reaper was no longer desired without the new patent sickle. A little later a self-rake was invented. That, of course, was patented. This was also such a radical improvement that no reaper was salable without a patent self-rake. Now the self-binder is invented, and no one wants a reaper at any price, without a new patent self-binder. So, from the day the reaper was invented, it has been useless except in connection with some new patented improvement. So limiting patents to seventeen years affords no relief.

This is true with all kinds of labor-saving machinery, and it enables capital to get a complete monopoly of all kinds of useful machinery. With this monopoly it makes its own terms. If anyone refuses to pay these prices he is stopped from manufacturing. So, patent rights enables capital to hold independent labor by the throat.

CHAPTER XLVII.

BENEFITS OF ABOLISHING THE PATENT OFFICE.

IF the Patent Office was abolished, every town in the country, would have one or two, or more, small factories. Every town and cross roads would have a barbed wire factory for making new wire and barbing old wire. You would also find a wagon shop, or two, in every town, with improved machinery. As it is, no one thinks of starting a wagon shop, or a barbed wire factory, with less than $50,000 or $100,000. Except for the Patent Office we would have telephones everywhere and afford employment to a great many, where now but few are employed.

So with all the industries. Take away patent rights, and men, with small accumulations, can

secure improved machines and operate them, and labor will get the benefit. It would directly encourage and facilitate individual, proprietary, independent, and co-operative production. Labor, in all such cases, would get full return for its work. Manufacture would be distributed in smaller shops over the whole country. Thus the farmer and the manufacturer would be brought nearer together. Each one would save transportation and thereby get better returns.

Elevates Labor.

But the greatest benefit would be that it would keep the work of manufacture in the hands of our most intelligent labor. Thus our intelligent mechanics could find employment and their business be kept in the better developed localities, and their families have the benefit of our higher civilization. It would promote general prosperity and induce better citizenship, and better government.

The greatest inventions, the steam engine and printing, were not patented. Invention needs no arbitrary stimulant. Inventive genius like the poet's muse, the artist's inspiration, and the orator's ambition, may be relied upon to do its

best. If any stimulant is thought to be needed, then offer direct rewards, commensurate with the benefit, and give the blessing to all alike, and not make it a matter of oppressive speculation.

My friend, strike this gigantic evil. Strike it between the eyes with your confiscating sledge hammer. Strike this monopoly. Strike it down and kill it. Face the enemy. Fall into line.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

MR. GEORGE RESOLVES TO WORK.

GEORGE.—I see. 'Tis a monopoly! Outside of land and rent! That cuts off labor's fingers! Paralyzes labor's brains! Substitutes a heathen for an intelligent American! Rent no more affects this, than the tide affects the horse thief. I will turn my confiscation on to this machinery. I'll stop this chopping off the fingers of intelligent labor. This driving American labor out of Old New England. I'll stop my worse than foolishness, my sailing around the moon, and employ my heart and soul in the things of earth. I will seek the possible and make the best of it. I will lead the millions on to something definite. And you shall see, sooner than you think, that a Republican Nation means Compensation.

Work.—You are a good one, you are, Henry. I know you have it in you to get right down to business. Come to the battle. Fall into line. Find some sensible way to stop gambling and stealing and robbing. Teach labor how to study and how to work. Organization! Co-operation! Compensation! They are the watchwords. Sing them out. Co-operative help. That is, mutual relief and mutual support. 'Twas that with which the Saxons won themselves free cities, and under the very noses of emperors and kings.

Co-Operation in England.

Next, co-operation to save and to supply. Do as did the laborers at Rochdale, in Old England. Only a handful, and in a kingdom of queens, princes, lords and landlords. It did seem a hopeless folly. It has proved the highest wisdom. Proved what study and what work can do. Now they number thousands upon thousands, and are worth millions of dollars. They have stores and factories all over the kingdom, and two ships that sail the ocean. Books too, thousands of volumes. A co-operative school—500 students studying and learning how to save and how to supply. Great Heaven, all that in

Old Britain! With the heavy hands of lords and landlords upon them, they have sought and found the possible, and made the most of it. They have made it bloom and ripen in a land of queens and princes.

