

that one man had were available to any other who could meet the obligations entailed by the grant.

This preserved a more equitable balance in the distribution of wealth. Competition-throttling trusts were unknown and the companies that controlled the highways of the country were seeking business wherever they could get it. One man's money was as good to them as another's. The railroads were operated for the profit of all the stockholders. Graft was practically unknown in the transportation business.

Then came the era of the big corporations and the trusts. The old relations between man and man in business disappeared and the impersonal corporation came forward minus the principle of common honesty that was once deemed essential to success in business.

The reign of privilege began and as men came to know the value of it they bought it by resorting to bribery of public officers and law-makers in one way or another, at times with cash, but oftener by other means.

With the development of privilege through bribery and other dishonesty the wealth of the country began to flow in one direction, into the coffers of the few. Through their exploitation of the resources of the country its total wealth has grown to astonishing figures, but they have taken the most of it and with the increased power that it brought to them have been reaching for even a larger share.

If this great wealth were fairly distributed this would be a country today of prosperity unequaled in the history of the world. But a great accumulation of wealth does not make a nation either great or prosperous. Without an equitable distribution of it great wealth is a curse to a nation, since it becomes an instrument of oppression.

How to stop this flow of wealth in one direction is the all-important question before the country today. Men may be momentarily dazzled by the statement that the total wealth of the nation is 115 billions and that that amounts to \$1,353 for every person in the land, but they will not become enthusiastic over the figures when they begin to ask themselves if they have their share of it.

\* \* \*

### BEAUTY OF HEART.

For The Public.

Were I as a child to choose my part,  
Beauty of face or beauty of heart,  
Beauty of face that fades away,  
Or beauty of heart that lasts for aye,  
I'd choose the true brave heart that bears  
Not only its own but others' cares.

JESSIE KEYS CUMMING.

## BOOKS

### HISTORICAL SOCIALISM.

A History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Published by the Macmillan Company, 46 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price \$2.25 net.

"For the rational interpretation of socialism we

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cannot too often emphasize the fact that it is not an abstract system but a thing in movement." This test, upon which the author insists, is clarified by his further contention that "socialism considered both as a movement and as a system of economic thought, is still in process of development;" and that "its theories must undergo the rough-hewing of continual controversy, discussion and criticism." So considered, socialism offers a greater hope. When, under controversy, discussion and criticism, it shall have developed along the line of economic thought to the point of so analyzing capitalism as to distinguish the value of natural from the value of artificial capital, it will be a thing not only of movement but of natural movement and orderly growth.

Although the author fails to trace the present economic distortions of socialism to its confusion of things essentially different—he also accepting without question the prevailing scholastic and commercial notion that a given value of land is identical economically as well as commercially with the same value of machinery—he nevertheless unconsciously leads the reader at times to a deeper consideration of that very point. An instance occurs in the Introduction at pages 8 and 9, where he explains that "the central aim of socialism is to terminate the divorce of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture."

Although he immediately falls into the socialistic rut of confusing natural sources with artificial media, by describing "land" and "capital" as "the requisites of labor and the sources of all wealth and culture," the explanation tends to put the reader upon inquiry. It should be obvious that "capital" as distinguished from "land" is not a requisite of labor, for labor (the great producing mass of mankind) produces and reproduces at will the things that fall into the category "capital," so long as the things that fall into the category "land" are freely accessible. When "land" is monopolized, "capital" flows from laborers to capitalists, and we have "capitalism;" when "land" is not monopolized, "capital" remains with the laborers that produce it and we have democracy. Neither can "capital" as distinguished from "land" be considered as one of the sources, with "land," of "all wealth and culture," as our author would have it. "Capital" is indeed a means of culture, but the only original source of culture, as of "capital" itself, is "land"—the natural source as distinguished from the artificial media of production.

It may be the very obviousness and simplicity of these considerations that make them for the time obscure; for mental progress is always from the confused and obscure toward the simple and obvious. But whatever the explanation, it is certain that the confusion of the natural sources with the artificial media of wealth production, in which the philosophy of socialism has been floundering, has, by dividing the sentiment that makes for the ideals of socialism, weakened the forces of democratic evolution.

