

Why, the 400 will be goin' for him next. Make him the fashion once, and with his present lead—thunder!

UNCLE SAM.

### THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH REST UPON THIS NATION.

An extract from the address of the Hon. William Jennings Bryan at the Thanksgiving banquet given by Hon. Joseph Choate, ambassador to the Court of St. James, at the Hotel Cecil, London, November 26, 1903, as published in *The Commoner* of December 18.

We sometimes feel that we have a sort of proprietary interest in the principles of government set forth in the Declaration of Independence. That is a document which we have given to the world, and yet the principles set forth therein were not invented by an American. Thomas Jefferson expressed them in felicitous language and put them into permanent form, but the principles had been known before. The doctrine that all men are created equal, that they are endowed with inalienable rights, that governments were instituted amongst men to secure these rights, and that they derived their just power from the consent of the governed—this doctrine which stands four square with all the world was not conceived in the United States, it did not spring from the American mind—aye, it did not come so much from any mind as it was an emanation from the heart, and it had been in the hearts of men for ages. (Cheers.)

Before Columbus turned the prow of his ship towards the west on that eventful voyage, before the barons wrested Magna Charta from King John—yes, before the Roman legions landed on the shores of this island—aye, before Homer sang—that sentiment had nestled in the heart of man, and nerved him to resist the oppressor. That sentiment was not even of human origin. Our own great Lincoln declared that it was God Himself who implanted in every human heart the love of liberty. Yes, when God created man, when He gave him life, He linked to life the love of liberty, and what God hath joined together let no man put asunder. (Cheers.)

We have received great blessings from God and from all the world, and what is our duty? We cannot make return to those from whom those gifts were received. It is not in our power to make return to the Father above. Nor can we make return to those who have sacrificed so much for our advancement. The child can never make full return to the mother whose life

trembled in the balance at its birth, and whose kindness and care guarded it in all the years of infancy. The student cannot make full return to the teacher who awakened the mind, and aroused an ambition for a broader intellectual life. The adult cannot make full return to the patriarch whose noble life gave inspiration and incentive. So a generation cannot make return to the generation gone; it must make its return to the generations to come. Our nation must discharge its debt not to the dead, but to the living.

How can our country discharge this great debt? In but one way, and that is by giving to the world something equal in value to that which it has received from the world.

And what is the greatest gift that man can bestow upon man? Feed a man and he will hunger again; give him clothing and his clothing will wear out; but give him a noble ideal, and that ideal will be with him through every waking hour, lifting him to a higher plane of life, and giving him a broader conception of his relations to his fellows.

I know, therefore, of no greater service that my country can render to the world than to furnish to the world the highest ideal that the world has known. That ideal must be so far above us that it will keep us looking upward all our lives, and so far in advance of us that we shall never overtake it. I know of no better illustration, no better symbol, of an ideal life than the living spring, pouring forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates, not the stagnant pool which receives contribution from all the land around and around and gives forth nothing. (Cheers.)

Our nation must make a large contribution to the welfare of the world, and it is no reflection upon those who have gone before to say that we ought to do better than they have done. We would not meet the responsibilities of to-day if we did not build still higher the social structure to which they devoted their lives. (Cheers.)

LUCIUS FAYETTE CLARK GARVIN,  
GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND, ETC.

Lucius F. C. Garvin was born in Knoxville, Tenn., November 13, 1841. His father, James Garvin, of Vermont, was professor in East Tennessee university. The son prepared for college at a Friends' school in Greensboro, N. C., and graduated from Amherst in 1862. He served in the civil war as a private in the Fifty-first Mas-

sachusetts volunteers. He graduated from Harvard medical school in 1867 and began the practice of his profession in the factory village of Lonsdale, where he has since resided. He went into the homes of the people, curing their physical ills. It was but a short step for him to turn his attention to the ills and abuses of government under which they lived. Until 1876 he was a Republican. His political views changed because in national affairs he believed in the doctrine of free trade, equal rights to all and special privileges to none. He was also influenced by the fact that Rhode Island was an oligarchy instead of a republic, with a restricted suffrage based on property, and a representation so unfair that it rivaled or surpassed the rotten boroughs of England as they existed before the reform bill of 1832. For years Dr. Garvin conducted an agitation for equal rights and the extension of the suffrage to foreign-born citizens, thereby attracting attention to the unfair conditions and gradually building up a personal following.

In 1883 he was first elected to represent his town, Cumberland, in the general assembly, and served for 16 years, 13 in the house and three in the senate. During these years he was the chief advocate of reform in the legislature. To him, largely, was due the passage of the ten-hour and ballot-reform laws, the amendment granting suffrage to the foreign-born, and similar legislation. He was thrice the nominee for Congress in the second district. Defeated there, he has at last been thrice nominated and [twice] elected as governor.

His year in office has been less an administration than an agitation. Notwithstanding his overwhelming vote, the Republican party still controlled the legislature. By a law passed in 1901 the senate has the power of appointment; and as it is notoriously controlled by the "machine," the "boss" is virtually dictator. A majority of the senate can be, and is, elected by less than 5,000 votes. Shorn of all real executive power, most men would have sat still. Not so Dr. Garvin. By press and platform he has kept up a steady fire of attack on the political evils of the State. His friends have often been dismayed at his boldness. His political enemies have accused him of besmirching the fair name of the State. But he has kept both his temper and his course unflinchingly. He is undoubtedly a doctrinaire, not an

opportunist. He stands for liberty rather than law. He advocates political more than moral reforms.—The World To-Day, for November.