In this free land with an organized million now ready, more than willing, half the work and study, half the wisdom, and we shall see that a Republican Nation does mean Work and Compensation.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE SECRET.

MY friend, in political economy there is a secret, no author has yet discovered, which alone can rob it of its gloominess and make it a living science.

I have concluded to impart to you this secret. Take these cards—half red, half black. They range in numbers from two up to fourteen. They are numbered by spots, save the eleven, which is the picture of a knight. They nick-name the knight and call him "Jack." The twelve spot is the picture of a "Queen." The thirteen is a "King." The fourteen, and highest, is a "Solitaire." They call this an "Ace." There are four each of these thirteen differently numbered cards. Fifty-two in all. These cards, simple as they look, and harmless as they appear,

and meaningless as they would seem, are, nevertheless, worthy of most patient and careful study by anyone who would make political economy a practical science.

You smile; and I supposed you would. Nevertheless, I can assure you from great observation, that nearly every man, who once did, and was capable of doing, a legitimate, prosperous business, and, left it for speculation, to only meet disaster and ruin, followed off these cards. That nearly every young man who first gave promise, then disappointment, and ruined the happiness of mothers and sweethearts, followed off these cards.

Look at these cards. Look them through. Look them over again. Do you discover any power in these cards which you would suspect would make a healthy boy give up his sweetheart? Still 'tis there. So all along the lines of business there are potent hidden forces, in shapes least thought of, in forms most simple, and, in appearance most innocent, that undermine the natural laws of business and rob compensation. To these forces, which are fast gaining control, political economy is blind, and deaf, and dumb. It sits on a bare limb with words

that no more affect the currents of unjust speculation, than the hooting of the owl affects the wind. Unearned wealth is all secured by the arts that use such forces as are hidden in these cards. Reduce these forces to a science that will reach them and control them. Then unearned accumulation will be stopped, and wages and earnings will be one and the same, forever.

George.—Eureka! Eureka! We have found it! We have found it! In the language of the miners this is very like prospecting. A man may dig and dig and dig and wear himself all out and start to leave the diggings and stumble, when he least is thinking, on a lead of gold.

PART IV.

A BRIEF TALK ON TAXES.

TAKE ALL TAXES OFF LIFE GIVING, SACRED RIGHTS.

PUT ALL TAXES ON WANT-BREEDING SUPERABUNDANCE.

CHAPTER L.

A NEW BEGINNING.

MY friend, yours is a noble mission. Truly, I'm sincere. Failures but begin success. 'Tis he who sets the powers in motion, deserves the highest meed. Your plaintive strains aroused the world to women's cries and to little children's moans. You pierced the heart and filled the soul of human kind with deep desire and purpose. You painted scenes so bright and beautiful that men have looked and seen the forms of things that give an inspiration. Men move when least they think, and men are moved when least they know it. You are the inspiration, not the guide. You have given the world an impulse, not a method.

I believe we have the key by which to make your book disclose the truth. We want to read

it backwards. That is, read the book and find the way that it directs, and then take the opposite direction. Refuse what it commands and do what it forbids. In this way, we will learn the truth and consummate the things we most desire. This follows, and very naturally, from the fact that you started with your back to the real cause of all our wrongs, and as you worked, you got further and still further away. As you thus, all the time, looked not toward but away from the real cause, therefore, all your remedies lead in the opposite direction from what they should. Come with me, my friend. You be the inspiration and I will be the guide, and you shall surely see, and sooner than you think, the fulfillment of your prophecy. We will start just as you say in your book we should not start. We will go in the opposite direction from what you there direct. We will avoid the things you recommend. We will do the very things you forbid. Then we will surely reach an approximation of the beautiful prospects you so graphically describe. Wonders always come in wondrous ways.

CHAPTER LI.

A TALK ON TAXES.

