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EDITOR

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 385

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1905.

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EDITORIAL

The President's keynote speech.

President Roosevelt's speech at Chautauqua on the 11th, which was evidently intended, in conjunction with Secretary Taft's on the same day at Manila, to sound the key note of his own administrative policy, is superior in tone to anything that has ever fallen from his lips or come from his pen. Entirely free from the college-boy hoodlumisms which have usually characterized Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, it must be recognized as a statesmanlike utterance, whatever may be thought of the policy for which it declares.

The President's foreign policy.

The Monroe doctrine, to which the President gave first place in his Chautauqua speech, is adopted by him as the core of his foreign policy. Relative to this doctrine, he insists upon three things. We must make it evident that we intend no conquests at the expense of the republics at the south of us; we must not permit those republics to make the doctrine a a shield from the consequences of their own misdeeds; and, "inasmuch as by this doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the water," we must "ourselves in good faith try to help those of our sister republics which need such help, upward toward peace and order."

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The third requirement, a pretty plain assertion of paternal authority over the South American republics, indicates the direction in which President Roosevelt is headed. He himself regards this requirement as "really the most important thing of all," and to it he devotes most of the first part of his speech. In elaborating the point, he clearly shows that "bearing one another's burdens" is to be the guiding principle of his foreign policy, and that this principle is not essentially different from Mr. McKinley's "benevolent assimilation."

The President's Philippine policy.

Secretary Taft's speech at Manila, also on the 11th, extended the paternalistic principle of President Roosevelt's foreign policy to his Philippine policy, and this in accordance with President Roosevelt's instructions. The Secretary explained to the Filipinos that American sentiment regarding them and their country may be grouped in four classifications: the "real imperialistic idea" of holding the Philippines for the purpose of extending the power of the American government in the Orient for business reasons; the idea of independence for the sake of ridding the United States of the burdens of the Philippine government; the idea of independence for the sake of the American principle of self-government; and the idea that the United States are trustees of the political rights and destinies of the Filipinos.

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The last is the idea of which President Roosevelt is chief exponent, according to Secretary Taft; and he had instructed Secretary Taft, as the latter expressly stated, to say to the Filipinos that he "feels charged with the duty of proceeding on this policy and maintaining the sovereignty of the United States" in the Philippines, "as an instrument of the gradual education and elevation of the whole Filipino people to a self-governing community." When this work of elevation is to be regarded as complete, and the trusteeship at an end, is not clearly foreshadowed, although Secretary Taft hints at its continuing "a generation and probably longer." And whether or not the trusteeship will be relinquished when its paternal purpose is served, is likewise indefinite. It is made to depend by Secretary Taft upon "the individuals who will control the two nations"—he should have said "the stronger of the two nations"—a generation or two hence. As evidence of our good faith in all such cases, President Roosevelt pointed with pride in his Chautauqua speech to "the way in which we liberated Cuba."

Our liberation of Cuba.

Our behavior toward Cuba is not, unfortunately, as much of a guarantee of our good intentions in the pursuit of the benevolent foreign policy of "bearing one another's burdens," as President Roosevelt appears to regard it. We may, truly enough, take genuine pride, as his speech has reminded us, in the fact that we liberated Cuba; but the worthiness of our pride must be largely due to the novelty of the act. We are not famous for liberating. Mr. Roosevelt's party has stood sturdily for the doctrine that the flag once up must never come down. Instead, for instance, of liberating Porto Rico

we have appropriated her. We should have appropriated Cuba also, as everyone with a memory knows, if our treaty of peace with Spain had not forbidden it; and the treaty of peace would not have forbidden it if in making war upon Spain Congress had not solemnly declared to the world that we had no purpose of acquiring Cuba. We liberated Cuba because we had bound ourselves to do so. Even at that, the liberation was but barely secured and at the price of concessions from Cuba which we had no right in honor or justice to demand. If the Filipinos have no better guarantee of independence than the precedent of our liberation of Cuba, to which we were bound by a declaration and a treaty that we regard as inapplicable to the Philippines, not even the additional assurance of an after-dinner promise by Secretary Taft, redeemable a generation or more hence, if our posterity then consent, is sufficient to justify confidence in a restoration to the Filipinos of that promising republic of theirs which our nation most wantonly and wickedly destroyed.

President Roosevelt's domestic policy.

Like the foreign policy outlined in his Chautauqua speech, President Roosevelt's domestic policy relative to corporations, outlined in the same speech, is also frankly paternalistic. He proposes that all corporations engaged in inter-State commerce shall "be under the supervision of the national government." This does not mean that they shall be under that supervision in the manner in which all corporations and all persons must be subject to appropriate governmental authority, for the prevention of injuries and the redress of wrongs. It means that the jurisdiction of the States in this respect shall be abrogated, and that complete regulative power shall be vested in a Washington bureau. For Mr. Roosevelt, somewhat vaguely yet clearly enough, explained, when urging his policy, that in such matters the jurisdiction of the Federal government is supreme when it chooses to exercise it.

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What he evidently intends is not merely that the Washington bureau shall restrain the corporations of one State from operating in another if their operations are contrary to Federal statutes, but that this bureau shall have the larger power of authorizing the corporations of any State to operate in any other State, even against the will, the policy and the laws of the State they are thus authorized to invade. In other words, President Roosevelt's domestic policy in this particular contemplates plenary bureaucratic regulation and control by the Federal government of all inter-State trade. This would soon result in a greater centralization of power at Washington over the American empire, than that which is exercised from London over the British Empire.

President Roosevelt's paternalism.

Not only in the specific statement of his points of foreign and domestic policy, which he made at Chautauqua, but also in the vein of theory that ran through his speech, President Roosevelt showed what those of us who have watched his career for the past twenty years have observed, that in so far as he is not moved by personal considerations in his attitude toward public affairs, he is moved by the philosophy of paternalism. His idea of a well-ordered society is paternalistic, and nothing but paternalistic. It is one which regards home affairs, public and private, as things to be paternally regulated, in generals and in details, by a powerful central government, operating benevolently through administrative bureaus responsible to a governmental head-center; and it contemplates foreign affairs as consisting in a paternal regulation of little nations in return for protecting them from the aggressions of big ones. This Rooseveltian idea stands out clear and unafraid in the Chautauqua speech. It is despotism, of course, and with nothing to recommend it but that which despotism always pleads in its own defense: its benevolent and ethical purpose. The plea is now as always a bad one. Even if benevolent and ethical despotism were a good thing, who could guarantee the benevolence and vouch for the ethics of the despot? Much wiser than his Philippine policy is the sentiment of President Roosevelt's letter to the Negro business men's convention at New York on the 16th, in which he advised the Negro race that, "It is as true of a race as of an individual, that while outsiders can help to a certain degree, yet the real help must come in the shape of self-help." Why is that true of oppressed American Negroes seeking protection, and not true of conquered Filipinos seeking independence?

Good municipal government.

Persons who become enthusiastic over the work of good government clubs, which usually distinguish the wicked by their raiment, may reflect with profit upon this really profound editorial observation of the New York Mail of the 5th: "It is something, it is much, for any city to have a mayor that will not take orders from dives. But it is far more to have a mayor that will not take orders from anybody, for at the last analysis the order comes from a public service corporation, and its purpose is to despoil the community."

Mayor Dunne's traction plan.

Mayor Dunne has removed all public excuse for supposing that in recommending his "contract plan" for introducing municipal ownership and operation of the Chicago street car system (p. 296), he contemplated abandoning his original policy. In an interview on the subject, published in the Examiner of the 21st, he distinctly said of his contract plan:

> The plan was devised that we might get immediate action. The sole purpose of the building company is to bridge over the time that must necessarily elapse before the city can pay for the property and take over the operation. If we could buy the lines to-day, or even if we owned them, we could not operate, and some such plan as that I have proposed would have to

be worked out to bridge us over the period required to get authority to operate. I believe in municipal operation and want to bring it about as soon as possible; whether we buy or build I shall press a referendum that will enable us to operate, but while we are working for municipal operation, let us either buy and rehabilitate or else build, so that we may have something to operate when the time comes.

That is the situation in a nutshell, and the newspaper agents of the traction ring knew it when, with false headlines, deceptive editorials and fraudulent news dispatches, they undertook to make the public believe otherwise.

Death of Tom Bawden.

Tom Bawden, Detroit's optimistic fighter for the single tax, died of acute indigestion on the 13th, after suffering more than a year. He was in his time an engineer, a merchant, a Methodist exhorter, and finally a devoted agitator and popular expounder of the economic doctrines of Henry George. He confined his work pretty closely to Detroit, where he published the Common Wealth, and was well known as a speaker on the campus until public speaking there was forbidden, and then on street corners where speaking was not forbidden. That Mr. Bawden had a large share of public confidence in Detroit was evident from the vote he polled under the Australian system at the Democratic primaries last Fall. He was near the head of the list as a candidate for the legislature, but of course was defeated at the election along with the rest of his ticket. All the Detroit papers give liberal space and kindly comment to the reports of Mr. Bawden's death. The Times is exceptionally just. "For all that he did," says the Times, "with voice and pen toward the bringing in of this new era of justice and light; for all that he did in the hope of serving his brothers by emancipating them from the yoke of oppressive economic ills; for his courage and independence in fighting on the very frontiers of truth, if for nothing else, Tom Bawden deserves the kindly recollection of his fellow men. While the majority of men were too busy, too timid or too dull to deflect a hair's breadth from the beaten path, he was striking out into new areas of truth and boldly proclaiming it." He was a man who always did unflinchingly what he believed to be right.

TOLSTOY AND GEORGE.

Of all living men, he whose words command most attention is Leo Tolstoy; of all publications, that which reaches the widest circle of readers is the London Times. That these two great forces should be combined to aid in spreading before the world the doctrine for which Henry George wrought and died—and in so few years after his death,—that this should come to pass, is more than George himself, with all his faith, hope and optimism, could have fairly dreamed of.

The extraordinary letter on the land question, entitled "A Great Iniquity," * which Count Tolstoy published in the Times of August 1st, will, more than any event since Henry George's death, draw the attention of thinking men, the world over, to the supreme importance of the land question.

