

A woman is just appearing around a bend, some distance away.

The man looks at her and his eyes soften.

The cat comes to the window, jumps upon the sill, and looks down the road. She sees the woman, rubs her head against the man, and purrs. The woman comes slowly nearer, opens the gate and passes into the yard.

The cow raises its head and extends its neck over the fence toward her, and gives a low moo of welcome.

The woman stops a moment, pats its head, then, turning toward the house, looks through the window at the man within with the cat beside him.

Her key is again in the lock and she passes into the house, into the room, and stands with one hand on the man's shoulder, the other stroking the cat.

She is talking to the man; telling him of the child, of the sick mother, and the timely help in their need; and he tells her of his day and the present he has brought her, and they go to look at it, the cat following.

"It is more blessed to give than to receive," she says, as she holds his face between her hands, looks into his eyes and kisses him.

"That which cometh from the heart reaches the heart," he answers.

"But there is so much poverty in the world," she says, recollecting what she has just seen.

"It is God's way," he answers. "Humanity is purified by its tribulations. There is a way out of it. Mankind will find the way when their hearts are purified, for then the scales will fall from their eyes, for only the purified heart gives clearness to the vision."

"But God is so exacting, and the way is so long," said the woman.

"It is but a minute in the eternity of his creatures," answers the man.

And then there is silence. The wind blows the dust through the streets and over the brown hills, and the cat purrs lazily upon the window sill.

Journal's Symposium on "How Shall Labor and Capital be Reconciled."

BY THE EDITOR.

The *New York Journal* has been publishing a series of papers on the question, "How Shall Labor and Capital be Reconciled?" This symposium has been composed of many contributors of eminence, and nothing is more gratifying than the evidence of the growth of radical thought where such evidence was least to be looked for.

Bishop Potter, whose sympathies are so much more profound than his knowledge of social forces, writes as follows, commenting upon the suggested symposium:

"If you can secure, therefore, as already mentioned, the aid of competent minds representing the different points of view on the labor question in its largest aspect, and if they are willing to discuss it without prejudice and without invective, two results at least may be obtained—a large group of facts, now little recognized, will be brought into view, and all reasonable men, of whatever calling or theory, will be constrained to own, first, that there is no single short-cut, patent-applied-for remedy for a situation so complex; and second, that along lines of mutual consideration and concession that solution is not to be dismissed as impossible.

"To lead men to 'think' and 'know,' not to shout or to shriek or to strike, that is the best service you can render.

"For then, when the time comes that they must both shout and strike, they may hope to do so to some purpose."

That is, men are not to shout or strike, but then, again, they are to shout and strike, providing they can do so to some purpose. This is quite as vague as could be wished for. Nothing is more common, too, than the saying: 'there is no short-cut, patent-applied-for remedy,' and, in a sense, no statement

can be more untrue. It is like saying to a man in prison: "There is no single short-cut to freedom, because there are exits by doors, and windows, and through the chimney, and under the floor of your cell. All these provide means of egress. It is clear that those who insist upon your walking out through the door (which has been left open, by the by, though you are not to look that way) forget the roof and the windows and the floor. What we need is an exchange of opinion, and let us wait until some method of agreement is reached as to how best to make your escape." Funny, isn't it, and yet the analogy is almost perfect. What labor needs, first of all, is freedom, and the door to that freedom, taxation, which will force into use the natural opportunities for labor, has been left open. Bishop Potter's method is for the advocates of escape by cell, and window, and floor, to meet and arbitrate. In the words of the Steel Trust magnate, "there is nothing to arbitrate." Labor has merely to make its escape. To borrow the expressive and imperishable figure which Henry George has added to the higher literature of economics, it is the case of the bull who, to be free, has merely to unwind the rope.

Ernest Howard Crosby's contribution to the discussion is one of the best. It is full of meaty epigrams; some of these we quote:

"I hope that when Tesla gets into communication with Mars he will ask the inhabitants if nine-tenths of them pay rent to the other tenth for the privilege of remaining on the surface of the planet."