MY noble friend, I would like to ask your opinion as to taxes, and whether they are not real wealth producing values that are not properly considered by the people. For example: A father has two sons. One is apt and the other is dull. On the apt boy he spends $5,000. He gives him a classical education and then graduates him at the best law school in the country. He was a wise father. With that $5,000 he has gained for his boy, a capital that no gambler can win, no thief can steal, and no fire can burn. With this capital the son secures, easily, an income of $2,000 to $5,000 a year. Now, the same father takes another $5,000 and buys the dull boy a farm. That was a very wise step. It is not so safe as mental

capital, because he may be cheated out of it. Still it is quite safe and pays a good living, and affords health and enjoyment. Now can there be any doubt but the father got for each sum full value received for the money expended? And, is not each son now in possession of that which his father gave him? And, is it not, in each case, a producer of wealth? Have they not both received a "peculiar and valuable benefit from society?" The farm increases in value, perhaps, $100 a year. The lawyer's practice increases, very likely, $300 a year. The dull boy has an annual income of $300, the apt boy an income of $3,000. Now, under your rule, the dull boy, who has hardly enough to support his family, must pay his own taxes and also his apt brother's. This, you see, would take the greater share of all he receives and leave his family to suffer.

How the Opposite Works.

Now, we will do as I said, apply the very opposite of this rule that you have given us. We will put no tax on land and tax all other kinds of productive wealth, or wealth creating capital. Under the opposite rule, the dull boy

would have his $300, and he and his family would live very comfortably. The apt brother would pay the taxes of both out of his $3,000 and have plenty left on which to live like a lord. Now, Mr. George, tell us, and be honest about it; don't you like what you denounce better than what you recommend?

I would not recommend that all taxes be taken off lands. I would take taxes off necessary homesteads and tax all wealth producing values. Still, you see the very opposite of what you recommend is more desirable than what you, in fact, propose.

CHAPTER LII.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE.

YOU are not pleased, are you, Mr. George? So you think I have played a lawyer on you and that it is unfair. Very well, we will take another example. We will take a case where the lawyer dies. That ought to suit you.

Here is a book-keeper and a lawyer's widow, who live side by side. Each one is the head of a family. The widow has a fine $5,000 farm left her by her husband, and it affords her an income of about $300 a year. This is all she has with which to support herself and her three children. The book-keeper has no money at interest, but he earns $1,000 a year. Now which of these two should contribute most to the expense of the county's business? Is not the book-keeper benefitted more by society and the public busi-

ness, than the widow? Is he not possessed of a better paying capital? Is he not better able also to contribute? Yes. He has the larger paying fund; he is more benefitted by society, and he has more with which to pay. Your law would take the bread out of those little orphans' mouths. The very opposite would take $50, or, perhaps, $100, out of the book-keeper's $1,000, and still he would have three times as much left for his family, as the widow.

A railroad manager may have no land capital, but still his ability as a manager, may earn him $10,000 a year. He lives like a prince, and his family enjoy the luxuries of the land. He owes it all to his wealth-producing ability, to society, and to the development of the country. He has a mine of wealth, and as the business of the country grows so his means of wealth grow. The plan you give us would let this man enjoy his $10,000, and then it would turn around and sell the homes of the poor, for taxes. The very opposite would take a part of the managers' $10,000, but leave more than he needs, and save the poor their homes.

CHAPTER LIII.

SELLING HOMES FOR TAXES.

MR. GEORGE, come with me again. Suppose you and I keep a grocery store. Now, Francis George—no relation—wants credit. He looks like an honest man. He is honest. All his neighbors say so. He has a job of work that will take him all winter. Then he will get his pay. He is absolutely needing a little credit to help him through the winter. He owns a good house and lot, but that, they say, is all he does own. Trust him? Do you say so? I knew you would. You have a great big heart. We all know that. * * * Mr. George, the winter is gone. Francis George has not paid. Let us go over and see him. He told me, last night, he had been cheated out of his winter's work. I think he lies about it. Let us go for

him and seize enough to pay our bill. He owes us $100. Let us see, he has only a house and lot. Can we sell that? What is the matter? You won't go? Tell me why? You don't believe in selling homes for debts. You had rather lose the bill. All right. If you can stand it, I can. So we will credit it up to profit and loss.

