

a leader. The world's history is without distinct record of a movement so manifestly spontaneous in its impulses, so obviously like an organism in its growth.

Henry George did, indeed, contribute to this movement; he contributed to it tremendously. That he was in and of the movement, no one can with reason dispute. He was in and of it so conspicuously as to seem to hosts of disciples the world over to have been its leader. But this is true of other men who have contributed conspicuously to the social movement; they also seem to their disciples to be riding on the crest of its tidal wave. There can be, however, no supreme individual leadership in a movement so heterogeneous in its elements.



To this social movement Henry George contributed as a preacher; his eloquent appeals made his contemporaries feel, make new men feel, will make men of the future feel, the spirit of its impulses, the glorious possibilities of its development.

More than preacher, he was a strategist, disclosing the place of vantage, the line of least resistance toward the emancipation of men.

More than preacher and strategist, he was as an engineer, planning for the movement a resistless propulsion.

Among its prophets he rose highest and looked farthest. But what the possibilities of this movement are in all its scope, neither he in his time nor any one in ours can tell. It cannot be described. We cannot even name it aptly. It is of this as he himself said of life—of life absolutely and inevitably bounded by death, and filled in with disappointments and bitterness—"We do not see it all."

But the way to begin, Henry George did see and he saw it right. Before the social movement can really begin to develop its possibilities, mankind must be emancipated from the thralldom of men; and there can be no such emancipation while the earth is monopolized by landlords or capitalists, nor while production and trade are obstructed by taxation. To begin by abolishing that monopoly and that obstruction is the message of Henry George to all who would emancipate men, whatever their social philosophy. Without this, all reform, all revolutions will redound in the future as in the past to the benefit of privileged classes—the old ones or new ones.



It is not as leader of the movement for social redemption that Henry George is to be remembered,

nor as the leader of a cult, but as an adviser who proposed a practical policy, firmly grounded in economic and moral principle, by which alone the truths of any of our social agitations may be realized in our social life.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ADVICE TO SOCIAL REFORMERS.

Evanston, Ill.

All reform journals in the narrow sense, by which I mean "organs," no matter how lovely their creeds, and all societies of reformers, are "trusts" in principle, "mutual admiration societies;" and they have the usual tendencies of "trusts," namely to monopolize the product and restrict the output, and thus deprive society at large of the benefits to which it is justly entitled.

By product and output I mean both ideas and converts to the ideas. To take a concrete case: if any young man possesses an unwarped conscience, and is so fortunate as to have become the possessor of certain ideas, say as to the unsocial character of certain modes of getting wealth, two courses in general are open to him. He may monopolize them or he may make them productive just as if they were tools or opportunities of any other kind.

We do not often stop to think what monopolizing ideas means. It means ordinarily to enjoy the contemplation of them instead of scattering them. Any mutual admiration society is organized to give opportunity for their members to enjoy each other's company and ideas. Any person who withdraws to any extent into his own shell or into a mutual admiration society of similar spirits, loses opportunity and eventually loses capacity to mix with his ordinary fellows. Fellowshiping with the mutual admiration society is the path of least resistance to the possessor of the aforesaid high ideas. On the other hand, fellowshiping with his ordinary companions and communicating his ideas requires and develops patience, courage and tact. If any man has acquired the reputation of an ungenial crank, in nine cases out of ten it has been due to too little mixing rather than to too much of it.

Crank societies and readers of crank journals feed on big, vague and foolish ideas of the future. Men who accomplish results are too much engrossed with their work to waste their time this way. Probably the whole bunch of "flying machine cranks," of which the world is full, are patting themselves on the back and speaking of "the Wright boys and us." In fact, however, there are two distinct sorts, and the Wright brothers are far from being visionary. There is just the same difference between the cranks on social questions and the real thinkers and doers, as there is in the question of flying machines. The democrat who steadfastly refuses to affiliate with a circle of mutual admirationists is showing his common sense as much as he would to refuse to stand on a pillar like a Simon Stylites. We no longer stand on pedestals, but we do the same thing without the pillar quite often, and we bunch together as badly as the

ascetics have done in any age. I mean by "we" those who esteem themselves reformers.