It is pretty generally known that Tolstoy, some years ago, wrote a brief letter expressing his approval of the theory of the Single Tax, and his reverence for the genius of Henry George. Again, in his "Resurrection" it will be remembered that he expressly introduces the teachings of George in showing their influence upon his hero's development. The present letter is an amplification of the question in relation to present conditions in his own country.

The great Russian expresses the belief that the Russian people are to lead in the solution of this problem. Whether or not this shall prove to be true, his letter will have an immense influence in emphasizing the importance of the problem and in stimulating the Single Tax movement everywhere. The publication will surely excite special interest in Great Britain at the present time, where the taxation of land values in cities and towns seems on the point of becoming a party issue, the Liberal leader having expressly declared himself in favor of such taxation. Although Tolstoy hopes Russia may lead a far more sweeping land reform, the fact that he declares in the emphatic way in which he does in the Times letter, that Henry George was right, that the land question is the fundamental question, and that, under existing governmental conditions, the single tax is the true method of settling it—such a declaration, coming from him, will have an influence far beyond the impression one may receive from the brief notices which the newspapers have ventured to give. How plainly true it is, that "of all indispensable alterations of the forms of social life," to quote Tolstoy's language, "there is in the life of the world one which is most ripe, one without which not a single step forward in improvement in the life of men can be accomplished," and that this alteration, "not the work of Russia alone but of the whole world," is the abolition of the world-wide iniquity of property in land.

There are two men in America, both admirers of Tolstoy, whose comments on this letter many of their own admirers would be most interested in reading. One of these is our foremost man of letters; the other our greatest political leader. As both are editors, perhaps the wish may soon be gratified. At any rate we may trust that each will speak his mind when and where to do so would be most fitting and effective.

J. H. DILLARD.

* Reproduced in its entirety in this issue of The Public. See Miscellany.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

AUSTRALIA (see p. 198).

Corowa, N. S. W., July 7th.—Federal politics has taken a sudden and unexpected turn. To make the position clear, I shall summarize the history of the present Parliament.

When the House was elected in December, 1903, it consisted of three nearly equal parties: Protectionist, led by Deakin, the prime minister; Labor, led by Watson; and Free Trade, led by Reid. Deakin publicly declared that such a situation was unworkable, comparing it to three elevens in a cricket field.

In April, 1904, the Deakin ministry was defeated, and Watson formed a Labor government. After a few months, by means of a coalition between the Free Traders under Reid and a majority of the Protectionists, under Deakin, the Watson ministry was defeated.

Reid then formed a coalition ministry of Free Traders and Protectionists in equal numbers. Deakin was

offered a portfolio giving him equal power with Reid, but he declined, though he promised the new ministry his support. The chief point of agreement in the coalition was that the fiscal issue should not be raised during the life of the present Parliament.

As some Protectionists deserted Deakin and formed a loose alliance with the Labor party, the Reid ministry had a majority of only two. The session ended in December, 1904.

During the recess efforts were made to form a coalition between the Labor party and the Protectionists. This was supported by the Melbourne Age, the strongest Protectionist paper in Australia. But most people thought Deakin would keep his promises to support the Reid government, and not raise the fiscal question. On June 24th, however, Deakin made a very puzzling, indefinite speech, which was almost universally taken to mean that he intended to abandon the Reid ministry, and to raise the fiscal question.

Accordingly, when Parliament opened for the second session, on June 27th, the Governor General's speech proposed only one measure, a redistribution-of-seats bill. The Reid ministry intended, after the bill was disposed of, to dissolve the House. But Deakin, after protesting he had been misunderstood, and had not intended to withdraw his support from Reid, moved a hostile amendment to the address in reply. This was carried, the Reid government being defeated by 17 votes.

The Governor General, nevertheless, refused a dissolution, and Deakin has now formed a Protectionist ministry, several members of which were among those who had deserted him when the coalition with Reid was formed.

So the position is very similar to that which existed when the Parliament was first elected. There are again "three elevens in the field." As Deakin's following is now somewhat smaller than it was then, he will be more than ever at the mercy of the Labor party, which holds the balance of power.

No coalition has been formed between Deakin and Watson.

State elections were held in South Australia in the beginning of June. In a local house of 42 members the Labor party increased its members from 6 to 16. As all the Labor candidates advocated socialism, the issue was practically socialism vs. anti-socialism.

The Melbourne City Council owns and operates an electric plant which is an example of successful municipal ownership. The business is managed by a committee of the Council, which lights the streets and supplies electricity to private people for light and power, making charges in all cases just as a private company would do. For the year ending February 27th, 1905, the committee reports a credit balance of over $50,000, although the street lighting had been improved without increase of charge to the Council, and the rates to private people had been reduced from six to four cents per unit.

ERNEST BRAY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 17.

The Norwegian referendum.

Pursuant to resolution of the Norwegian Storthing (p. 276), the people of Norway voted, on the 13th, upon the question of dissolving the Sweden-Norway union. The vote aggregated 321,519. This may be regarded as a full vote, the entire voting population of Norway at the elections of 1903 having been 457,551. The result reported on the 14th was 321,358 (over 70 per cent of the voting population) for dissolution, and only 161 in opposition. Accordingly, the Storthing has been summoned to meet on the 21st to give the referendum effect by taking the next step toward repealing the act of union.

The Russian national assembly.

Although it had been understood that the Czar was to issue on the 21st a call for a national assembly (p. 295), the call has not yet been issued. The latest report regarding it came from St. Petersburg on the 13th. At that time its publication was still expected.

Echoes of the Russian Zemstvos congress.

Through the Moscow correspondent of the London Standard, the full text of the declaration of the congress at Moscow of Zemstvo and municipal representatives (p. 276) has been published. It is signed by 172 delegates from Zemstvos and 112 delegates from municipalities, and, according to the London Speaker of the 29th, it—

is a ruthless analysis of the promises contained in the ukase of December 1904, and the contributions that have been made to their fulfillment. As an indictment at once of the sincerity and the statesmanship of the government it is overwhelming. It shows how, in every direction where the Czar had promised legality and freedom, the liberties of individuals and associations were still further subjected to official caprice and administrative tyranny. It ends with a number of conclusions of which the last affirms that the congress has taken upon itself the task of realizing with all possible speed the reforms that the Czar has neglected and the transition of Russia to a constitutional form of government, and calls upon all true Russians to take action of the most decisive character.

Before adjourning, the congress decided to invite on the next occasion members from those regions where local self-government has not yet been introduced.

Another Russian outbreak.

Revolution at Riga was reported from St. Petersburg, on the 10th, to have supplemented previous revolutionary outbreaks (p. 247). Riga occupies third place among the seaports of Russia and second among the Baltic seaports. Also an important industrial center, its chief manufactures are railway cars, machinery, lumber, leather, candles, tiles, glass and tobacco products. Its population is about 300,000, nearly 50 per cent of which is German, and it is situated on the Duna, about ten miles above its mouth in the Gulf of Riga, and 363 miles southwest of St. Petersburg. It is the capital of the government of Livonia and the seat of the governor-general of the Baltic provinces. "Ablaze with revolution," began the St. Petersburg dispatch regarding Riga, and, continuing, it reported: "Red flags are floating from factories and public houses. Neighboring Baltic cities are joining in the movement against the government. Business houses are closed and Cossacks and workingmen are shooting each other in the streets." Nothing further has been reported, but whether because the outbreak has been suppressed or because dispatches are censored it is impossible yet to say.

Russian-Japanese peace negotiations in the United States.

The second joint meeting of the Russian-Japanese peace envoys (p. 295) took pace at Portsmouth on the 10th. On this occasion the Japanese submitted in writing a statement, not in detail but in principle, of the terms they exact of Russia. The Russian reply was submitted in writing at the third meeting, on the 12th. At the

fourth meeting, on the 14th, three articles of settlement were agreed to. They are reported to provide (1) for the recognition by Russia of Japan's preponderance of influence and interests in Corea; (2) for the evacuation of Manchuria by Russia, and the restoration of that province to China; and (3) for the transfer to Japan of the lease of Port Arthur, Dalny, and the remainder of the Liaotung peninsula, and all rights and appurtenances belonging thereto. Doubts exist, however, as to the real nature of the agreements, for the negotiations are in secret. Two more articles, described in the dispatches as Nos. 4 and 6, but undivulged as to subject matter, were agreed to on the 15th, when consideration of the 5th, supposed to refer to Sakhalin, was deferred. On the 16th the articles described as Nos. 7 and 8 were agreed to, and it was believed that all others would be disposed of on the 17th.

A national reciprocity conference.

An important conference affecting international relations (p. 234) met in the Illinois theater at Chicago on the 16th, to consider questions of trade reciprocity. Alvin H. Saunders called the conference to order and Gov. Deneen and Mayor Dunne made the speeches of welcome on behalf of the State and the city respectively. John Wilder, president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, was temporary chairman, and S. B. Packard, formerly governor of Louisiana, but now a resident of Iowa, was elected permanent chairman. The holding of this conference has been opposed in the East by protection organizations and publications. They denounce it as a free trade conference. President Roosevelt is reported to have been asked for encouragement and to have refused it.

President Roosevelt's Chautauqua speech.

After addressing on the 10th an immense audience at Wilkesbarre, Pa., composed principally of anthracite miners and members of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, Cardinal Gibbons and John Mitchell being speakers on the same platform with him there, President Roosevelt went to Chautauqua, N. Y., where, on the 11th, he delivered a carefully prepared speech on the Administration's policy with reference to the Monroe doctrine and the trust question.

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Of the Monroe doctrine the President said:

As we have grown more and more powerful our advocacy of this doctrine has been received with more and more respect; but what has tended most to give the doctrine standing among the nations is our growing willingness to show that we not only mean what we say and are prepared to back it up, but that we mean to recognize our obligations to foreign peoples no less than to insist upon our own rights. We cannot permanently adhere to the Monroe doctrine unless we succeed in making it evident in the first place that we do not intend to treat it in any shape or way as an excuse for aggrandizement on our part at the expense of the republics to the south of us; second, that we do not intend to permit it to be used by any of these republics as a shield to protect that republic from the consequences of its own misdeeds against foreign nations; third, that inasmuch as by this doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the water, we shall ourselves in good faith try to help those of our sister republics, which need such help, upward toward peace and order.