The State Selling Homes.

Now, in a day or two, we go over into the court house. We see a cluster of all the sharks in town. What are they doing? They are enforcing your policy. They are buying tax lands from the state. They are just putting up the same home that you refused to sell. We wanted pay for the food we gave the man and his family. Who is putting it up now? The state. Think of that. The state is selling its own child out of house and home. It is enforcing your policy. This man was cheated out of his pay. He can't pay his quadrupled tax and his home must go. This is the inevitable result of your policy. It makes every home owner's tax four times as great, and sells it, if not paid. You make the state do what you would not do yourself.

The very opposite would sell nobody's home whatever. There would be plenty to tax and leave everyone a living as exempt. The very opposite of your rule would pay our expenses out of our superabundance. No one would feel it, and everyone paying a tax would have plenty left. Gambling, drunkenness, debauchery, profligacy, laziness, and all the evils that are the outgrowth of a worse than useless superabundance, would be checked. Changing your rule would do great good at both ends.

CHAPTER LIV.

WHY TAX HOMES AT ALL?

THE world will have to think a long time, and read philosophy till it is very tired, before it will be able to find any good reason for taxing an ordinary and necessary home at all. Why tax a man's necessary house any more than his family clothing? One may be worth as much as the other. Both are needed for precisely the same purpose. They are both needed to protect the family. The state can't sell the clothes off the people's backs. So it don't tax them. It ought not to sell homes from over people's heads. For that reason it ought not to tax homes. It may be said that the state protects a man's home. That, therefore, the owner ought to pay the state for protection. That will never do. It will never do to levy taxes accord-

ing to protection. That would make the poor pay as much as the rich. It would also make a man pay a tax on his wife, and on everyone of his children; for the state protects them all. So I say, the world will look a long time, and a long ways, before it will be able to find a single reason for putting a public tax on a necessary home. All homes, up to a reasonable value, should be exempted from taxation. Every man who can get a reasonably good home, should be permitted to keep it, not only as against his creditors, but also as against the state. The state would lose nothing. Other people would have to pay a trifle more. That's all.

Suppose in a town there are 1,000 taxpayers. A house owner's tax is $10. Now, if he don't pay that, each taxpayer must pay 1 cent more. If the house owner owes you, or me, $10, the state makes us lose it all, but when it comes to making each man in town lose 1 cent more, it refuses to do it. This is "straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel." Is it any wonder that the poor, who feel these wrongs, cry out and welcome other plans. They may not see where new suggestions lead. They are willing, however, to try most anything.

CHAPTER LV.

THE MUNSEE INDIANS.

SECTION 2310 of United States Revised Statutes, provides that the Munsee Indians may take homesteads the same as white men. That is all right. An Indian can get along without a home better than a white man. He is better calculated by education, to adapt himself to your idea of cropping a piece of land and leaving it. Still, a home, I have no doubt, would be a comfort even to an Indian. So the government did a wise thing in providing homes for Indians, as well as white men. Now I come to what I want to call attention to. The government not only provided that the Munsee Indians might have homesteads, but in the next section of the same act, it provided that these Indians' homesteads shall not be

taxed. Now I find no fault with this, but I do insist that the widows and orphans of this land, many of whose husbands and fathers died in our country's defense, are entitled to as kindly consideration and care from the government, as are the Indians who, when they have fought at all, have massacred our people.

I say more. I say the necessary home of every American citizen is just as sacred, and entitled to just as much protection from the government, as the home of any Indian on earth. The government here undertakes to protect the Indian because he can't protect himself. Neither can the poor home owners protect themselves against the tax collector. To keep on making the state commit acts of inhumanity, that it forbids its own people to commit, is blindly and inexcusably absurd. It forbids selling homes for ordinary debt. Let the state follow the rule it lays down for others. If the state desires the love, and would reach the hearts of the people, it must first show them that it has a heart of its own. We want to study these things, and keep our public safeguards apace with the improvements of the day.