I said the reform bunch were like a trust. I mean, of course, a bad one, supposing there are good ones. The parallel is in this respect: The trust makes money for itself but restricts production and lessens the benefits that should accrue to society. It, therefore, in the long run makes other men its enemies. A reformers' clique makes a nice little heaven for its members, in their minds, but it makes its members inefficient sowers of the seed, and makes them in general deserve the contempt of society as "cranks," no whit better in their day and generation than were the bunches of ancient and medieval ascetics.

I should draw the conclusion that no society of reformers should be other than a purely business affair, to better secure by co-operation certain definite results. This for the sake of avoiding the deadly danger of becoming mere mutual admirationists.

OLD SOCK.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, August 31, 1909.

Henry George's Seventieth Birthday.

The seventieth birthday of Henry George, which comes on the 2d, is to be celebrated with dinners and other forms of public meeting (p. 845) in Australia, Great Britain, Germany, Canada and the United States. The celebration of the Manhattan Single Tax Club is to be at a Coney Island clambake on the 11th, and Henry George, Jr., is to be the principal speaker. The tickets, \$1.50, are to be had of Benjamin Doblin, 120 West 42d street. At Chicago the Henry George Lecture Association has arranged for an informal 75-cent dinner at Kimball's Cafe (143 Monroe street) for the 3d, at which the speakers are to be Henry George, Jr., the Rev. Father Thomas E. Cox, the Rev. A. B. Francisco and Louis F. Post. Notifications of intention to attend may be sent to F. H. Monroe, 38 St. James Place. At San Francisco a dollar dinner will be given on the 2d under the auspices of The Star. The Oregon Single Tax League will give a 75-cent dinner at the Y. M. C. A. new building, Portland, on the 2d. At Pittsburgh, a dollar dinner is to be given on the 2d in Hotel Henry, at which the speakers are to be ex-Gov. L. F. C. Garvin of Rhode Island and Rabbi Levy of Pittsburgh. There is to be a memorial address on the 2d at Spokane by the Rev. W. J. Hindley. The

State dinner at Springfield, Illinois, promises to be exceptionally large in attendance. It is set for the 2d, and is to be addressed by R. F. Herndon, Congressman Graham, President Felmley of the State Normal University, Henry George, Jr., and Raymond Robins. The Twin Cities' celebration will be at Como Park, between Minneapolis and St. Paul, on the 12th, with Raymond Robins as speaker of the day; and the Missouri celebration will be still later in the Fall. On the 5th at Arden, Delaware, there will be a Sunday afternoon memorial meeting, at which Wm. N. Ross will preside, and the speakers will be Ex-Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island, John S. Crosby and Bolton Hall of New York, Charles F. Nesbit of Washington and Will Price and Frank Stephens of Pennsylvania.

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The Cleveland Traction Question.

Further progress was made toward a traction settlement (p. 828) when, on the 23d, the company consented to accept the city's offer to refer the question of drafting safeguard clauses, to S. H. Tolles and ex-Judge Lawrence, provided Judge Tayler were accepted as third arbitrator. On the 25th both sides agreed to a committee consisting of Tayler, Lawrence, Tolles, and Newton D. Baker, the City Solicitor. Neither party is to be irrevocably bound by the report of this committee.

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Disclosures of Peonage at McKee's Rocks.

Reports of disclosures of peonage in the steel car plant at McKee's Rocks (p. 826) have overshadowed the reports of strike violence, and inspired dispatches are less in evidence in the daily papers. The latest of these came through the Associated Press on the 24th. It told of the victory over the strikers, saying that the plant was then in operation with 1,000 men at work, and that "in a measure President Frank Hoffstot of the car company has made good his word, given at the inception of the labor trouble, that he never would give in to the strikers if he was ruined financially." The same dispatch stated that a mass meeting to be addressed by Eugene V. Debs had been given up by the strikers and their sympathizers, "as they believed any gathering of the workmen could do no good at this time." In fact Debs had been forbidden to speak, but he announced that he had "as much right to free speech as Theodore Roosevelt," and intended to use it if alive. "No Pennsylvania troopers will prevent me from addressing these men," he said. Apparently the dispatch had been intended to pave the way for accounting for suppressing the meeting by making it appear that it had been voluntarily called off. But Mr. Debs did speak.

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And on the 26th, when the peonage investigation began, a different aspect of affairs from that