The remainder of the speech on this subject consisted in an elaboration of the three points, with specific reference to our liberation of Cuba (vol. v, p. 346, vol. vi, pp. 251, 598, 713) and our present relations with Santo Domingo (vol. vii, p. 731). Of the third of the three points he said that, in his view—

really the most important thing of all, it is our duty, so far as we are able, to try to help upward our weaker brothers Just as there has been a gradual growth of the ethical element in the relations of one individual to another, so that with all the faults of our Christian civilization it yet remains true that we are, no matter how slowly, more and more coming to recognize the duty of bearing one another's burdens, similarly I believe that the ethical element is by degrees entering into the dealings of one nation with another.

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Of the domestic trust problem President Roosevelt said:

The effort to prevent all restraint of competition, whether harmful or beneficial, has been ill-judged; what is needed is not so much the effort to prevent combination as a vigilant and effective control of the combinations formed, so as to secure just and equitable dealing on their part alike toward the public generally, toward their smaller competitors and toward the wage workers in their employ. . . . Personally I think our people would be most unwise if they let any exasperation due to the acts of certain corporations drive them into drastic action and I should oppose such action. But the great corporations are themselves to blame if by their opposition to what is legal and just they foster the popular feeling which tells for such drastic action. . . . I do not believe in taking steps hastily or rashly, and it may be that all that is necessary in the immediate future is to pass an inter-State commerce bill conferring upon some branch of the executive government the power of effective action to remedy the abuses in connection with railway transportation. But in the end, and in my judgment at a time not very far off, we shall have to, or at least we shall find that we ought to, take further action as regards all corporations doing inter-State business. The enormous increase in the inter-State trade, resulting from the industrial development of the last quarter of a century, makes it proper that the Federal government should, so far as may be necessary to carry into effect its national policy, assume a degree of administrative control of these great corporations. It may well be that we shall find that the only effective way of exercising this supervision is to require all corporations engaged in inter-State commerce to produce proof satisfactory, say, to the department of Commerce, that they are not parties to any contract or combination or engaged in any monopoly in inter-State trade in violation of the anti-trust law, and that their conduct on certain other specified points is proper; and, moreover, that these corporations shall agree, with a penalty of forfeiture of their right to engage in such commerce, to furnish any evidence of any kind as to their trade between the States whenever so required by the Department of Commerce. It is the almost universal policy of the several States, provided by statute, that foreign corporations may lawfully conduct business within their boundaries only when they produce certificates that they have complied with the requirements of their respective States; in other words, that corporations shall not enjoy the privileges and immunities afforded by the State governments without first complying with the policy of their laws. Now the benefits which corporations engaged in inter-State trade enjoy under the United States government are incalculable, and in respect of such trade the jurisdiction of the Federal government is supreme when it chooses to exercise it.

Following with a presentation of his views regarding legislation

regulating the distribution of wealth, the President closed his speech with these words:

Our ideal must be the effort to combine all proper freedom for individual effort with some guarantee that the effort is not exercised in contravention of the eternal and immutable principles of justice.

President Roosevelt's Philippine policy.

On the same date on which President Roosevelt spoke at Chautauqua on the Monroe doctrine and the trust problem, his secretary of war, Mr. Taft, spoke at Manila on the American policy in the Philippines (vol. v, pp. 115, 187, 199, 203, 215, 218, 345, 391, 410, 412, 617, 635; vol. vi, pp. 322, 475, 554, 585, 648, 689, 758, 775; vol. vii, pp. 41, 50, 94, 107, 178, 322, 425, 572, 647, 794; vol. viii, pp, 21, 25, 104, 123), declaring that he was expressing the President's views. The occasion was a banquet tendered by Filipinos to Secretary Taft on his tour (p. 297); and his speech was in response to the toast, "The Present Administration in the Philippines." After declaring it his duty, even if he did nothing else, to—

make clear the views of the Administration upon the present and future of the islands,

—Secretary Taft explained that the American people are divided upon the Philippine question into these three parties:

(1) Those having the real imperialistic idea of extending the influence of America, by purchase and conquest, in the Orient, enlarging the power of the American government for the purpose of controlling the Pacific and securing the largest share possible of the Oriental trade, yet undeveloped, during the next 100 years.

(2) Those who regarded our taking over the islands from Spain after the war with the gravest reluctance, and would have been gratified in the extreme if the assumption of the burden could have been avoided. They have come to the conclusion that however reluctant they were to accept the fate thrown upon them, it is their duty to meet the responsibilities imposed upon them with promptness, courage and hope. They believe that they have become the trustees and protectors of the whole Filipino people and must prepare that people to maintain the stable government now there.

(3) Those that favor giving the islands immediate independence. This party may be divided into two classes, having different motives. The first class is anxious to rid the United States of the burden of governing the Filipinos, for the benefit of the United States; the second class is anxious to rid the Philippines of the government of the United States, on the ground that the Filipinos can make their own government.

After this explanation, Mr. Taft identified the Administration with the second party described above, by saying:

The second party has for its chief exponent President Roosevelt. He believes that it is the duty of the United States to prepare the Filipinos for self-government. This will require a generation and probably longer, and the form of self-government will be left to the individuals who will control the two nations at that time. It follows that the President, and he desires me to say this to the Filipinos, feels charged with the duty of proceeding on this policy and maintaining the sovereignty of the United States here as an instrument of the gradual education and elevation of the whole of the Filipino people to a self-governing community.

NEWS NOTES

—The British Parliament (p. 277) took a recess on the 11th until the 30th of October.

—Dr. Arnold Tompkins, an able, distinguished and democratic educator who was principal of the Chicago normal school, died at Manlo, Ga., on the 14th, of typhoid fever, at the age of 55.

—The local transportation committee of the Chicago City Council resumed consideration of the traction question on the 14th (p. 297), but as its meetings have been in secret nothing but newspaper gossip is known of the proceedings.

—The sixth annual convention of the Negro National Business League met at New York on the 16th. A letter from President Roosevelt was read, and Booker T. Washington, who has been president of the League since its organization, made an address.

—The society for the propagation of Esperanto, an invented language, held a congress at Boulogne on the 12th, at which delegations were in attendance from France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Germany, Sweden and Canada.

—At the opening on the 14th at Chicago of the fourth annual convention of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers, union, Mayor Dunne made the address of welcome in behalf of the city. In the course of his address he advocated arbitration, deplored the refusal of the Employers' association to submit the recent teamsters' strike (p. 279) to arbitration.

—Statistical reports of the 16th relative to the progress of yellow fever in New Orleans (p. 296), published on the 17th were as follows:

Deaths to August 16	183
Deaths to August 9	131
Increase	57
Cases to August 16	1,188
Cases to August 9	688
Increase	500

—The Fairhope (Ala.) Courier reports the death at Amsterdam on the 5th of July, of Carel Victor Gerritsen, a prominent land reformer of Holland and a member of the Netherlands States General, as also of the Provincial States of North Holland and the Council of Amsterdam.

—The convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, in session at Philadelphia (p. 297), adjourned on the 15th. It had on the 12th reelected Cornelius P. Shea, the leader of the Chicago teamsters' strike (p. 279) as general president by the vote of 129 to 121, the opposing candidate being Daniel Furman, of the Chicago Truck Drivers' union.

PRESS OPINIONS

A TOLSTOYAN DEMAND IN AFRICA.

(East London, South Africa) Izwi Labantu (Kaffir), July 11.—We believe the black man has all he needs under his feet, and those who are attempting to restrain him from owning land know it well also, and its about time tht the black man learned that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.

THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), Aug. 10.—It looks as if Mayor Dunne has "got 'em on the run," no matter how the daily papers may try to befog the situation and conditions in Chicago, in the interests of the franchise oligarchies in all the cities of the Union. . . . The traction companies are coming to time, even while playing for delay. Their only hope is, now, to stave things off until Dunne's term expires, but this they will hardly be able to do, for if they protract the difficulty, the people will reelect Dunne.

THE PHILIPPINES FOR AMERICANS.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Aug. 16.—We must take the liberty of dissenting from the policy of Secretary Taft. . . . The United States cannot afford to go into the business of "mothering" embryo nations—bringing them up by hand and then turning them loose to shift for themselves. . . . What is good enough for the American people is good enough for the Filipinos and it is better than anything that the Filipinos are likely to achieve if the policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos" is put into execution. Unless we are to evacuate the archipelago—a possibility which may safely be dismissed from consideration—we are bound to consider it not Filipino but American territory.

THE LATE TOM BAWDEN.

Detroit Tribune (Rep.), Aug. 14.—For a few days in May, 1901, Tom Bawden was the most-talked-of man in Detroit. It was his persistence in delivering single tax addresses on the campus that brought about the so-called "campus riot" on the night of May 10. In defiance of the orders of Frank C. Andrews, then police commissioner [since sentenced to State's prison on conviction of embezzlement], Bawden

attempted to give a speech on the campus that night. When the police, acting under Andrews's orders, attempted to disperse the crowd, they were attacked by the enraged people and a riot ensued in which a number of persons were injured. Thousands of people paraded the streets, cheering for Bawden and shouting threats at Andrews and his policemen. Andrews succeeded in having an ordinance passed by the Council prohibiting gatherings on the campus, and for violating this ordinance Bawden was arrested and thrown into jail. He steadfastly refused to pay his fine, declaring that he would "rot in jail first." His friends finally paid it without his knowledge and he was released. Since then Tom Bawden and his wagon have been missing from the campus. He continued to advocate the principles of single tax as energetically as ever and, in spite of his failing health, delivered a number of addresses at the corner of Gratiot avenue and Randolph street this Spring. Up to last week he continued the publication of his paper, "The Common Wealth," and it was a cause of great disappointment to him that he was not able to get out a paper this week. . . . He became converted to the principles of single tax by the works of Henry George and the cartoons of Bengough. He was the author of several books, among them "The Wasteful War of Organized Labor," and "Are We Jew or Christian? Bond or Free?"

MISCELLANY

OUR COMMON ESTATE.

This message out of the Psalms to the citizen of Red Wing, is also a message to the citizen of Chicago and to the citizen of New Orleans. It appeared July 30, during the period of the sessions of the Zionist Congress at Basel, in the Goodhue County News, of Red Wing, Minn., John Stone Pardee, editor.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
let my right hand forget her cunning.
If I do not remember thee,
let my tongue cleave to the roof of
my mouth;
If I prefer not Jerusalem
above my chief joy.