CHAPTER LVI.

ANOTHER SPECIMEN.

I WANT to call your attention to another specimen. It shows how our efforts are all to get ahead without any proper regard to those whom we leave behind. In our crush and craze we hurrah for the head horse and let the devil look after the hindermost.

Whenever we make a new tax law, we look only to the revenue and not to safeguards. Most states either have, or have had, laws permitting cities, towns, and townships, to vote aid to railroads. This is in full sail with our buoyant young American ideas. "Let the majority rule," says Mr. Lawjaw. "Certainly, if a man don't want to help the town, let him move out on the prairie," responds Mr. Boodle. Mr. Lawjaw's eloquence and Mr. Boodle's "influence" carries

the tax. Mr. Lawjaw calls on Mr. Boodle and is "congratulated." He walks away from Mr. Boodle's office with a very light heart. His tax does not at all oppress him.

The business men of the town expect a benefit and are directly interested. Home owners, however, are not. That is, not as mere home owners. Homes give no more shelter, no more comfort, and homes are no better after the additional third railroad, than when the town had but two. They who own business, are directly interested and the business property ought to pay the tax. Instead of that, however, poor people's homes are taxed, and many of them sold, to pay the cost of an investment made in the interest of business men.

Of this same nature are taxes on homes for the improvement of business streets; for waterworks to reduce insurance on business stocks; and all taxes whereby business is directly and largely benefited and homes only remotely and in a smaller degree.

In these things we are much at fault. We want to study these matters and improve them, and make them worthy the advanced age in which we live.

CHAPTER LVII.

ONE QUESTION MORE.

I WAS going to bid you good night, Mr. George, and talk to some other people, but I want to ask just one question more. Don't you really think it would be fairer if all our taxes were paid out of our superabundant increase of wealth? After paying all expenses we lay by, each year, an accumulation of $1,000,000,000. We averaged that between 1870 and 1880. Would there not be a real justice in making wealth pay the expense of its increase out of its superabundance? Could there be any possible injustice in that? No, I thought you would say so. It would not produce a particle of hardship, would it? I thought you would say so. Now, tell me, what objection you can offer to making the wealth of the country, pay the expense of

its superabundance? Why do you prefer a tax on people's homes?

George.—A tax upon land values can, of all taxes, be most easily and cheaply collected; for land cannot be hidden or carried off.

Work.—Well, well! Is that your reason? Twenty billion dollars are hidden away! Twenty billion dollars hidden away!! That's it. The miserly rich grab more than they need and hide it away. They hide $20,000,000,000. There is only $10,000,000,000 of land—$10,000,000,000 in farms. Now, just because the $20,000,000,000 are hidden, you propose to make the $10,000,000,000 suffer. I really supposed you would give a better reason.

Again, the very opposite of what you prescribe, would be better. The opposite would make these rich misers bring out their gold and count it before the world. It would take this hidden, unused, useless wealth and pay all taxes, and spare the poor their homes.

Mr. George, I thank you for this chat. We will talk again. Now, if you will excuse me, I will talk to some other people.

CHAPTER LVIII.

ADAM SMITH.

OUR civilization is the highest in the world. Bismarck said, recently, when confronted with the better condition of English labor: "England has a civilization two centuries older than ours." We began two centuries ago with England's civilization. England then was at the head of the civilized world. We, however, by revolution, have outstripped our mother country. So we stand above all. Our light shines out. "Liberty Enlightening the World." I say we are in tax matters where we were a hundred years ago. Now let us go back a hundred years. Let us take the best of that day and improve it. In that way we can make it compare with our times.

A hundred and ten years ago, Adam Smith

gave the world his "Wealth of Nations." (That was the year of the Declaration of Independence.) The "Wealth of Nations" is to political economy what Shakspeare is to literature. Let us see what he says as to the philosophy of taxation. Here it is:

"The expense of government to the individuals of a great nation, is like the expense of management of the joint tenants of a great estate."

