

does it ever happen that beefsteak can be sold for ten thousand dollars a front foot. Yet Mr. Watson sees no distinction in principle between the private ownership of cows and cow-lots.

But Mr. Watson does say this: "As to the abuse of land ownership, that is an entirely different question. I agree that there should be no monopoly of land for speculative purposes."

Why not, Mr. Watson? Do you ever speak about the abuse of cow ownership? Suppose you have a cow, and do not choose to milk her. Are you under any obligation to let me milk her? If I were to insist upon any such right, would you not tell me to go raise my own cows? But when the United States Steel Trust says to its competitors: "Go, make another Connelsville coal field; these sixty thousand acres are all mine," you talk about the abuse of land ownership. Yet the Trust is simply applying to that coal field the same unqualified right of private ownership which you apply to your cow. How can you complain of that if, as you say, there is no distinction in principle between the ownership of cows and coal mines?

Would it not be well for Mr. Watson to get together with himself on this land question? For instance, he says: "Undoubtedly Nature teaches that the earth belongs in common to the entire human race." In the same breath he says: "Property in land differs in no wise from property in horses and cows." Then it must be the undoubted teaching of Nature that Mr. Watson's horses and cows belong in common to the entire human race.

In Pittsburg there is a lot which cost \$2,000 sixty years ago. It has increased in value 100 per cent every year. It is now worth \$120,000. This is just for the land, and it is twenty-four feet one way by one hundred the other. Mr. Watson, was that value added by the labor of the owner, or by the growth of Pittsburg? If the city made the value, why should not the city take the value?

HERBERT S. BIGELOW,
Pastor Vine Street Congregational Church,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

May 6, 1906.

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SOCIALISM OR INDIVIDUALISM?

For The Public.

The destruction of monopoly does not mean the establishment of socialism. It does mean state and municipal ownership and control of the people's property. The people's property is every form of wealth which man has not created by his own labor. It includes every part of the land and water and air except what man by his labor has contributed. It includes coal, gas, oil and all other mineral deposits, and it includes all the benefits of location and natural fertility. Ultimately the land like the roadways will be the subject of private possession only to the extent necessary for individual labor and actual use. No man or corporation will be permitted to possess a road or a mine or a field or a city lot except so far as it may be necessary for his actual use. He will not be permitted to hoard or monopolize it. The proper use of a road is for passage only, and private right therein can extend no farther; but the proper use of a mine or a farm or a water power may extend to exclusive possession for generations if the pos-

essor and his heirs will continue to pay the rent therefor. But in either case the property is the people's, and will always be subject to the people's will and right of control.

It will be seen that franchises to use such public property as roadways or water power are the sources of all artificial monopoly, and the private ownership of land is the source of all natural monopoly. Practically all the monopolies in modern life arise from the private ownership of mines, oil fields, gas wells or franchises to run railroads through private and public property at will; or the right to lay pipes or conduits, or to place poles or rails in public streets for gas, electricity, water, telegraph or telephone or electric railways. Abolish these sources of monopoly and you have abolished monopoly. For monopoly has no other source of life than the power to exclusively enjoy some natural or artificial special privilege. We have not yet noticed in this country the baneful influence of unrestricted private ownership of land in general because land is so abundant, but particular forms of land monopolization as coal, oil, gas and other mineral deposits have become very apparent sources of evil. These and every other form of land monopoly will ultimately be abolished. The coal baron will be recognized to have just such a property in his mine as his labor entitles him to, and the unearned increment above this labor investment will be recognized as the people's, to whom he must pay tribute. This tribute in the form of rent or tax will be so heavy that he cannot afford to hold his property except in so far as he can profitably use it, and the monopolistic feature will thereby perish. The recent enormous Liberal victory in England upon the issue of taxation of land values was an indication of how the people are beginning to feel upon this proposition in places where the land has already been cornered.

It may be that the public will at times find it desirable to lease for a short term and under severe restrictions certain governmental rights of way for steam railroads, or in public streets for electric railroads or telephones or other public use; but the recognition of the impossibility of an exclusive private use in any one of these public rights or to land generally will become universal. We shall have an age when the right of each individual to use the earth and everything therein and thereon will be limited only by the like right of every other person to so use it. Then shall we have equality of opportunity—equal rights. But private ownership of property and the individual right to labor and to engage in a private enterprise will not be lost, but rather infinitely enlarged. This will not be socialism or anything like socialism. It will be an increase of individualism. It will be the restoration of competition in its fullness, and the establishment of a complete democracy in industry.