So sang the Jews of old,
in captivity in Babylon,
looking with longing eyes
toward the Holy City—
the city that God gave them,
whose walls and temples
thronged with associations
of all sacred things.
Because of their waywardness
they were led captive,
but their hearts turned homeward
with a sob and a prayer.

Not less a Holy City
is this in which we dwell;
its walls and temples
invested with hallowed thoughts,
made sacred by human effort—
by work and love and life
and shrines of hallowed homes.
Red Wing is God's gift to us
as Jerusalem to the Jews,
having possibilities
of happiness and holiness
not less than Zion.

So we who live here
should have the City's good
the dearest thing in our hearts
above our own ends.
To prefer one's selfish aims
is species of disloyalty.
To measure public enterprise
by its effect on us,
blind to larger benefit,
would be such waywardness
as that for which the Jews
were led in captive state
to far-off Babylon.

Not by mere ritual,
fasting and sackcloth garb,
or gritting us with ashes,
is our part to be fulfilled
toward this our City.
Not merely labor's grime
and workworn chase of wealth;
not merely pleasuring,
make up the obligation
we owe to Red Wing.

As in the family,
household labor is not all,
nor the full pocket all,
nor beds made, nor sweeping.
But that which makes the home
is the home loyalty,
the care for one another,
the spirit of fellowship
where each works for all,
sharing prosperity,
sharing adversity,
with richness of sympathy,
both alike blessed;

So in the City—
there is a common fund
of municipal comradeship,
municipal loyalty.
Our lot cast here together,
each owes to all of us
to lay aside petty ends
and strive for the common good—
that we prefer Red Wing,
Red Wing our Holy City,
hallowed by brotherhood,
above our chief joy.

A GREAT INIQUITY.

By LEO TOLSTOY.

This history-making article by Leo Tolstoy, dated at Yasnaya Poliana, Russia, July, 1905, first appeared in the London Times of August 1, 1905. Brief summaries cabled from London were at that time published in the American newspapers. We give the article in full and verbatim as it appeared in the Times, for which it was translated from the Russian by V. Tchertkoff, editor of the Free Age Press, Christchurch, Hants, England, and I. F. M. It is expressly declared to be free of copyright.

Russia is living through an important time destined to have enormous results.

The proximity and inevitableness of the approaching change is, as indeed is always the case, especially keenly felt by those classes of society who, by their position, are free from the necessity of physical labor absorbing all their time and power, and therefore have the possibility of occupying themselves with political questions. These men—the nobles, merchants, Government officials, doctors, engineers, professors, teachers, artists, students, advocates, chiefly townspeople, the so-called "intellectuals"—are now in Russia directing the movement which is taking place, and they devote all their powers to the alteration of the existing political order, and to replacing it by another regarded by this or that party as the most expedient and likely to insure the liberty and welfare of the Russian people. These men, continually suffering from every kind of restriction and coercion on the part of the Government, from arbitrary exile, incarcerations, prohibition of meetings, prohibition of books, newspapers, strikes, unions—from the limitation of the rights of various nationalities, and at the same time living a life completely estranged from the majority of the Russian agricultural people, naturally see in these restrictions the chief evil, and in the liberation from it the chief welfare, of the Russian people.

Thus think the Liberals. So, also, think the Social Democrats, who hope, through popular representation, by the aid of State power, to realize a new social order in accordance with their theory. So also think the revolutionaries, hoping by substituting a new Government for the existing one, to establish laws insuring the greatest freedom and welfare of the whole people.

And yet one need only for a time free oneself from the idea which has taken root amongst our intellectuals, that the work now before Russia is the introduction into our country of those same forms of political life which have been introduced into Europe and America, and are supposed to insure the liberty and welfare of all the citizens—and to simply think of what is morally wrong in our life, in order to see quite clearly that the chief evil from which the whole of the Russian people are unceasingly and cruelly suffering—an evil of which they are keenly conscious and to which they are continually pointing—cannot be removed by any political reforms, just as it is not up to the present time removed by any of the political reforms of Europe and America. This evil—the fundamental evil from which the Russian people, as well as the peoples of Europe and America, are suffering—is the fact that the majority of the people are deprived of the indisputable natural right of every man to use a portion of the land on which he was born. It is sufficient to un-

derstand all the criminality, the sinfulness of the situation in this respect, in order to understand that until this atrocity, continually being committed by the owners of the land, shall cease, no political reforms will give freedom and welfare to the people, but that, on the contrary, only the emancipation of the majority of the people from that land-slavery in which they are now held can render political reforms, not a plaything and a tool for personal aims in the hands of politicians, but the real expression of the will of the people.

It is this thought which I wish to communicate in this article to those who, at the present important moment for Russia, desire to serve not their personal aims, but the true welfare of the Russian people.

I.

The other day I was walking along the high road to Tula. It was on the Saturday of Holy Week; the people were driving to market in lines of carts, with calves, hens, horses, cows (some of the cows were being conveyed in the carts, so starved were they). A wrinkled old woman was leading a lean, sickly cow. I knew the old woman, and asked her why she was leading the cow.

"She's without milk," said the woman. "I ought to sell her and buy one with milk. Likely I'll have to add ten roubles, but I have only five. Where shall I take it? During the winter we have had to spend 18 roubles on flour, and we've only got one bread-winner. I live alone with my daughter-in-law and four grandchildren; my son is house-porter in town."

"Why doesn't your son live at home?" I asked.

He's nothing to work on. What's our land? Just enough for Kvas."[1]

A peasant went tramping along, thin and pale, his trousers bespattered with mine clay.

"What business in town?" I asked.

"To buy a horse; it's time to plow, and I haven't got one. But they say horses are dear."

"What price do you want to give?"

"Well, according to what I have."

"How much have you?"

"I've scraped together fifteen roubles.[2] But what can you buy at the present time for fifteen roubles?"

"A knacker's beast," put in another peasant. "In whose mine do you work?" he asked, glancing at his trousers stretched at the knee and colored with red clay.

"In Komaroff's, Ivan Komaroff's."

"Why have you made so little?"

"Oh, I was working for half-profit."

"How much did you earn?" I asked.

"Two roubles a week, or even less. What can one do? Bread didn't last till Christmas. We can't buy enough."

A little further, a young peasant was leading a sleek, well-fed horse to sell.

"Nice horse," said I.

"Couldn't be better," said he, thinking me a buyer. "Good for ploughing and driving."

"Then why do you sell it?"

"I can't use it. I've only two allotments. I can manage them with one horse. I've kept them both over the winter, and I'm sorry enough for it. The cattle have eaten everything up, and we want money to pay the rent."

"From whom do you rent?"

"From Maria Ivanovna; thanks be to her she let us have it. Otherwise it would have been the end of us."

"What are the terms?"

"She fleeces us of fourteen roubles. But where else can we go? So we take it."

A woman passed driving along with a boy wearing a little cap. She knew me, clambered out, and offered me her boy for service. The boy is quite a tiny fellow with quick, intelligent eyes.

"He looks small, but he can do everything," she says.

"But why do you hire out such a little one?"

"Well, sir, at least it'll be one mouth less to feed. I have four besides myself, and only one allotment. God knows, we've nothing to eat. They ask for bread and I've none to give them."

With whomsoever one talks, all complain of their want and all similarly from one side or another come back to the sole reason. There is insufficient bread, and bread is insufficient because there is no land.

These may be mere casual meetings on the road; but cross all Russia, all its peasant world, and one may observe all the dreadful calamities and sufferings which proceed from the obvious cause that the agricultural masses are deprived of land. Half the Russian peasantry live so that for them the question is not how to improve their position, but only how not to die of hunger, they and their families, and this only because they have no land.

Traverse all Russia and ask all the working people why their life is hard, what they want; and all of them with one voice will say one and the same thing, that which they unceasingly desire and expect, and for which they unceasingly hope, of which they unceasingly think.

And they cannot help thinking and feeling this, for, apart from the chief thing, the insufficiency of land for the maintenance of most of them, they cannot but feel themselves the slaves of the landed gentry, and merchants, and landowners whose estates have surrounded their small insufficient allotments; and they cannot but think and feel this, for every minute, for a bag of grass, for a handful of fuel, without which they cannot live, for a horse gone astray from their land on to the landlord's, they perpetually suffer fines, blows, humiliation.

Once, as I was going along the road, I entered into conversation with a blind peasant beggar. Recognizing in me from my conversation a literate man who read the papers, but not taking me for a gentleman, he suddenly stopped and gravely asked: "Well, and is there any rumor?"

I asked: "About what?"

"Why, about the gentry's land."

I said I had heard nothing. The blind man shook his head and didn't ask me anything more.

"Well, what do they say about the land?" I asked a short time ago a former pupil of mine, a rich, steady, and intelligent literate peasant.

"It is true the people prattle."

"And you yourself, what do you think?"

"Well, it'll probably come over to us," he said.

Of all events which are taking place, this alone is important and interesting to the whole people. And they believe, and cannot but believe, that it will "come over."

They cannot but believe this, because it is clear to them that a multiplying people living by agriculture cannot continue to exist when only a small portion of the land is left them from which they must feed themselves and all the parasites who have fastened on to them and are crawling about them.

II.

"What is man?" says Henry George in one of his speeches.

In the first place, he is an animal, a land animal who cannot live without land. All that man produces comes from the land; all productive labor, in the final analysis, consists in working up land, or materials drawn from land, into such forms as fit them for the satisfaction of human wants and desires. Why, man's very body is drawn from the land. Children of the soil,

[1] Kvas, a common Russian beverage, prepared from black rye bread. (Trans.)

[2] A rouble is about two shillings. (Trans.)

we come from the land, and to the land we must return. Take away from man all that belongs to the land, and what have you but a disembodied spirit? Therefore he who holds the land on which and from which another man must live is that man's master; and the man is his slave. The man who holds the land on which I must live can command me to life or to death just as absolutely as though I were his chattel. Talk about abolishing slavery—we have not abolished slavery; we have only abolished one rude form of it, chattel slavery. There is a deeper and more insidious form, a more cursed form yet before us to abolish, in this industrial slavery that makes a man a virtual slave, while taunting him and mocking him in the name of freedom.[3]

Did you ever think [says Henry George in another part of the same speech], of the utter absurdity and strangeness of the fact that all over the civilized world the working classes are the poor classes? Think for a moment how it would strike a rational being who had never been on the earth before, if such an intelligence could come down, and you were to explain to him how we live on earth, how houses and food and clothing and all the many things we need were all produced by work, would he not think that the working people would be the people who lived in the finest houses and had most of everything that work produces? Yet, whether you took him to London or Paris or New York, or even to Burlington, he would find that those called the working people were the people who lived in the poorest houses.[4]

The same thing, I would add, takes place in a yet greater degree in the country. Idle people live in luxurious palaces, in spacious and fine abodes. The workers live in dark and dirty hovels.