That brings taxes down to a simple matter of business. It is simply a business transaction between joint tenants of the same commonwealth. There is not only good Scotch sense in this, but there is also remarkably good United States sense.

Now, tenants in common, of an estate, would not encumber each others houses with the expense of managing the estate, so long as there was anything else to spare. Because they could spare anything else better. They would mortgage the income. If need be, they would mortgage the hogs, or the cattle, or the horses. If all these where insufficient, they would mortgage some land outside their home lots. They would encumber everything else before endan-

gering their homes. Why? Because it would be right. The home ought not to go till every other kind of property is gone. It is most needed. It is most sacred. In parting with property we let that go first which we need least, and we hold till the last that which we need most. Therefore, we ought to endanger that first which we can part with most easily, and not endanger what we most need.

Now, joint tenants of a joint estate, would follow these natural, sensible, just rules. Then why should not the citizens of a great state, or a nation, do the same thing? If they would adopt these common, plain rules that are approved by authority, and which accord with reason and experience, there never would be a tax levied on an ordinary necessary home. It should all be put, so far as practical, on the superabundance that can be spared as well as not. The superabundance that corrupts and ruins so many men.

CHAPTER LIX.

WHY NOT TAX WEALTH'S INCREASE?

LET us look at this tax business just as we would the management of an estate by tenants in common. A year passes by and the tenants figure their matters up. They find that their expenses have been $5,000. They also find that there is an income of $10,000. Now, how shall the expenses be paid? There is not a child of ordinary understanding, anywhere, but could understand the question and answer it correctly. Every one would say "Pay it out of the income, pay the expenses out of the proceeds."

Now, the increase of the productive wealth of this country, from 1870 to 1880, paid all expenses of every kind, and still left an accumulated increase of $1,000,000,000. Now, I ask, if we are to treat taxes as an ordinary business matter,

then why should we not provide that taxes be paid out of the increase of productive wealth, and out of luxuries? Of course, it might not be possible to attain exact justice, but would we not be more likely to approximate justice if we adopt a just basis, than if we continue on a wholly unjust basis? If we start out to tax only the increase of productive wealth, then every piece of crop or pasture land, either improved or unimproved, would be taxed, and it ought to be. That is productive wealth, and is constantly increasing in value. To tax that would be business. Luxuriant homes and luxurious indulgences would be taxed. But necessary and ordinary homes, churches and schools, would not be taxed because they are not productive wealth. Nor are necessary homes, churches and schools luxuries. Every dollar in money, every note and mortgage, every certificate of stock, every bond, every railroad, every thing that earns money, would be taxed, and that would be business. Taxes would be just as certain as now. They would be paid always with that which could be most easily spared. No one would have the clothes sold off his back nor his house sold from over his head.

CHAPTER LX.

TO ENGLAND AGAIN.

WE adopted England's laws and improved them in many respects. Not, however, in every respect. Let us go to England again. England has improved on Adam Smith's methods of taxation and has made them to more nearly conform to his philosophy. England nearly fifty years ago, enacted a law taxing incomes 5 pence on every pound. Let me see. Have I forgotten the tables? Twelve pence make a shilling and twenty shillings a pound; if I rightly remember. That would make 240 pence in a pound, and 5 pence is a little over 2 per cent. of 240 pence. So England, for fifty years, has counted the increase of the rich and taxed it 60 per cent. That, now, produces about one-sixth of Great Britain's entire revenue. The home

owners of England are relieved that much. Why one-sixth of our taxes would leave every American home, worth less than $2,000, entirely free. Wouldn't that be grand?

During the war of the rebellion, when the country wanted more revenue, we went to England again for a law and improved it. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Chase were both lawyers. They knew of England's income tax law and how well it had worked. So they put their heads together. In the first place they exempted $600 of every income. That looks just like Abraham Lincoln. He never wanted to leave any man without a good living. Then they exempted rental values of homesteads. There again we see the heart of the great Lincoln. He wanted every man to have a home, and he wanted that home made sacred against even a tax collector, in time of war. Over $600 and up to $5,000, every income was taxed 5 per cent.; over $5,000, 10 per cent. There was Lincoln. He may not have drafted the law, but he approved it. It was a great improvement on the English law.