"We read to-day that the Steel Trust has ordered the demolition of the great works on which the life of the city of M'Keesport depends, because the Mayor expresses his sympathy and that of the citizens with the strikers there. The Czar has no such power as this, and would not dare to use it if he had. Those whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad."

"Christianity sprang from the Jewish Church, and the Jewish Church had its origin in a strike—the strike of the Hebrew brickmakers in Egypt—and Moses and Aaron were the first walking delegates on record."

"The longest of the Ten Commandments was a labor law, fixing a six-day working week in complete analogy with our eight-hour statutes."

Mr. Crosby concludes his paper with the following clear and explicit statement:

"But even to those who turn a deaf ear to the plea of religion and democracy we can appeal with equal force in the name of fair play. Every man worthy the name must respond to that appeal. You would not cheat at cards or sell out a horse race or refuse equal chance to a rival in an athletic contest. Can you then consent to play the game of life with loaded dice, or insist on every handicap that wealth and chance have given you? Is it fair to match your steam yacht against my leaky scow—your thoroughbred against my broken-down nag? A fair field and no favor, this is all that men need for the present, at any rate. The field is not fair, and the favors are sold over the counter at Washington and Albany. Until there is a general willingness to accord fair play in the relations of life, the war between capital and labor will continue. Its evils may be mitigated and its excesses limited, but it will still be waged. When fair play becomes the watchword of trust as well as of trades union, then, at last, we may expect an enduring industrial peace."

Anson Phelps Stokes's contribution is not illuminating. His plea is for more law—apparently for a modified form of Socialism. There is to be a larger political supervision of corporations—in a sense we already have that—but at the same time corporations are to be "prohibited from meddling in politics or contributing funds to influence legislation." It is a curious blindness that fails to see that if government is to take part in the business of corporations, corporations will of necessity take part in the business of government. Mr. Stokes is a millionaire, a man of fine public spirit. He has high ideals, and no lack of courage in voicing them, and he must soon come to see that his suggestions are utterly inadequate as remedies.

The value of Everett P. Wheeler's contribution may be surmised from these two sentences. They are enough:

"Permanent work, with comfortable living wage, is, in my opinion, possible for all in this country.

"England, France, and Germany are tenfold more thickly settled than this country, and yet their people earn a comfortable living."

It is like the Irish woman's comment that "Everybody is ating save thim as isn't hungry and thim as have nothing to ate." Of course, from this point of view there is no labor question that is really worth considering. Wages are higher in this country than in England, France, and Germany, and if the people of these countries are earning comfortable livings, the workers here must be enjoying substantial luxury. Mr. Wheeler once did good service in the cause of free trade, but the chariot of economic reform has rushed past him, and he cannot now discern even the skirts of the charioteers.

John DeWitt Warner's contribution is sound in its economics and is forcibly expressed. We quote:

"Labor's proper share in the joint product of labor and capital will constantly more nearly approach the whole in proportion as the increasing protection of capital by labor shall lessen the element of risk—that is, should continually increase.

"As to the rights of employees in the plants they have helped create, if they include the means by which natural opportunities are monopolized, these should be and will become the property of the community—that is, ever more largely labor's own.

"As to model industries, profit sharing, etc., the field for successful experiment in these is narrow, but will steadily expand.

"As to Socialism: There is no gulf wider than that between the old Socialism, which restricted men, and the new Socialism, which proposes to increase the facilities of each to do as he pleases.

"As to the single tax: Its principles—that proper use is the only excuse for possession of land; that the value of that possession is something for which the community that created such value should always be paid; and that not until the community has collected and spent its own income should it tax its citizens—once conceded, as it seems to me they must be, the only question is: On what terms and in what shape can this adjustment best be brought about?

"As to the right to work—that is, the opportunity to earn one's living—a man refused this right is under no moral restraint from taking what he needs. Society, having made him an outlaw, cannot complain.

"As to free trade, that is the natural right of every man.

"Protective tariffs are extortion, to which no one has the right to submit, except because, and in so far as, he cannot help himself."

