

knowledge rather than mere hope, we may abide the outcome in patience, for here are some of the things he says: "Our representatives will be against both Sullivan and Hearst and will only work with Harrison in so far as Harrison lines up for their principles and for men they are willing to trust to carry out those principles." Again: "Abuse Hearst all you wish. He deserves it. Warn Progressive Democrats against the danger of being led into a trap by Hearst and his allies, but in the name of justice and fair dealing and in the interest of progressive principles do not try to hang the Hearst tag on every one who is fighting Sullivan. I can assure you that if the Progressive Democrats of Chicago will do as well by the cause of Progressive Democracy as we do in Springfield and the Twenty-first District, neither Sullivan, Hearst nor Harrison will be in control after the primaries of next April."

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Ingersoll's Statue.

Eugene Baldwin of Peoria, who deservedly won distinction a few years ago as editor and proprietor of the Peoria Star by making successful warfare on Big Business crookedness in connection especially with the administration of the public schools, has performed another service, one which though more gentle in manner may be as effective in its influence. For it is to Mr. Baldwin that the people of Peoria and thoughtful people everywhere are largely indebted for the Triebel statue of Robert G. Ingersoll, at the unveiling of which* in the presence of 6,000 people Charles Frederick Adams delivered the oration and Mr. Baldwin paid the personal tribute. This was no anti-church demonstration. The real memorial to Ingersoll was not as to a man with certain opinions but to one of moral courage, and it was spontaneous and irrespective of church connections. It is altogether too common among Ingersoll's admirers to regard him as an iconoclast, and among his critics to regard him as a wanton one. He *was* an iconoclast, as all men must be who would move forward against institutional barriers; but that wreckage was not a useless object with him but a necessary method, let these quotations from many like them testify.† "I am satisfied that the time will come—and I have been long of this opinion—when no man will be allowed to own land that he does not use . . . Some people, and they are the opponents

of Henry George, say that the idle should not live on the labor of the industrious, . . . and yet this is exactly what happens in nearly every government in the world. . . . There is something wrong when those who do the most have the least. . . . The time has come for the world to be controlled . . . by kindness guided by intelligence."

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Frederick M. Crunden.

An original friend of The Public and one who remained its friend to the last, passed away when Frederick M. Crunden died at St. Louis late in October. Mr. Crunden was one of the justly distinguished citizens of St. Louis, where the affection given him by all classes was no less than the universal respect he commanded. He was born at Gravesend, England, September 1, 1847; came to this country in infancy; graduated from Washington University in 1868, received its degree of A. M. in 1872, and of LL. D. in 1905; was principal of St. Louis grammar schools from 1869 to 1872; a professor at Washington University from 1872 to 1876; librarian of the St. Louis Public Library from 1877 to 1909; president of the American Library Association in 1890, and a vice-president of the International Library Conference at London in 1897. His wife, whom he married in 1889 when she was Kate Edmondson, survives him. Although Mr. Crunden was not active as librarian of the Public Library for several years before his death, his activity for nearly twenty years had been intense. He was its creator, says The Mirror; and so he was regarded in St. Louis. Reduced in health from overwork, he started upon a foreign trip, but collapsed with nervous prostration at the vessel's dock in New York. This was seven years ago, and although most of the time afterwards his mental faculties were alert and balanced, he never recovered his physical powers. Consequently the news of his death comes to many as of an active public man long since gone. The Mirror describes Mr. Crunden as one who, though he gave the most of his life to the Public Library of St. Louis, "had an object even beyond that work," for he was "a democrat to the ultimate," one of the first men in Missouri "to grasp the significance of the gospel of Henry George," one whose whole "effort was oriented to that light," and whose "faith never faltered," whose "hope never waned." To write a nobler and truer epitaph than this by William Marion Reedy would be a hopeless undertaking, and with all earnestness we quote and confirm it: "Frederick M. Crunden was a gentle man, patient

*See last week's Public, page 1123.

†They are from a letter that Col. Ingersoll wrote to the people of New York in the Henry George campaign for Mayor in 1886.

in long suffering, charitable in his judgments, believing in the final triumph of the good, the true and the beautiful. St. Louis must rank him high among its benefactors—as a man who was a maker of true men.”