All this is strange—just think of it. We naturally despise poverty, and it is reasonable that we should. . . . Nature gives to labor, and to labor alone; there must be human work before any article of wealth can be produced; and in the natural state of things the man who toiled honestly and well would be the rich man, and he who did not work would be poor. We have so reversed the order of nature that we are accustomed to think of the working man as a poor man. . . . The primary cause of this is that we compel those who work to pay others for permission to do so. You may buy a coat, a horse, a house; there you are paying the seller for labor exerted, for something that he has produced, or that he has got from the man who did produce it; but when you pay a man for land, what are you paying him for? You are paying for something that no man has produced; you pay him for something that was here before man was, or for a value that was created, not by him individually, but by the community of which you are a part.[5]

It is for this reason that the one who has seized the land and possesses it is rich, whereas he who cultivates it or works on its products is poor.

We talk about over-production. How can there be such a thing as over-production while people want? All these things that are said to be over-produced are desired by many people. Why do they not get them? They do not get them because they have not the means to buy them; not that they do not want them. Why have not they the means to buy them? They earn too little. When the great mass of men have to work for an average of $1.40 a day, it is no wonder that great quantities of goods cannot be sold.

Now, why is it that men have to work for such low wages? Because if they were to demand higher wages there are plenty of unemployed men ready to step into their places. It is this mass of unemployed men who compel that fierce competition that drives wages down to the point of bare subsistence. Why is it that there are men who cannot get employment? Did you ever think what a strange thing it is that men cannot find employment? Adam had no difficulty in finding employment, neither had Robinson Crusoe; the finding of employment was the last thing that troubled them.

If men cannot find an employer, why cannot they employ themselves? Simply because they are shut out from the element on which human labor can alone be exerted. Men are compelled to compete with each other for the wages of an employer, because they have been robbed of the natural opportunities of employing themselves; because they cannot find a piece of God's world on which to work without paying some other human creature for the privilege.[6]

Men pray to the Almighty to relieve poverty. But poverty comes not from God's laws—it is blasphemy of the worst kind to say that; it comes from man's injustice to his fellows. Supposing the Almighty were to hear the prayer, how could He carry out the request so long as His laws are what they are? Consider, the Almighty gives us nothing of the things that constitute wealth; He merely gives us the raw material, which must be utilized by men to produce wealth. Does He not give us enough of that now? How could He relieve poverty even if He were to give us more? Supposing in answer to these prayers He were to increase the power of the sun, or the virtue of the soil? Supposing He were to make plants more prolific, or animals to produce after their kind more abundantly? Who would get the benefit of it? Take a country where land is completely monopolized, as it is in most of the civilized countries, who would get the benefit of it? Simply the landowners. And even if God in answer to prayer were to send down out of the heavens those things that men require, who would get the benefit?

In the Old Testament we are told that when the Israelites journeyed through the desert they were hungered, and that God sent manna down out of the heavens. There was enough for all of them, and they all took it and were relieved. But supposing that the desert had been held as private property, as the soil of Great Britain is held, as the soil even of our new States is being held; suppose that one of the Israelites had a square mile, and another one had 20 square miles, and another one had 100 square miles, and the great majority of the Israelites did not have enough to set the soles of their feet upon which they could call their own—what would become of the manna? What good would it have done to the majority? Not a whit. Though God had sent down manna enough for all, that manna would have been the property of the landholders, they would have employed some of the others perhaps to gather it up into heaps for them, and would have sold it to their hungry brethren. Consider it; this purchase and sale of manna might have gone on until the majority of Israelites had given all they had, even to the clothes off their backs. What then? Then they would not have had anything to buy manna with, and the consequences would have been that while they went hungry the manna would have lain in great heaps, and the landowners would have been complaining of the over-production of manna. There would have been a great harvest of manna and hungry people, just precisely the phenomenon that we see to-day.[7]

I do not mean to say that even after you had set right this fundamental injustice there would not be many things to do; but this I do mean to say, that our treatment of land lies at the bottom of all social questions. This I do mean to say, that, do what you please, reform as you may, you never can get rid of widespread poverty so long as the element on which and from which all men must live is made the private property of some men. It is utterly impossible. Reform government; get taxes down to the minimum; build railroads; institute co-operative stores; divide profits, if you choose, between employers and employed—and what will be the result? The result will be that the land will increase in value—that will be the result—that and nothing else. Experience shows this. Do not all improvements simply increase the value of land—the price that some must pay others for the privilege of living?[8]

The same, I shall add, do we unceasingly see in Russia. All landowners complain of the unprofitableness and expense of their estates, whilst the price of the land is continually rising. It cannot but rise, since the population is increasing and land is a question of life and death for this population.

And therefore the people surrender everything they can, not only their labor, but even their lives, for the land which is being withheld from them.

III.

There used to be cannibalism and human sacrifices; there used to be religious prostitution and the murder of weak children and of girls; there used to be bloody revenge and the slaughter of whole populations, judicial tortures, quarterings, burnings at the stake, the lash; and there have been, within our memory, spitzruthens[9] and slavery, which have also disappeared. But if we have outlived these dreadful cus-

[3] The Works of Henry George, Vol. IX., p. 199.
[4] Ibid., Vol. IX., p. 202.
[5] Ibid., Vol. IX., pp. 202-203.
[6] Ibid., Vol. IX., p. 204.
[7] Ibid., Vol. IX., pp. 205-206.
[8] Ibid., Vol. IX., pp. 204-205.
[9] Spitzruthens—sticks used by soldiers when one of them is condemned to run the gauntlet, a punishment which the victim often did not survive. (Trans.)

toms and institutions, this does not prove that there do not exist institutions and customs amongst us which have become as abhorrent to enlightened reason and conscience as those which have in their time been abolished and have become for us only a dreadful remembrance. The way of human perfecting is endless, and at every moment of historical life there are superstitions, deceits, pernicious and evil institutions already outlived by men and belonging to the past; there are others which appear to us in the far mists of the future; and there are some which we are now living through and whose over-living forms the object of our life. Such in our time is capital punishment and all punishment in general. Such is prostitution, such is flesh eating, such is the work of militarism, war, and such is the nearest and most obvious evil, private property in land.

But as people never suddenly freed themselves from all the injustices which had become customary, nor even did so immediately after the more sensitive individuals had recognized their iniquity, but advanced only by leaps, halts, resumings, and again new leaps towards freedom, similar to the struggles of childbirth, so has it been of late with the abolition of slavery, and so is it now with private property in land.

The evil and injustice of private property in land have been pointed out a thousand years ago by the prophets and sages of old. Later progressive thinkers of Europe have been oftener and oftener pointing it out. With special clearness did the workers of the French Revolution do so. In latter days, owing to the increase of the population and the seizing by the rich of a great quantity of previously free land, also owing to general enlightenment and the spread of humanitarianism, this injustice has become so obvious that not only the progressive, but even the most average, people cannot help seeing and feeling it. But men, especially those who profit by the advantages of landed property—the owners themselves, as well as those whose interests are connected with this institution—are so accustomed to this order of things, they have for so long profited by it, have so much depended upon it, that often they themselves do not see its injustice, and they use all possible means to conceal from themselves and others the truth which is disclosing itself more and more clearly, and to crush, extinguish, and distort it, or, if these do not succeed, to hush it up.

Characteristically was this the fate of the activity of the remarkable man who appeared towards the end of last century—Henry George—who devoted his great mental powers to the elucidation of the injustice and cruelty of landed property and to the indication of the means of correcting this evil by the help of the state of organization now existing amongst all nations. He did this in his books, articles and speeches with such extraordinary power and lucidity that no man without preconceived ideas could, after reading his books, fail to agree with his arguments, and to see that no reforms can improve the condition of the people until this fundamental injustice be destroyed, and that the means he proposes for its abolition are rational, just and expedient.

But what has happened? Notwithstanding that at the time of their appearance the English writings of Henry George spread very quickly in the Anglo-Saxon world, and did not fail to be appreciated to the full extent of their great merit, it very soon appeared that in England, and even in Ireland, where the crying injustice of private landed property is particularly manifest, the majority of the most influential educated people, notwithstanding the conclusiveness of Henry George's arguments and the practicability of the remedy he proposes, opposed his teaching. Radical agitators like Parnell, who at first sympathized with George's scheme, very soon shrank from it, regarding political reforms as more important. In England almost all the aristocrats were against it, also, amongst others, the famous Toynbee, Gladstone, and Herbert Spencer—that Spencer who in his "Statics" at first most categorically asserted the injustice of landed property, and then, renouncing this view of his, bought up the old editions of his writings in order to eliminate from them all that he had said concerning the injustice of landed property.

In Oxford during George's lectures the students organized hostile manifestations while the Roman Catholic party regarded George's teaching as positively sinful and immoral, dangerous, and contrary to Christ's teaching. Also the orthodox science of political economy revolted against George's teaching. Learned professors from the height of their superiority refuted his teaching without understanding it, chiefly because it did not recognize the fundamental principles of their imaginary science. The Socialists were also inimical, recognizing as the most important problem of the day not the land problem, but the complete abolition of private property.

The chief weapon against the teaching of Henry George was that which is always used against irrefutable and self-evident truths. This method, which is still being applied in relation to George, was that of hushing up. This hushing up was effected so successfully that a member of the English Parliament, Labouchere, could publicly say, without meeting any refutation, that "he was not such a visionary as Henry George. He did not propose to take the land from the landlords and rent it out again. What he was in favor of was putting a tax on land values."[10] That is, whilst attributing to George what he could not possibly have said, Labouchere, by way of correcting these imaginary fantasies, suggested that which Henry George did indeed say.

