

Irelands and Philippines? We can have peace when we have justice between man and man. Until then we shall have more or less disturbance, running all the way from trespass to high finance and from a tariff concession to a struggle for the supremacy of the seas, the world's markets and such incidental loot of cities and acquisition of landed property as may be the victor's portion.

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The Ethics of Taxation.

The (Dubuque) Telegraph Herald (ind. Dem.), June 20.—The question of equitable taxation in its large phases involves the security of the home and the nation, the moral and economic welfare of the adult citizens of the Republic, and of the children in the cradle, the class room and the mill. When, therefore, men speak in denunciation of the excesses of government in expenditures, in opposition to forms of taxation which increase the burdens of the industrious poor, they are speaking with a voice of truth in behalf of the security of their country and the virtue of their countrymen. When men shift from the shoulders of the rich to the shoulders of the poor the burdens of taxation, when poverty is taxed and not wealth, they strike at the security of the government, invite women to take "the easiest way," and recruit for the saloons, penitentiaries and almshouses. On every occasion in the history of the world when effort has been made to make wealth bear an equitable share of the tax burden, wealth has offered resistance, and by the exercise of its great power has usually been successful. The most recent evidence of this truth is in the course of the Administration on the income tax.

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Protection and Wages.

New York Journal of Commerce (financial), June 8.—Germany is a protectionist country. Why not try to show that its policy results in high wages, as that of this country is said to do? American protectionists argue that high wages in this country are due to protection and could not be maintained without it. They point to the recent development of mechanical industries in Germany as the result of the protective policy adopted after the Empire was established, and cite the fact in support of their theory; and yet they say in effect that it has not increased the wages of labor there and that low wages give that country an advantage in production against which we need to be protected. . . . If our protectionists are so far wrong in the argument that high duties cause high wages, when it is applied to Germany, may they not be equally wrong in the assumption that the industrial development of the country is due to the protective policy introduced by Bismarck and improved upon by his successors? When that country was a congeries of separate States, kingdoms, duchies, etc., among which there were restrictions upon trade, with an awkward Zollverein boundary around them, its development was held back. When it was consolidated into one nation, with unrestricted trade among its different parts, it began at once to advance. This internal free trade, the impulse given to industrial and commercial training, the direction of education and energy to material development, and the mitiga-

tion of protection by reciprocal arrangements with most of the European continent, afford sufficient explanation of the progress made.

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Serious Questions for President Woodrow Wilson.

Milwaukee (daily) Journal (ind.), June 23.—Dr. Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton university, adverted to labor unionism in his baccalaureate address this year, and, if he is correctly reported, called it the industrial menace of the nation. He spoke of the alleged practice in the labor unions of "standardizing" the day's work, and of making the output of the poorest workman the standard. This, he suggested, tends to cut down industrial efficiency and to cripple the nation in the race for commercial supremacy. Like most college men, Dr. Wilson falls or refuses to look the real problem in the face. . . . Trade unionism is a symptom, not a disease. When labor is unoppressed it never organizes. When natural opportunities for self-employment are so free that all men may employ themselves at will, the labor union is unheard of. When placer mines were open to the first comer in California, and later in Alaska, there were no miners' unions. No man cared whether he held a job or not. If he lost his job, he staked out a claim. But when all the mines went under private ownership, the miners organized. The Western Federation of Miners is the fruit of fenced-up opportunities. . . . As to restriction of output, Dr. Wilson should remember that such efficient machinery is now used, and laborers work such long hours, that when all are at work they make things faster than the world can buy them. Output must be cut down. How to do it is the question. The employer prefers to do it by employing a smaller force of more efficient men; but this leaves many out of work. The labor unionist prefers to do it by shorter hours of work. Falling in this, he may, and in many instances does, reduce output by less work per unit of time. How would Dr. Woodrow Wilson do it? By such a readjustment of things that the laborer would receive the full product of his labor, the necessity for restriction would disappear. Laborers everywhere would have their purchasing power so increased that "overproduction" would vanish with "underconsumption." Until men everywhere had all they wanted of everything, labor could go on without any glut of products. But is Dr. Woodrow Wilson in favor of that?

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Justice to Thomas Paine.