It is true that up to a certain point more capital will be required to conduct any business as industry advances. Factories and the expense of maintaining them will grow larger up to a certain point, but it is not true that the amount of capital necessary to conduct a competitive business in the future will be indefinitely increased. When these natural monopolies which arise from the exclusive private ownership of the land, and the artificial monopolies which arise

from the awarding of franchises, have been abolished. the limit at which combination of great capital in an enterprise continues to be an economic advantage is quickly reached. When the factory or combination of factories has attained a certain size, unless there is one of these artificial or natural monopolies back of it, the trust falls to pieces of its own weight. Without the tariff and the railroads, which create an artificial monopoly, the beef trust and the sugar trust could not exist for a year, but the coal trust and the oil trust could. Why? Because the two latter have the firm foundation of natural monopoly to build upon. We destroy the artificial monopoly of the tariff and the railroad franchises and we kill their creature, but to kill the Standard Oil Company or overthrow the reign of the coal barons we must strike deeper down to the rock bottom of natural monopoly. Why cannot a trust live without a franchise or some form of land monopoly to rest upon? Because without these foundations the unwieldiness of the enterprise after it has reached a certain size makes it economically unfit. It becomes honeycombed with parasites. Every employe and agency and sub-agency tends to become a vampire. Agency is a necessary evil at the best. Whoever would have his work well done must do it himself. The farther the servant is from the master the less faithful and enterprising will he be. When the owner's vigilant eyes are far removed the work will lag and will become automatic. Eternal vigilance and eternal invention are the price of success in any business enterprise. No one will have these but the owner, and the more he has to depend on agents and servants the less will vigilance and enterprise permeate the undertaking. Each servant will tend in the long run to try to benefit himself by doing the least amount of service for the largest reward, including graft; and thus the unwieldy trust falls of its own weight, if it has not a franchise or a natural or other artificial monopoly to stand on. The chief support of the great trusts in America to-day is the favoritism shown toward big shippers by the railways, which are our greatest artificial monopolies. When preferential rates are abolished by state ownership or control the trusts will be largely undermined. They will not be exterminated until all franchises, rights of way and private property in land have disappeared. Then enterprises widely separated will no longer combine. In the single-headed trusts, because the raw materials and the market will be equally open to all men, and the combination of existing enterprises will only induce other capital to enter the field in competition. The numberless new competitors will each enter with superior advantages because each will have the personal supervision and resourcefulness of its owner at its head. That fact means everything when new methods, new machines and new devices are constantly being invented to turn small losses into small profits. This personal element—this direct supervision of the owner over his own business—preventing waste and graft and constantly devising superior economic means, is everything in the problem, and the trusts cannot meet it. No system of agencies and sub-agencies, involving as they do dependence upon hired help, can ever compete with the personally conducted enterprise.

It may be asked how there can be a true democrati-

zation of industry when the amount of capital required to start a workshop or factory even under these conditions is greater than the masses can hope to get together. The answer is the answer that the weavers of England and Scotland gave long ago. It is co-operation, voluntary co-operation. When the land has been thrown open to the masses and each man can earn at least a bare subsistence on his farm, wages will inevitably rise. Instead of there being ten men seeking nine jobs, there will be ten jobs seeking nine men. The demand will be greater than the supply, and wages will rise. Intelligence and mental stability will rise with the rise of wages. There will be a small surplus of wealth in each wage-earner's pocket, and a small surplus of intelligence and initiative in his brain beyond what is required for his job. This small surplus of intelligence and wealth will be put to use here as it has been so largely put to use in England and Scotland. Co-operation will come as soon as the barriers of natural and artificial monopoly are broken down. Then wage-earners will combine to build the factory and the workshop. There will be co-operative industry.

Can it compete with the capitalist competitor? No man will be only an employe or agent in the co-operative shop. He will be part owner. It will be his business. He will be working for himself, not for another. This will be an inspiration to him. To be one's own master, to build and shape one's own product, is always an inspiration. He will be quickened and rendered resourceful. He will be honest and faithful to himself. His soul will be in his work. The wage-earner in the capitalist's shop can never compete with the co-operative worker as a workman, and the capitalist's enterprise must ultimately fall before the co-operative. Thus will the democratization of industry be established, and thus will the specter of socialism be forever laid by universal individualism.

WALLACE THAYER.

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THE MAN WITH THE MUCK-RAKE.

With Acknowledgments to Edwin Markham.

For The Public.

"The wound that must be cut
No wise physician will attempt to cure
By incantation, elegy or song."

—The Ajax of Sophocles.

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'Mazed at Corruption's brazen front, he leans
Upon his rake and gazes on the scene;
With sorrow for his country on his face
And in his mind the pillage of the land.
Who bade him rise, incensed, and cry aloud,
To heedless men, to careless ears;
Abused and scoffed at, but who hopes
To rouse the people from lethargic sleep?
What stirred his pen to write the galling words
Which sting the guilty calloused knaves?

Whose were the treach'rous hands that made the muck,
Malod'rous, foul, of danger to the State,
Which he so bravely tries to clear away?
Who loosed Corruption's unclean flood, so vile?
He sees the land the Lord God made and gave
To sturdy freemen for their home;
The land they wrought from wilderness
And thought it one where Freedom long might reign,
The prey of spoilers, while its people dream
In stupid drowse, their vigilance beguiled;
And, in their dreams, alone, are free.