This book, which is well calculated to promote the very discussion that may lead to a better understanding on the essential points indicated above, is a scholarly survey of historical socialism from the early French type of Saint-Simon to the current socialism of German politics. Saint-Simon, Fourier,

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Louis Blanc, Owen, Lassalle, Rodbertus, Marx, the International, and the German Social Democracy are descriptively and critically considered with penetration and fairness; and incidentally the anarchism that originated with Proudhon and has been developed principally along nihilistic and revolutionary lines, is as thoughtfully described and discussed.

A significant feature of the book, considering that its sympathy is with and its object the promotion of socialism, is its rejection of materialism, which is so common in orthodox socialism as to be almost a distinctive characteristic. "Materialism," writes the author, "is a very old theory of the world," which "is now given up by competent thinkers." The blending into the socialism of Marx of this discarded theory, the author deplors; but he explains it in this way: "In the early forties, when the system of Marx was taking form, idealism had declined, and a very crude dogmatic materialism was in the ascendant. The very active speculation, which had previously been directed to the Ideal, attempted to work in the real and material without due preparation on a very inadequate basis of facts."

The author concludes, with reference to Marxian socialists, that in many respects "their propaganda has been an obstacle to their success in their proper task of emancipating the working class, and it has at the same time been a hindrance to the peaceful solution of the great struggle. The great central problem has been confused by side issues and irrelevant matter. We can best show how tragic has been the confusion of facts and of issues by reference to religion. Love, brotherhood, mutual service and peace are most prominent notes in the teaching of Jesus. They must be woven into the moral texture of socialism if it is to succeed and be a benefit to the world. If Marx and his school had merely attacked what we may call the official and professional representatives of the Christian church, they would have been within their rights. As it has been, the religion of love, brotherhood and mutual service has officially become part of a government system by which the hereditary oppressions of the poor in Germany and elsewhere claim to continue their unblest work. . . . Socialism rests on the great ideals of freedom and justice, of brotherhood and mutual serv-

ice. . . . In a rational socialism we may therefore see a long and widening avenue of progress, along which the improvement of mankind may be continued in a peaceful and gradual yet most hopeful, sure and effective way. Such a prospect offers the best remedy for the apathy and frivolity, cynicism and pessimism, which are now so prevalent; and it is the most effective counteractive to restlessness, discontent, and all the evils and excesses of the revolutionary spirit. May we not with Saint-Simon hope that the golden age is not behind but before us?"

## PAMPHLETS

### Government Ownership of Railroads.

That "the administration of the railroads represents a function of government, succeeding the former 'king's highways'," is the keynote to the able speech of Senator Patterson of Colorado, delivered as his farewell speech in the United States Senate. Readers interested in the railroad question will find this speech a mine of information and suggestion. Copies can doubtless be had of ex-Senator Patterson by addressing him at Denver, Colo. Among the many significant tables of statistics which Mr. Patterson has collected is one originally prepared by Prof. Parsons, which contrasts the number of passengers and employees killed by railroads in countries of private ownership, with like casualties in countries of public ownership. The showing is enormously to the advantage of the public ownership countries.

## PERIODICALS

The continuation of Senator Howe's story of Mayor Johnson's six years' war with privilege in Cleveland, is accompanied in *The Times Magazine* (New York) for March with an account by Henry George, Jr., of politics in Japan, in which it is interesting to note that privilege in municipal politics, with its incidental corruption, is characteristic also of the little yankees of the Orient. "It was only a repetition," writes Mr. George, "of what I had seen and heard in our American cities;" and it strengthened him "in the conviction that all those natural monopolies are public functions and cannot be left to private hands without the most corrupting effects, whether the country be America or Japan." Dr. Giddings continues his unique inquiry into "The Natural History of American Morals," with "Abolition" for his special subject, from which it is interesting to learn that the vulgar prejudice against free Negroes originated in the North, and has only been copied at the South. Some moral perspectives are corrected by Dr. Giddings with the remark that "the men of 1776 spoke as men who at least were honest and not afraid, while the sagacious gentlemen of the Constitutional convention taught the American people their first great lesson in the art of moral and political humbuggery,"—that "punctilious life homage to principles and to respectabilities that have no real hold upon conduct." He denominates this as "one of the most characteristic qualities of what may be called American moralism."

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