Thanks to the collective efforts of all those interested in defending the institution of landed property, the teaching of George, irresistibly convincing in its simplicity and clearness, remains almost unknown, and of late years attracts less and less attention.

Here and there in Scotland, Portugal or New Zealand he is recalled to mind, and amongst hundreds of scientists there appears one who knows and defends his teaching. But in England and the United States the number of his adherents dwindles smaller and smaller; in France his teaching is almost unknown; in Germany it is preached in a very small circle, and is everywhere stifled by the noisy teaching of Socialism.

IV.

People do not argue with the teaching of George, they simply do not know it. And it is impossible to do otherwise with his teaching, for he who becomes acquainted with it cannot but agree.

If people refer to this teaching they do so either in attributing to it that which it does not say, or in reasserting that which has been refuted by George, or else, above all, they reject it simply because it does not conform with those pedantic, arbitrary, superficial principles of so-called political economy which are recognized as indisputable truths.

Yet, notwithstanding this, the truth that land cannot be an object of property has become so elucidated by the

[10] The Works of Henry George, Vol. X., p. 516.

very life of contemporary mankind that in order to continue to retain a way of life in which private landed property is recognized there is only one means—not to think of it, to ignore the truth, and to occupy oneself with other absorbing business. So, indeed, do the men of our time.

Political workers of Europe and America occupy themselves for the welfare of their nations in various matters: tariffs, colonies, income taxes, military and naval budgets, socialistic assemblies, unions, syndicates, the election of presidents, diplomatic connections—by anything save the one thing without which there cannot be any true improvement in the condition of the people—the reestablishment of the infringed right of all men to use the land. Although in the depth of their souls political workers of the Christian world feel—cannot but feel—that all their activity, the commercial strife with which they are occupied, as well as the military strife in which they put all their energies—can lead to nothing but a general exhaustion of the strength of nations; still they, without looking forward, give themselves up to the demand of the minute, and, as if with the one desire to forget themselves, continue to turn round and round in an enchanted circle out of which there is no issue.

However strange this temporary blindness of the political workers of Europe and America, it can be explained by the fact that in Europe and America people have already gone so far along a wrong road that the majority of their population is already torn from the land (in America it has never lived on the land), but lives either in factories or by hired agricultural labor, and desires and demands only one thing—the improvement of its position as hired laborers. It is therefore comprehensible that to the political workers of Europe and America—listening to the demands of the majority—it may seem that the chief means for the improvement of the position of the people consists in tariffs, trusts and colonies, but to the Russian people in Russia, where the agricultural population composes 80 per cent. of the whole nation, where all this people request only one thing—that opportunity be given them to remain in this state—it would seem it should be clear that for the improvement of the position of the people something else is necessary.

The people of Europe and America are in the position of a man who has gone so far along a road which at first appeared the right one, but which the further he goes the more it removes him from his object, that he is afraid of confessing his mistake. But the Russians are yet standing before the turning of the path and can, according to the wise saying, "ask their way while yet on the road."

And what are those Russian people doing, who desire, or, at all events, say they desire, to organize a good life for the people? In everything they slavishly imitate whatever is being done in Europe and America.

For the arrangement of a good life for the people they are concerned with the freedom of the press, religious tolerance, liberty of union, tariffs, conditional punishment, the separation of the Church from the State, cooperative associations, future communalization of the implements of work, and, above all, with representative government—that same representative government which has long existed in European and American states, but whose existence has not in the slightest contributed, nor does now contribute, not only to the solution, but even to the raising of that one land problem which involves all difficulties. If Russian political workers do speak about land abuse, which they for some reason call the "agrarian" question—probably thinking that this silly word will conceal the substance of the matter—they speak of it, not in the sense that private landed property is an evil which should be abolished, but in the sense that it is necessary in some way or other, by various patchings and palliatives, to plaster up, hush up, and pass over this essential, ancient, and cruel, this obvious and crying injustice, which is awaiting its turn for abolition not only in Russia, but in the whole world.

In Russia, where a hundred million of the masses unceasingly suffer from the seizure of the land by private owners, and unceasingly cry out about it, the position of those people who are vainly searching everywhere but where it really is for the means of improving the condition of the people, reminds one exactly of that which takes place on the stage when all the spectators see perfectly well the man who has hidden himself, and the actors themselves ought to see him, but pretend they do not, intentionally distracting each other's attention and seeing everything except that which it is necessary for them to see, but which they do not wish to see.

V.

People have driven a herd of cows, on the milk products of which they are fed, into an enclosure. The cows have eaten up and trampled the forage in the enclosure, they are hungry, they have chewed each other's tails, they low and moan, imploring to be released from the enclosure and set free in the pastures. But the very men who feed themselves on the milk of these cows have set around the enclosure plantations of mint, of plants for dyeing purposes, and of tobacco; they have cultivated flowers, laid out a racecourse, a park, and a lawn tennis ground, and they do not let out the cows lest they spoil these arrangements. But the cows bellow, get thin, and the men begin to be afraid that the cows may cease to yield milk, and they invent various means of improving the condition of these cows. They erect sheds over them, they introduce wet brushes for rubbing the cows, they gild their horns, alter the hour of milking, concern themselves with the housing and treating of invalid and old cows, they invent new and improved methods of milking, they expect that some kind of wonderfully nutritious grass they have sown in the enclosure will grow up, they argue about these and many other varied matters, but they do not, cannot—without disturbing all they have arranged around the enclosure—do the only simple thing necessary for themselves as well as for the cows—to-wit, the taking down of the fence and granting the cows their natural freedom of using in plenty the pastures surrounding them.

Acting thus men act unreasonably, but there is an explanation of their action; they are sorry for the fate of all they have arranged around the enclosure. But what shall we call those people who have set nothing around the fence, but who, out of imitation of those who do not set free their cows, owing to what they had arranged around the enclosure, also keep their cows inside the fence, and assert that they do so for the welfare of the cows themselves?

Precisely thus act those Russians, both Governmental and anti-Governmenal, who arrange for the Russian people, unceasingly suffering from the want of land, every kind of European institution, forgetting and denying the chief thing: that which alone the Russian people requires—the liberation of the land from private property, the establishment of equal rights on the land for all men.

One can understand how European parasites living not directly by the labor of their own British, French or German working men, but by the labor of colonial working men who produce the bread for which the others exchange their factory produce, may, without seeing the labor and sufferings of those

working men who feed and support them, invent a future Socialistic organization for which they think they are educating mankind, and with unawakened conscience amuse themselves with electioneering campaigns, the strife of parties, Parliamentary debates, the establishment and overthrow of Ministries, and every other kind of recreation which they call science and art.

The true bread-supporters of these European parasites are the laborers they do not see in India, Africa, Australia, and partly in Russia. But it is not so for us Russians; we have no colonies where slaves invisible to ourselves feed us for our manufacturing produce. Our bread-winners, suffering, hungry, are always before our eyes, and we cannot transfer the burden of our iniquitous life to distant colonies, that slaves invisible to us should feed us.

Our sins are always before us.

And behold, instead of entering into the needs of those who support us, instead of hearing their cries and endeavoring to satisfy them, we, instead of this, under pretext of serving them, also prepare, according to the European sample, Socialistic organizations for the future, and in the present occupy ourselves with what amuses and distracts us, and appears to be directed to the welfare of the people out of whom we are squeezing their last strength in order to support us, their parasites.

For the welfare of the people, we endeavor to abolish the censorship of books, arbitrary banishments, and to organize everywhere schools, common and agricultural, to increase the numbes of hospitals, to cancel passports and monopolies, to institute strict inspection in the factories, to reward maimed workers, to mark boundaries between properties, to contribute through banks to the purchase of land by peasants, and much else.

One need only enter into the unceasing sufferings of millions of the people; the dying out from want of the aged, women, and children, and of the workers from excessive work and insufficient food—one need only enter into the servitude, the humiliations, all the useless expenditures of strength, into the deprivations, into all the horror of the needless calamities of the Russian rural population which all proceed from insufficiency of land—in order that it should become quite clear that all such measures as the abolition of censorship, of arbitrary banishment, etc., which are being striven after by the pseudo-defenders of the people, even were they to be realized, would form only the most insignificant drop in the ocean of that want from which the people are suffering.

But not only do those concerned with the welfare of the people, while inventing alterations, trifling, unimportant, both in quality and quantity, leave a hundred millions of the people in unceasing slavery owing to the seizure of the land—more than this, many of these people, of the most progressive amongst them, desire that the suffering of this people should, by its continual increase, drive them to the necessity—after leaving on their way millions of victims, perished from want and depravity—of exchanging their customary and happy, favorite and reasonable agricultural life for that improved factory life which they have invented for them.

The Russian people—owing to their agricultural environment, their love for this form of life, their Christian trend of character, owing to the circumstance that they, almost alone of all European nations, continue to be an agricultural nation and desire to remain such—is, as it were, providentially placed by historic conditions for the solution of what is called the labor question, in such a position as to stand in the front of the true progressive movement of all mankind. Yet it is this Russian people who is invited by its fancied representatives and leaders to follow in the wake of the dying out and entangled European and American nations, to become depraved, and to relinquish its own calling as quickly as possible in order to become like Europeans in general.

Astounding is the poverty of thought of these men, who do not think with their own minds, but only servilely repeat whatever is given forth by their European models; but still more astounding is the hardness of their hearts, their cruelty.

VI.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." (Matthew xxiii., 27, 28.)

There was a time when in the name of God and of true faith in Him men were destroyed, tortured, executed, beaten in scores and hundreds of thousands. We, from the height of our attainments, now look down upon the men who did these things.

But we are wrong. Amongst us there are many such people, the difference lies only here—that those men of old did these things then in the name of God, and of His true service, whilst now those who commit the same evil amongst us do so in the name of "the people," "for the true service of the people." And as amongst the former there were men insanely self-convinced that they knew the truth, and there were others hypocrites taking up their position under the pretext of serving God, and there was a crowd without consideration following the more dextrous and bold, so also now those who do evil in the name of serving the people consist of men insanely self-convinced that they alone know the truth—of hypocrites and of the crowd. Much evil have the self-proclaimed servants of God done in their time, thanks to the teaching which they called Theology, but the servants of the people, thanks to the teaching which they call Science, if they have done less evil, it is only because they have not yet had time to do it, but already on their conscience there lie rivers of blood and great divisions and exasperation amongst men.