The Manchester (England) Guardian (Lib.), June 8.—"History," said a Frenchman who knew him but was of the opposite party, "in order to be just to his memory ought to forget nothing of him but his writings," and history has taken the author of the epitaph at something more than his word. Paine, one of the foremost men of his time, who inspired the American colonies in their Declaration of Independence and was received as a distinguished foreigner with every honor by the National Assembly of France, is now remembered only dimly as a freethinker and a radical extremist who served as a target for the irony and anger of Burke. That

kind of familiarity which abbreviates a man's Christian name leads easily to disrespect; in no case, perhaps, has it done so more undeservedly than in that of Tom Paine. The man whom his contemporaries noted for his shyness, his benevolence, and his gentleness, who was quiet and unargumentative of speech, dignified in demeanor, and retiring in his disposition, starts up before the imagination of many of us as a noisy and blatant demagogue whose excesses and vulgarities are deservedly forgotten. . . . The publication of Paine's books from the second part of the "Rights of Man" to the later "Age of Reason" drew down on the heads of venturesome booksellers the terrors of a cruel and antiquated treason law. What happened might have been foreseen. He and his works became the great influence which set up everywhere constitutional societies and encouraged political and religious freedom of thought. He became the interpreter to England of the principles of the two Revolutions, and his words and ideas leavened speculation among the masses of the English people, and still leavens it today. We may forget him or remember him awry, but the very stuff of our brains is woven on the looms of his devising. . . . To be in turn staymaker, privateer, schoolmaster, exciseman (like that other revolutionary Robert Burns), mechanic, bridgebuilder, journalist, is to crowd life pretty fully with activities and events. But one aspect of him it is particularly appropriate that we should notice here. We believe Paine to have been very nearly the first journalist in the fullest and best modern sense of that word; we believe him to have been among the first to realize the value and power of a cheap press. On the latter point the details of his literary ventures are sufficient evidence. His pamphlet on "Common Sense," of which 120,000 copies were sold (an enormous number in those days), first made popular the idea of self-government among the revolting American colonists. By Paine's own wishes it was priced so low as actually not to pay the cost of publication. His series of papers on "The Crisis," published during the same struggle, the first of which has the famous beginning "These are the times that try men's souls," met with a similar success for similar reasons. "The Rights of Man" and "The Age of Reason" were scattered as broadcast in England as those had been in America. His ability as a journalist forced home the influence which his notion of cheap publication placed in his hands. He had a singular gift of directness, of clarity, and of vigor in composition, and he enforced it with an assiduous and unremitting observation of the course of events. At a time when most men saw only one newspaper, and more none at all, it was his habit to follow closely English, American, and French journals from day to day. We learn from Cobbett (whose desultory notes on him are the most discerning estimate we have) that he looked on the funds as a sure thermometer of public affairs, and in this he showed a perspicuity that cannot have been over-common. The result was that he knew how to strike when the iron was hot. He was able to seize upon formulæ which fitted very exactly with the spirit of the time, and the justness of the observation which went to their making has kept them fresh to this day, a hundred years after his death.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

STAINS.

The three ghosts on the lonesome road
Spake each to one another,
"Whence came that stain about your mouth
No lifted hand may cover?"
"From eating of forbidden fruit,
Brother, my brother."

The three ghosts on the sunless road
Spake each to one another,
"Whence came that red burn on your foot
No dust or ash may cover?"
"I stamped a neighbor's hearth-flame out,
Brother, my brother."

The three ghosts on the windless road
Spake each to one another,
"Whence came that blood upon your hand
No other hand may cover?"
"From breaking a woman's heart,
Brother, my brother."

"Yet on the earth clean men we walked,
Glutton and Thief and Lover;
White flesh and fair it hid our stains
That no man might discover."
"Naked the soul goes up to God,
Brother, my brother."

—Theodosia Garrison in "The Joy of Life."

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FALSE PATRIOTISM.

Associated Press Report of a Sermon Delivered in
New York, July 4, by Bishop Chas. D. Williams.

For the most part organizations for mutual admiration which indulge in harmless patriotic buncombe, such as teaching kindergartens of foreign children to go through flag drills and sing the "Star Spangled Banner," was the way the Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, D. D., bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Michigan, defined the Daughters of the American Revolution to-day. He also put in this class the Sons of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, the Order of Cincinnati, and others, "ad infinitum," as he expressed it.

The bishop made these remarks in a sermon at St. Bartholomew's Episcopal church here as he rebuked the American people for what he termed their false patriotism.

"We affect democratic simplicity and appear to despise pride in aristocratic descent," the Bishop said, "but on the other hand we organize societies such as I have named for just the opposite purpose.

"While making a great show of patriotism the people of the United States refuse to take up the