#### THE MISTAKE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION, AND HOW ITS CORRECTION WOULD ADVANCE BOTH CAPITAL AND LABOR.

An abstract of an address before the Inter-Parish Debating association, of Fall River, Mass., December 16, 1903, by the Hon. L. F. C. Garvin, governor of Rhode Island, etc.

Gov: Garvin began his address with a full statement of what he believed to be the fundamental mistake of Modern Civilization. This mistake consists in an unwise and unjust system of taxation which engenders certain artificial and law-made monopolies.

The remedy he proposed is the exemption from taxation of all personal property and improvements. Such taxes, he showed, are paid out of interest, which is the return to the capital, and out of wages, which is the return to labor.

A reduction of wages has just occurred in Southern New England, acquiesced in by the operatives affected, because the returns to the capital invested in the manufacture of cotton fabrics are now admittedly small.

What are the influences which always handicap capital, and which from time to time become so strong as to lead to prolonged business depressions?

They are high taxes, high cost of power and raw materials, and high-priced land, which limits the opportunity for the investment of capital, and finally the diversion of wealth into monopolistic enterprises which, by promising quick and vast returns, foster a spirit of speculation.

All of these impediments to a legitimate production of wealth are magnified, if not created, by the taxes we lay upon commodities. One of the effects of the annual fines placed upon the products of capital and labor is to discourage and materially lessen the amount of wealth produced. Every product upon which a fine is laid, whether it is a horse, a stock of goods, or a building, is thereby augmented in price. Every such increase of price falls upon the consumer, taking from him a part of his wages, and, if he has saved anything for investment, a part of his interest.

In some towns in Massachusetts the local taxes amount to two per cent. of the assessed value of the property. Not infrequently all of the taxable property of widows and orphans consists of personality. Now if the guardian makes his investments carefully the very highest

return he can expect to secure is six per centum. Therefore, upon an estate of \$20,000, the annual income will be \$1,200, of which sum, if the law be enforced, \$400 will go to the municipality in taxes. When it is considered that these local taxes are but a part, and a minor part, of the total loss to the individual from our tax laws, we may form some comprehension of the burden they impose as a whole.

In one city of this country the folly of local taxes upon personal property is fully understood. For many years Philadelphia has exempted personal property, including machinery, from taxation. Not only has no injury resulted, but the Quaker city has become the Mecca of men whose wealth consisted of personal property, and in the course of time, no doubt, that wealth has found its way into real estate to the advantage of the municipality and the increase of its taxable property. Not only has Philadelphia not suffered in consequence, but it stands first among the great cities of the United States as a manufacturing center. By the census of 1890 the amount of capital per capita invested in manufactures was: In Boston, \$263; in New York, \$281; in Chicago, \$327; in Philadelphia, \$358.

The unwisdom of taxing personal property has long been known to political economists, and has given rise to the saying: "Nothing should be taxed that can run away." Equally true is it that nothing should be taxed that can stay away. Our so-called taxes upon improvements, which are nothing but annual fines imposed upon the enterprising, are the rankest folly, and no section of the country is suffering from them more than is New England.

That manufacturers realize the incubus upon their business of taxes upon mills, tenement houses and machinery, is proved by their efforts to have their plants exempted from taxation. In Rhode Island quite a number of valuable manufacturing establishments are relieved of all taxes for a period of ten years. In some of the Southern States a standing invitation is extended to capitalists to invest through laws exempting their plants from all taxes. This policy accounts in part for the fact that the chief industry of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the manufacture of cotton fabrics, is growing far more rapidly in the South than in New England.

Our policy, therefore, is plain. It is to exempt from taxation by a simple State law personal property and improvements of all kinds. Such exemption would necessitate an increase of the amount of taxes now levied upon

land values. Taking taxes off the products of labor and capital lowers their price to the consumer, imposing taxes upon land also lowers its selling price to the user; so that in two ways both capital and laborer will find their income materially increased as compared with their expenditure.

As a practical legislative measure, a law should be passed enabling any town or city which so desired to exempt from local taxation all personal property and improvements; in other words, to derive all local revenue from a tax on land values only.

This is the direct method by which New England may maintain her high standing as a manufacturing center.

#### "FROM NARROW THINGS TO GREAT."

A Latin phrase has come down to us, from how far a past I do not know, which brings a sense of larger room and deeper breaths of windy air, and peace. "De angusta ad augusta"—"from narrow things to great." By implication we are urged to make the journey.

And what of that journey? It is truly "into a far country," but it is neither long nor arduous. It is not "the thorny way that leads to the stars," of the other Latin phrase. It is a way of pleasantness which leads to a land of peace.

For the narrow things—"the narrow things of the house," as Horace calls some of them—are just the outside things, separated in our thought of them from the inside forces which should be their souls.

Drudgery, sordidness and petty fears are of the narrow things of the house which darken and contract the lives of many good women who are carefully paying tithes of mint and anise and cummin. They are doing the right things. They are carefully and economically ordering their houses and making pleasant homes for those they love. But they think of their work as laborious, and monotonously reiterative, and as a hindrance to their intellectual and spiritual development.

And yet right there in labors for the great, simple, primitive needs of human life lies the very work which is the outside expression of the most tremendous things God does for man.

Food, clothing, shelter—these are the things alike necessary to primeval and savage man, and to the most civilized man of the latest hour. Spiritual food, clothing and shelter we never make for ourselves; the Divine Father always provides them for us in their entirety—