And the features of both these activities are the same.

First, there is the dissolute bad life of the majority of these "servants," both of God and of the people. (Their calling themselves servants of God or of the people, according to their ideas, frees them from restricting themselves in their conduct.)

The second feature is the utter absence of interest, attention, or love towards that which they desire to serve. God, with these servants of His, has been and is only a banner, whilst in reality these servants of His did not seek communion with Him, did not know, or desire to know Him. So also with many of the servants of the people—the people are only a banner, and they, far from loving them, do not seek communion with the service of one and the same people in the depth of their souls look down upon them with contempt, disgust and fear.

The third feature is that while they are concerned, the former with the service of one and the same God, the latter with the service of one and the same people, they not only disagree amongst themselves concerning the methods of their service, but pronounce the activity of all who do not agree with them as false and pernicious, and demand its compulsory suspension. Hence, stakes, inquisitions, slaughters in the former case, and executions, imprisonments, revolutions and manslaughters in the latter.

Finally, the chief and the most characteristic feature of the one and the other is their complete indifference, their absolute ignoring of that which the One they profess to serve has stated and is stat-

ing that He desires and demands. God, whom they have served and are serving so zealously, has directly and clearly expressed, in that which they recognize as Divine revelation, that it is necessary to serve Him only by loving one's neighbor, by acting towards others as one desires others to act towards himself. But they did not recognize this as the means of serving God; they demanded something quite different, that which they themselves invented and gave out for the demands of God. So likewise act the servants of the people—they do not at all recognize that which the people desire and clearly ask for, and they choose to serve them through that which the people not only do not ask of them, but of which they have not the slightest idea, but which these servants of the people have invented for them; and not by that alone for which the people unceasingly look, and which they unceasingly ask.

VII.

Of all indispensable alterations of the forms of social life there is in the life of the world one which is most ripe, one without which not a single step forward in improvement in the life of men can be accomplished. The necessity of this alteration is obvious to every man who is free from preconceived theories. This alteration is not the work of Russia alone, but of the whole world. All the calamities of mankind in our time are connected with this condition. We, in Russia, are in the fortunate position that the great majority of our people living by agricultural labor, does not recognize private property in land and desires and demands the abolition of this old abuse, and does not cease to express this desire.

But no one sees this, no one wants to see it!

Whence this dreadful perversity? Why do kind, good, intelligent men, of which there are many amongst the Liberals, Socialists and Revolutionists, not excluding even Government officials—why do these men, desiring the people's welfare, not see the one thing they are in need of, that towards which they unceasingly strive, and without which they ceaselessly suffer? Why are they concerned instead with the most various things the realization of which, without the realization of that which the people desire, can in no case contribute to their welfare? The whole of the activity of Governmental as well as of anti-Governmental servants of the people, resembles that of a man who, whilst trying to help a horse stuck in a bog, sits in the cart and transfers from one place to another the load which is in the cart, imagining that he can thus help matters!

Why is this?

The answer to this question is the same as to all questions as to why people of our time, who might live well and happily, are living badly and miserably.

It comes from the circumstance that these men, both Governmental and anti-Governmental, who are organizing the welfare of the people, have no religion—for without religion man cannot himself lead a rational life, and still less can he know what is good and what is bad, what is necessary and what unnecessary, for other people. For this reason alone do people of our time in general, and the Russian educated people in particular—altogether bereft of religious consciousness and openly announcing this with pride—so perversely misunderstand life and the demands of the people they wish to serve, demanding for them everything save the one thing which they require.

Without religion one cannot really love men, and without loving men one cannot know what they require, and what is more, and what is less, necessary for them. Only those who are not religious, and therefore do not truly love, can invent trifling, unimportant improvements in the condition of the people without seeing that chief evil from which others are suffering, and which they themselves are partly producing. Only such people can preach more or less cleverly-constructed abstract theories supposed to render the people happy in the future, and not see the sufferings the people are bearing in the present and which demand immediate and practical alleviation. As it were, a man who has deprived a hungry man of his food is giving him his counsel (and that of a very doubtful character) as to how he should get food in the future, without deeming it necessary immediately to share with him that part of his own abundance consisting of the food he has actually taken away from the man.

Fortunately, great beneficial movements in humanity are accomplished not by parasites feeding on the life-blood of the people, whatever they may call themselves—Governments, Revolutionists, or Liberals—but by religious people—that is, by people who are serious, simple, laborious, and who live not for their own profit, vanity, or ambition, and not for the attainment of external results, but for the fulfillment before God of their human vocation.

Such men, and only such, by their noiseless but resolute activity, move mankind forward. Such men will not, desiring to distinguish themselves in the eyes of others, invent this or that improvement in the condition of the people (there can be an endless number of such improvements, and they are all insignificant if the chief thing is not done), but will endeavor to live in accordance with the law of God, with conscience, and in endeavoring to live so they will naturally come across the most obvious transgression of this law, and for themselves, and for others will search for the means of freeing themselves from it.

The other day a doctor of my acquaintance whilst waiting for a train in the third-class waiting-room of a big railway station, was reading a paper. A peasant sitting by him inquired about the news. In the copy of the paper there was an article about the "agrarian" convention. The doctor translated into Russian this funny word "agrarian," and when it was understood that the question concerned the land, the peasant requested him to read the article. The doctor began to read; other peasants came up. A small crowd collected; they were pressing on each other's backs, some sitting on the floor; the faces of all were solemnly concentrated. When the reading was over, one of the hindmost, an old man, sighed deeply and crossed himself. This man, for certain, did not understand anything of the confused jargon in which the article was written, and which it is difficult to understand even for those who know how to talk this jargon themselves. He understood nothing of what was written in the article, but he understood that the matter concerned the great, the old sin from which all his ancestors had suffered and from which he also suffers; he understood that those who are committing this sin are becoming conscious of it. And having understood this, he mentally turned to God and crossed himself. And in this one movement of this man's hand there is more meaning and content than in all the prattle which now fills the columns of the papers. This man understands, as does the whole of the people, that the seizure of the land by those who do not cultivate it is a great sin, under which his ancestors physically suffered and perished, and under which he himself and his neighbors also physically suffer, while all the time those who have committed this sin and who are now committing it, spiritually suffer—and that this sin, like every sin—like, in his memory, the sin of serfdom—must inevitably come to an end. He knows and feels this, and therefore he cannot but turn to God at the thought of the approach of the solution.

VIII.

"Great social reforms," says Mazzini, "always have been and will be the result of great religious movements."

And such is the religious movement which is now pending for the Russian people, for all the Russian people, for the working classes deprived of land as well as, and especially for, the big, medium, and small landowners, and for all those hundreds of thousands of men who, although they do not directly possess land, yet occupy an advantageous position, thanks to the compulsory labor of the people who are deprived of land.

The religious movement now due among the Russian people consists in undoing the great sin which for a long time has been hurting and is dividing men, not only in Russia, but in all the world.

This sin can be undone, not by political reform, nor Socialistic schemes for the future, not by revolutions in the present, and still less by philanthropic assistance or governmental organization for the purchase and distribution of land among the peasants.

Such palliative measures only distract attention from the essence of the problem and thus retard its solution.

No artificial sacrifices are necessary, no concern about the people—there is only necessary the consciousness of this sin by all those who commit or participate in it, and the desire of freeing themselves from it.

It is only necessary that the undeniable truth which the best men of the people always knew and know—that the land cannot be the exclusive property of some, and that the non-admission to the land of those who are in need of it is a sin—that this truth should become generally recognized by all men; that people should become ashamed of retaining the land from those who want to feed themselves from it; that it should become a shame in any way to participate in this retention of the land from those who need it, a shame to possess land, a shame to profit by the labor of men compelled to work only because they have been deprived of their legitimate right to the land.

It is necessary that there should occur that which took place with the law of serfdom when nobles and landowners became ashamed to possess serfs, the Government became ashamed of maintaining these unjust and cruel laws, when it became evident to the peasants themselves that an utterly unjustifiable iniquity was being committed upon them. The same must take place also with landed property. And this is necessary, not for any one class, however numerous it may be, but it is necessary for all classes, and not only for all classes and all men of any one country, but for the whole of mankind.

IX.

Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting, by complaints and denunciation, by the formation of parties or the making of revolutions [wrote Henry George], but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought there cannot be right action, and when there is correct thought right action will follow. . . .

The great work of the present for every man and every organization of men who would improve social conditions is the work of education, the propagation of ideas. It is only as it aids this that anything else can avail. And in this work every one who can think may aid, first by forming clear ideas himself, and then by endeavoring to arouse the thought of those with whom he comes in contact.[11]

This is quite true; but, in order to serve this great cause, besides thought there must also be something more—a religious feeling—that feeling owing to which in the last century the owners of serfs recognized themselves culpable, and, notwithstanding personal loss and even ruin, sought the means of freeing themselves from the sin which weighed upon them.

It is this feeling in regard to landed property which must awaken in the well-to-do classes in order that the great work of the liberation of the land should be accomplished; this feeling should awaken in such a degree that people should be ready to sacrifice everything if only they can free themselves from the sin in which they have lived and are living.

Possessing hundreds, thousands, scores of thousands of acres, trading in land, profiting one way or the other by landed property, and living luxuriously thanks to the oppression of the people, possible through this cruel and obvious injustice—to argue in various committees and assemblies about the improvement of the conditions of the peasant's life without surrendering one's own exclusively advantageous position growing from this injustice, is not only an unkind but a detestable and evil thing, equally condemnable by common sense, honesty and Christianity. It is necessary, not to invent cunning devices for the improvement of men deprived of their lawful right to the land, but to understand one's own sin in relation to them, and before all else to cease to participate in it, whatever this may cost. Only such moral activity of every man can and will contribute to the solution of the question now standing before humanity.

The emancipation of the serfs in Russia was effected not by Alexander II., but by those men who understood the sin of serfdom and, independently of their own advantages, endeavored to free themselves from it, and it was chiefly effected by such men as Novikoff, Radischeff, the Decembrists,[12] those men who were ready to suffer and did themselves suffer (without making anyone else suffer) in the name of loyalty to that which they recognized as the truth.

The same must take place in relation to the land.

I believe that there do now exist such men, and that they will fulfill that great work not only Russian, but universal, which is before the Russian people.