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HENRY GEORGE AND SOCIALISM.

We are often asked, sometimes by socialists and sometimes by individualists, to explain Henry George's attitude toward Socialism. Probably no more appropriate issue of *The Public* could be chosen for an answer to all such questions, nor a better answer than that of Henry George himself.

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The first declaration by Henry George on this subject appears in *"Progress and Poverty."* This book was published in 1879, before any controversy had arisen other than that over the two tendencies of Communism which have taken the forms respectively of Socialism and Anarchism. In that original declaration by Henry George he says:

(P. and P., page 317): As to the truths that are involved in socialistic ideas, I shall have something to say hereafter; but it is evident that whatever savors of regulation and restriction is in itself bad, and should not be resorted to if any other mode of accomplishing the same end presents itself. . . . (page 319): The ideal of Socialism is grand and noble; and it is I am convinced, possible of realization; but such a state of society cannot be manufactured—it must grow. Society is an organism, not a machine. It can live only by the individual life of its parts. And in the free and natural development of all the parts will be secured the harmony of the whole. All that is necessary to social regeneration is included in the motto of those Russian patriots sometimes called Nihilists—"Land and Liberty!" . . . (page 431): The advantages which would be gained by substituting for the numerous taxes by which the public revenues are now raised, a single tax levied upon the value of land, will appear more and more important the more they are considered. . . . Released from the difficulties which attend the collection of revenue in a way that begets corruption and renders legislation the tool of special interests, society could assume functions which the increasing complexity of life makes it desirable to assume; but which the prospect of political demoralization under the present system now leads thoughtful men to shrink from. . . . (page 436): Consider the effect of such a change upon the labor market. Competition would no longer be one-sided as now. Instead of laborers competing with each other for employment, and in their competition cutting down wages to the point of bare subsistence, employers would everywhere be competing for laborers, and wages would rise to the fair earnings of labor. . . . (page 453): Society would thus approach the ideal of Jeffersonian democracy, the promised land of Herbert Spencer, the abolition of govern-

ment. But of government only as a directing and repressive power. It would at the same time, and in the same degree, become possible for it to realize the dream of Socialism, . . . but not through governmental repression. Government would change its character, and would become the administration of a great co-operative society. It would become merely the agency by which the common property was administered for the common benefit.

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In a later book, *"Social Problems,"* published in 1883, and while Socialistic lines were still indefinite in practical politics, Henry George discussed the same subject in much the same way. We quote from his chapter on "The Functions of Government":

(S. P., page 175): It is the more necessary to simplify government as much as possible and to improve, as much as may be, what may be called the mechanics of government, because, with the progress of society, the functions which government must assume steadily increase. It is only in the infancy of society that the functions of government can be properly confined to providing for the common defense and protecting the weak against the physical power of the strong. As society develops in obedience to that law of integration and increasing complexity of which I spoke in the first of these chapters, it becomes necessary in order to secure equality that other regulations should be made and enforced; and upon the primary and restrictive functions of government are superimposed what may be called co-operative functions, the refusal to assume which leads, in many cases, to the disregard of individual rights as surely as does the assumption of directive and restrictive functions not properly belonging to government. . . . (page 176): As civilization progresses and industrial development goes on, the concentration which results from the utilization of larger powers and improved processes operates more and more to the restriction and exclusion of competition and the establishment of complete monopolies. . . . The primary purpose and end of government being to secure the natural rights and equal liberty of each, all businesses that involve monopoly are within the necessary province of governmental regulation, and businesses that are in their nature complete monopolies become properly functions of the state. As society develops, the state must assume these functions, in their nature co-operative, in order to secure the equal rights and liberty of all. . . . (page 188): Businesses that are in their nature monopolies are properly functions of the state. The state must control or assume them, in self defense, and for the protection of the equal rights of citizens. But beyond this, the field in which the state may operate beneficially as the executive of the great co-operative association, into which it is the tendency of true civilization to blend society, will widen with the improvement of government and the growth of public spirit. . . . (page 191): The natural progress of social development is unmistakably toward co-operation, or, if the word be preferred, toward Socialism, though I dislike to use a word to which such various and vague meanings