CHAPTER LXI.

DR. CHAPIN.

AARON L. CHAPIN, president of Beloit College, is one of the most conservative of the advanced thinkers and writers on political economy. He exposes the fallacies of the imagined wage fund, and takes advanced ground all along the line, but he clings to first principles with all the faith and hope that a Christian clings to the cross of his Savior. In speaking of income taxes, in his revision of Dr. Wayland's work, he says:

"Actual experience under the law, tended to relieve difficulties and objections. When most efficiently carried out, concealment and dishonesty were not, probably, greater under this form of tax, than are practiced continually under the attempts of the states to levy taxes on miscellaneous personal property."

Dr. Chapin sees the $20,000,000,000 that, as Mr. George says, are hidden away. He thinks it is wrong. He thinks the $10,000,000,000 invested in farms, should pay no more than its just share.

John Stuart Mill also admits the justice of the law and says that, theoretically, it touches each man according to his ability to pay; but, Mr. Mill, after pronouncing an income tax the least objectionable, in principle, of all taxes, says that they are difficult to assess and collect, and should, therefore, "be reserved as an extraordinary resource for great national emergencies, in which the necessities of a large additional revenue overrules all objections."

Income Taxation Effective.

This reasoning seems somewhat at fault. If the tax is right, in principle, what objection can there be to it? And if, in war, or other great emergency, it can be made to produce large additional revenue, then is not that proof positive that the tax is effective as well as right? Again, if it can be made effective in times of war, when the energies of a nation are divided and distracted, could it not be made much more effect-

ive and satisfactory in ordinary times when a nation is at peace and its energies all available? England ignored Mr. Mill's objections and enacted the law. All England is delighted with it, and, especially, England's home owners.

All the objections that are made to an income tax, are those that come from taxpayers who make a business of hiding their taxable property from the assessor. It is dishonest, and a mere quibble to avoid bearing a due and proper share of the expenses of the public business which pays them a profit. The state can never expect a proper standard until it establishes it by law, and this it should do at once.

CHAPTER LXII.

WHY OPPOSED.

AMERICA is the last country that should oppose a good measure simply because it is a little difficult. Had this been the policy of our fathers we would not, to-day, be "Liberty Enlightening the World." It would have been a great deal easier to have submitted, than to have fought for liberty. Our fathers died in a difficulty that promised their children better days.

Was the war for the Union abandoned because the rebellion was hard to put down? Does anyone suppose that this country can be brought easily to a basis of compensation? Can vice be easily repressed, or wickedness easily overcome? Is it not difficult to get men to expose their personal property? That is just as difficult to assess, says Dr. Chapin, as incomes. Income

taxation is no more difficult than any other kind of special taxation. It requires work. It requires effort and persevering effort. If wisely provided so as first to exempt a living and then, gradually, increase with the income, it is the one tax that exactly accords with justice and with business experience. A living for all is a part of the nation's just expense. This tax lets each man, first, pay this individual expense of living, then it takes the common expense out of the balance, and leaves the net increase untouched. No man on earth, who desires to be fair, or just, can oppose this tax. To oppose it, because of fancied difficulty, is both lazy and cowardly. Let no one be deceived. The rich are afraid of this just tax. They are afraid of the manner in which it will expose their gains. England's rich men can stand it; but ours tremble when they contemplate the prospect of having to lay bare to the world, from year to year, the increase of their wealth. Yes, and more; they are afraid of its power. It has no limit. It is the one and only power by which the people can take directly from the rich alone, and relieve the poor. It is the one and only method by which the public can take the pig by the ear.

CHAPTER LXIII.

BY WHOM OPPOSED.

LINCOLN and Chase, both of whom were among the greatest of lawyers, statesmen, and friends of humanity, gave us an income tax law. The Supreme Court sustained it. It was the one law that oppressed nobody. In 1867, there were a half million, nearly, who paid an income tax. The income tax for that year, amounted to $60,000,000. That showed that incomes could be counted.