The land question has at the present time reached such a state of ripeness as 50 years ago was reached by the question of serfdom. Exactly the same is being repeated. As at that time men searched for the means of remedying the general uneasiness and dissatisfaction which were felt in society, and applied all kinds of external governmental means, but nothing helped nor could help whilst there remained the ripening and unsolved question of personal slavery, so also now no external measures will help or can help, until the ripe question of landed property be solved. As now measures are proposed for adding slices to the peasants' land, for the purchase of land by the aid of banks, etc., so then also palliative measures were proposed and enacted, material improvements, rules about three days' labor, and so forth. Even as now the owners of land talk about the injustice of putting a stop to their criminal ownership, so then people talked about the unlawfulness of depriving owners of their serfs. As then the Church justified the serf right, so now that which occupies the place of the Church—Science—justifies landed property. Just as then slave owners, realizing their sin more or less, endeavored in various ways without undoing it to mitigate it, and substituted the payment of a ransom by the serfs for direct compulsory work for their masters and moderated their exactions from the peasants, so also now the more sensitive land owners, feeling their guilt, endeavor to redeem it by

[11] "Social Problems," by Henry George (Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co.), pp. 229-230.

[12] Russian Radical reformers at the end of the eighteenth and commencement of the nineteenth centuries, who opposed the Government and suffered persecution at its hands. (Trans.)

renting their land to the peasants on more lenient conditions, by selling it through the peasant banks, by arranging schools for the people, ridiculous houses of recreation, magic-lantern lectures and theaters.

Exactly the same also is the indifferent attitude of the government to the question. And as then the question was solved, not by those who invented artful devices for the alleviation and improvement of the condition of peasant life, but by those who, recognizing the urgent necessity of the right solution, did not postpone it indefinitely, did not foresee special difficulties in it, but immediately, straight off, endeavored to arrest the evil, and did not admit the idea that there could be conditions in which evil once recognized must continue, but took that course which under the existing conditions appeared the best—the same now also with the land question.

The question will be solved, not by those who will endeavor to mitigate the evil or to invent alleviations for the people or to postpone the task of the future, but by those who will understand that, however one may mitigate a wrong, it remains a wrong, and that it is senseless to invent alleviations for a man we are torturing, and that one cannot postpone when people are suffering, but should immediately take the best way of solving the difficulty and immediately apply it in practice. And the more should it be so that the method of solving the land problem has been elaborated by Henry George to such a degree of perfection that, *under the existing State organization and compulsory taxation* [13] it is impossible to invent any other better, more just, practical, and peaceful solution.

To beat down and cover up the truth that I have tried to-night to make clear to you [said Henry George], selfishness will call on ignorance. But it has in it the germinative force of truth, and the times are ripe for it. . . . .The ground is plowed; the seed is set; the good tree will grow. So little now; only the eye of faith can see it.[14]

And I think that Henry George is right, that the removal of the sin of landed property is near, that the movement called forth by Henry George was the last birth-throe, and that the birth is on the point of taking place; the liberation of men from the sufferings they have so long borne must now be realized. Besides this, I think (and I would like to contribute to this, in however small a measure) that the removal of this great universal sin—a removal which will form an epoch in the history of mankind—is to be effected precisely by the Russian Slavonian people, who are, by their spiritual and economic character, predestined for this great universal task—that the Russian people should not become proletarians in imitation of the peoples of Europe and America, but, on the contrary, that they should solve the land question at home by the abolition of landed property, and show other nations the way to a rational, free and happy life, outside industrial, factory, or capitalistic coercion and slavery—that in this lies their great historical calling.

I would like to think that we Russian parasites, reared by and having received leisure for mental work through the people's labor, will understand our sin, and, independently of our personal advantage, in the name of the truth that condemns us, will endeavor to undo it.

[13] In view of a seeming contradiction in the eyes of some readers of Tolstoy between his support of Henry George's scheme and his simultaneous denial of all coercive State power, it is important to pay particular attention to these words italicized by the author himself. Tolstoy here emphasizes a reservation, that he recommends Henry George's scheme only under conditions of State organization and compulsory taxation. It goes without saying, that if the Christian teaching as Tolstoy understands it were to be thoroughly applied to life, then there would be neither coercive government nor compulsory taxation, and in the distribution of the land there would be practiced amongst men a more just kind than the single tax system voluntary agreement of a yet freer and of Henry George. (Trans.)

[14] The Works of Henry George, Vol. X., p. 296.

"Bessie, don't you want to stay in the parlor where your papa and Mr. Kawler are?"

"No, I don't, mamma. I've got tired of hearing them talk about munificent ownership."—Chicago Tribune.

BOOKS

LAND TENURE IN GEORGIA.

Dr. Enoch Marvin Banks has produced an interesting and instructive monograph in his paper on "The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia." The subject is not as broad as the title implies, for only farming land is considered, city sites and mineral deposits being excluded. As to the tenure of farming land, however, the economic history of the State appears to be fully and fairly, and it certainly is studiously and intelligently, presented. The relation of the Negro to the land tenures of Georgia, both as a slave before the Civil War and as a propertyless freedman afterward, is naturally the important, as it is the principal, problem considered; and the economic principles that the author finds himself forced to deal with are more than usually rational for a university thesis. ["The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia." BBy Enoch Marvin Banks, Ph. D. No. 1 of volume XXIII. of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Edited by the Faculty of Columbia University, New York: The Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King & Son.]

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Monopolies Past and Present. An Introductory Study. By James Edward Le Rossignol, Ph. D., professor of economics in the University of Denver and special lecturer in economics in McGill University. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. To be reviewed.

—Introduction to the Study of Economics. By Charles Jesse Bullock, Ph. D., assistant professor of political economy in Harvard University. New edition, revised and enlarged. New York, Boston and Chicago: Silver, Burdett & Company. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

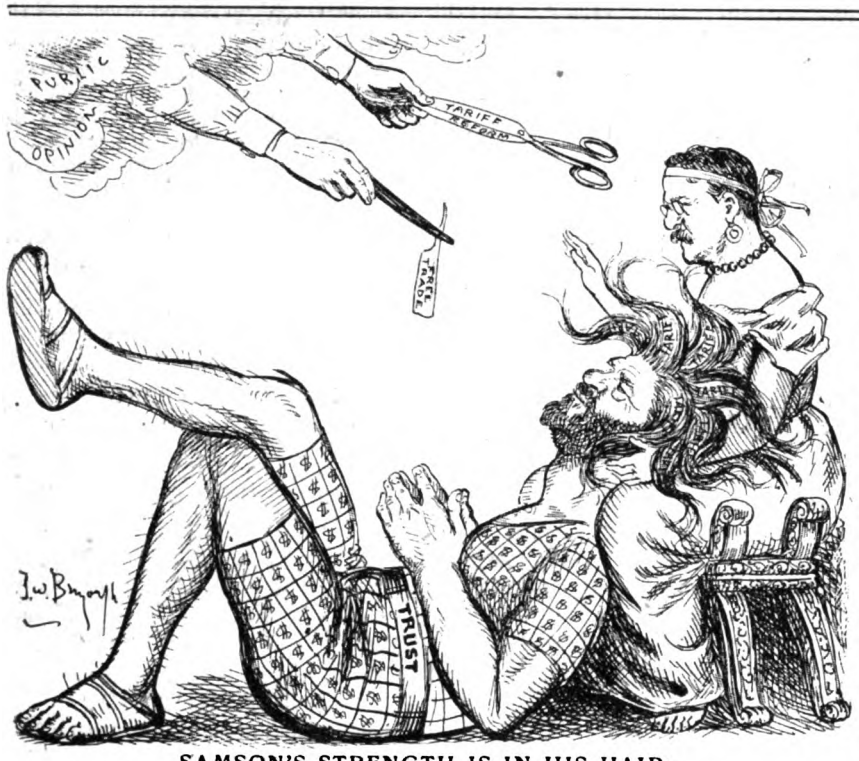
In pamphlet No. 18 of the Massachusetts Single Tax League (Boston) are collected the speeches at the monthly dinner discussion of the Economic Club of Boston on the subject of "The Taxation of Ground Rent." Besides the introductory speech by C. B. Fillebrown, president of the Massachusetts Single Tax League, and the principal address by Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, New York, there are comments by several distinguished men, including Josiah Quincy. Prof. Seligman's address is a guarded, but none the less unmistakable argument for taxing what John Stuart Mill called "the unearned increment" of land to the exemption of improvements.

"The Economic Situation in the Philippines," by Prof. H. Parker Willis, and "The Cost of War," by Prof. Charles J Bullock, both issued by the Anti-Imperialist League, 20 Central St., Boston, are suggestive documents. The former reveals somewhat of the sad condition in the Philippines for which our country is responsible; the latter measures the financial burdens which our imperialistic policy has brought upon us at home.

PERIODICALS

Articles on labor conditions in the Philippines and in Java, both by Victor S. Clark, nearly fill the 1,000 pages of the May Bulletin of Labor, which is issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington.

Thus far and no farther is being said to the men of science in many quarters recently. They are being told that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy. An article in the Contem-



SAMSON'S STRENGTH IS IN HIS HAIR;
But Delilah can't be induced to use the scissors or the razor!

porary Review by E. Armitage is well worth reading on this subject. Speaking of the last meeting of the British Association, he says: "It may be assumed that many men of science returned to their homes last year saddened men. They have for a long time cherished the ambition to reach far beyond the immediate physical and mechanical issues before them, and to frame a world philosophy within the scope of which all things in heaven and earth shall fall. But at the Cambridge meeting they were wounded in the house of their friends." The same article alludes to Mr. Hobhouse's work on Democracy and Reaction, in which some of the reaction is rightly laid to the charge of the unhumanitarian theories of so-called science. In physical and mechanical issues science is the glorious benefactor; but when she claims to solve all problems of faith, hope and charity, she becomes the detractor of man's ideals and the debaser of his moral currency.—J. H. D.

John E. Gorst, writing in the National Review on Children's Rights, says that in England "the rate of mortality amongst infants under a year old has advanced in urban districts during the last quarter of a century." This, in spite of improved sanitation. He attributes the increase in mortality largely to the fact that "mothers are torn from their new-born children to work in factories." He finds that the increase is most alarming in respect to infantile diseases which are attributable to artificial feeding.—J. H. D.