There is one paragraph here which the organs of conservatism have seized upon to justify a charge of anarchism against Mr. Warner. The thing is almost too absurd for comment, since it is a reflection that would occur to any philosophic mind that where society has excluded the laborer from the means of providing for his necessities by his labor, society cannot complain if he take what he needs. If travelers in the desert should find the oasis guarded by high fences, and the sign "No trespassing, by order of the oasis owner," they would take what they needed, and there would be no complaint. It is safe to say that the right of property in the means of life would receive small respect from the thirst-stricken desert travelers, and the fences would come down quickly. Mr. Warner's statement may be twisted to mean something very dangerous, but all denials of natural rights by society are dangerous, and lead to violence. What the distinguished New York lawyer says is no more, indeed it is much less, than Cardinal Manning gave utterance to on a memorable occasion. No one dared accuse the distinguished Catholic prelate of anarchy. He was not a possible candidate for Mayor of New York, as Mr. Warner was at the time of his utter-

ance, and so escaped these furious charges at the hands of crazy partisanship. Yet society will some day come to see that Cardinal Manning and Mr. Warner were right—that many of the crimes against property spring from the original denial to men of access to the means of livelihood, and that the perpetrators of such acts are morally guiltless.

There are other contributions to this symposium, but few of them merit more than passing comment. That of Carroll D. Wright is full of piety, and piety mixes ill with economics, and especially with such economics. Of course the *Journal's* title of these serial contributions, "How Shall Labor and Capital be Reconciled," is in itself misleading. As between themselves, labor and capital have nothing to reconcile. The conflict is between these two factors on one side, and monopoly on the other. The real reconciliation will be sought in the destruction of monopoly.

James E. Mills.

FROM THE CHICAGO PUBLIC.

(See *Frontispiece*.)

This name has no familiar associations to the mere newspaper reader. Whether its bearer lives or dies is not to that great mob-like public of the least concern. His fate would interest them more if he had been a horse jockey or a prize fighter. But there are circles into which the news of Mr. Mills's death will come with something of a shock. He died on the 25th of July, in Mexico, where he had been located for several years in the service, as mining expert, of a large American silver mining interest. In years he had almost lived out the allotted three score and ten.

James E. Mills was a native of New England. His scientific studies were pursued at Harvard college under Agassiz. He afterwards became an assistant of that distinguished naturalist, with whom he remained always upon terms of intimate friendship. Mr. Mills and Prof. Burt G. Wilder were accounted the greatest pupils Agassiz ever had.

Like his fellow student, Mr. Mills was a disciple of Swedenborg; and like their preceptor, he was a Christian evolutionist. In the latter respect he agreed also with his professional and personal friend, the eminent Joseph Le Conte, whose death preceded that of Mr. Mills by less than a month.

As a Swedenborgian, and for a time a minister of that faith, Mr. Mills was distinctly and decidedly averse to all ecclesiastical tendencies, but especially to those of organized Swedenborgianism. His religion was a philosophy rather than a creed, an adjustment of spiritual principle rather than a set of ritualistic observances. The effort of his adult life was to help strip Christianity of its human accretions.

This religious faith commended to his acceptance the economic principles popularized by Henry George. He consequently became a devoted disciple and valued friend of that "prophet of San Francisco."

A close thinker, Mr. Mills was also a fluent writer; but the productions of his pen are limited to essays and pamphlets. These, however, are profound and durable contributions to the subjects of which they treat.

Those subjects are scientific, religious and economic. In the first category is an essay on the building of a sierra. On religious questions strictly Mr. Mills's principal paper is intended to show that repentance is not remorse, but a development of character away from wrong and in the direction of right. All his writings on economic subjects are a blend of the economic and religious. To him economic righteousness was an external or outward expression of spiritual righteousness. One of his valuable papers along this line is a plea for service instead of sacrifice. Self-sacrifice, as usually taught, he held to be morbid, and at the bottom of all the excuses for enslavement and impoverishment. Equilibrium of service was his ideal.