Now, in 1872, that just tax was repealed. Why? Was it because it was so difficult to enforce? No; for that would have repealed the whisky tax at the same time. The government, however, put guards over every distillery in the country. These guards, virtually, took possession of the business. They took charge of the

corn as it was bought. They weighed it as it went to the distillery. They watched it through every process. They measured the whisky as it came out. Then they watched it as it lay in the warehouse. And, when later the distilleries combined to buy up these guards, and hide their whisky away, Grant said, "Let no guilty man escape." From Kentucky to Milwaukee, government lightning struck the whisky thieves, and they held up their hands and begged for mercy. Oh, Uncle Sam can shake the devil, and shake him good, when the devil is not in Uncle Sam.

Now, in 1872, this just, equitable, and unexceptionable income tax was repealed. Was it because we were getting more revenue than we wanted. No; we don't gauge our revenue to simply meet expenses. We never did that. Then why was it repealed? Let us see—1872. When was it that our congressmen got so mixed up in stocks? When was it that Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner, and so many of the founders of the Republican party, became alarmed at the venality of public affairs? When was it that Oakes Ames made those memorable memoranda in that memorable pass book? When was it that Schuyler Colfax met political

death; and Garfield was embarrassed; and the president was presented with gifts, $100,000 at a time? When was it that public men wanted to hide away their incomes and keep them from being counted before the world? Then it was that the best American tax law ever enacted, was repealed. Is it unkind to speak of it? I shall not do so to be unkind. I myself was a private soldier in the Union army. I love the very name of Grant. God bless the memory of him who did so much for his country, and suffered so much at the hands of its statesmen. Did history ever present a more pitiable picture than the Great Grant, pauperized by gambling speculation, being offered alms to save his home?

If we don't begin to count the incomes of the rich again, as Lincoln did, and as England now does, and learn to stop these gambling speculations, they may make paupers of us all. Let us count these incomes. "Let no guilty man (who hides his gold,) escape."

CHAPTER LXIV.

IN STATES.

THIS taxing of incomes should be adopted by states as well as the nation. Whoever says it can't be done knows better and, intentionally, asserts the untrue for the purpose of a cheat. What England can do, and has done for forty-five years, we can do. American citizens are just as much entitled to a perfectly just method of taxation as are the citizens of Great Britain.

In 1866, there were half a million, nearly, who paid an income tax. It was a little less than one in fifty. Shall one in fifty, or one in forty, or one, even, in ten, from selfish considerations, prevent the whole people from the adoption of the most just method, and thus deprive them of its benefits? It means no revolution. Nor even any embarrassment. I understand the

necessity of a stable, certain revenue. The state, each year, must have a reasonably certain revenue. Therefore, an income tax, the amount of which could only be approximated, would need, perhaps, to be commenced a year before the other taxes were much reduced. The income tax, could, if so preferred, be given half to the counties and half to the state. When one year's revenue was paid, then in the next assessment, reductions in other taxes could be made. In this way the stability of the revenues would, in no wise, be affected. Thus in one year, or two, or three, perhaps, a perfectly just and business like tax could be had to entirely relieve and take the place of the cruel, inhuman and unchristian tax that sells poor people's houses from over their heads. In the name of God and humanity, let this be done. Let America, that has given to the world the sweetest song of home that ever was sung, stop putting yearly mortgages on the homes of her children. Let us put a little business justice into our public tax, and a little more warm blood into the public heart. Let the state be as humane to its children as it would desire its children should be unto each other.

NOTE.

Illness, while the foregoing was in press, prevented the author from reading the proof sheets. A few mistakes occur. "Greater" in one place is printed "greatest;" "2 per cent." is printed "60 per cent.;" "proposition," I see, appears "proportion;" and "wake" as "make;" and I now notice several similar mistakes. They are all apparent, however, and will not mislead the reader, and, therefore, no "Errata" is printed.

P. M. S.