

the abolitionists, they have mountains of ice around them to melt. But the tendency to shift the burden of the conflict from the impregnable moral ground to political effort is everywhere apparent.

That parties must spring out of moral movements is inevitable, yet their success depends upon the public sentiment generated by moral agitation. Henry George might have written a dozen masterpieces on fiscal and practical lines and failed utterly to kindle the conflagration which his impassioned utterances for truth, justice and mercy have produced. How marvellously his bugle-call to high and generous souls was answered! We miss it in these days of economic argument and wrangle over definitions; of attempts to sugar-coat the pill of truth and induce the patients to swallow it unwittingly. Details and clever devices tend to crowd out the all important and insistent work of changing conscience and conviction and forgetting consequences.

It would be a great service to make a selection of Henry George's writings, eliminating every practical suggestion, leaving only those inspirational passages that have the weight of the old Hebrew prophets. They will never be out of date, and are potential as long as one man seeks to thrive at the expense of his fellow-man. We need the courage to denounce and expose evils and evil doers, regardless of election prospects or the fear of repelling from our ranks material which will add weakness instead of strength. We need

"A hate of tyranny intense,
And hearty in its vehemence,

As if our brother's pain and sorrow were
our own."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

The constitutions of at least twenty-four states contain limitations upon the power of the legislature which render impossible the adoption of any sensible system of taxation. The constitution of Ohio is as bad as the worst, and contains a typical restriction: "Taxes must be equal and uniform and imposed on all property, both real and personal." The taxation provisions of the constitution of Minnesota were copied from the constitution of Ohio. In 1902 the Minnesota legislature proposed an amendment providing at great length that the legislature might impose an income tax and might do various other things. The people very properly rejected it. The legislature of 1905 adopted an amendment and if the people ratify it at the election in 1906 the material part of the constitution of Minnesota relating to taxation will be as follows: "The power of taxation shall never be surrendered, suspended or contracted away. Taxes shall be uniform upon the same class

of subjects, and shall be levied and collected for public purposes."

At the election in last November the people of Ohio ratified an amendment to the Ohio constitution providing for the exemption of state and municipal bonds. This amendment is entirely inadequate, and it seems probable that at the coming session an amendment similar to that recommended by the Ohio State Board of Commerce will be adopted. That amendment as adopted in 1908 by the legislature was as follows: "The General Assembly shall provide for the raising of revenue for all state and local purposes in such manner as it shall deem proper. The subjects of taxation for state and local purposes shall be classified, and the taxation shall be uniform on all subjects of the same class, and shall be just to the subject taxed."

Unfortunately it failed of ratification by the people, receiving more than ten times as many votes for it as against it, but not receiving a majority of all the votes cast at the election as is necessary under the constitution of Ohio.

The general movement for constitutional amendment is gaining headway in many of the western states, and it may well be that before the close of 1906 the Minnesota constitution will be amended and amendments adopted by the legislatures of Ohio and Kentucky.

LAWSON PURDY.

THE GEORGE PHILOSOPHY.

Fatuous indeed must be the optimism of the man who can walk through the slums, or read the newspapers, or keep his eyes open as he goes about his daily business, and still hold with Pangloss that everything is for the best in the best of possible worlds. Nor can he who thinks give entire adherence to the dictum of Dr. Johnson:

"How small of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or
cure!"

Government, through its tax laws, has a vast deal to do with the existence side by side of individual luxury and individual poverty in contrast so enormous that the apologist for things that are who seeks an analogy in the differing mental and physical powers of mankind invites reflection upon either his sincerity or the length of his ears.

Government and taxation are almost interchangeable terms, and not only unearned wealth and undeserved poverty, but also the oppression of some men by others spring alike in the main from bad taxation and depend upon it. What the world needs, to rid it of this fruitful source of misery, at least, is a system of taxation that would be, in the language of the moralist, just; in the language of the scientist, natural. It is the glory of Henry George that he conceived such a system. Whether it would do all to

ameliorate the world's evils that its advocates fondly hope cannot be proven in advance of its establishment. But its justice has never been assailed save from the standpoint of vested interests, and its simplicity, its logic and its coherence are clear to every one who will look at it. Not all the attacks of the college professors, muddle-brained or sycophantic, have availed to shake it.

The George philosophy, too, affords a meeting place—the only one—for the individualist and the socialist. In times past the reformers and the radicals have been sturdy champions of individualism. "Equal political and legal rights to all men, and then let alone," has been their shibboleth. To-day in the democracies of the world these rights have been attained, and the individualist who looks about him finds his faith shaken. Yet he is reluctant to admit that his inspiring creed is a mistaken one, and that he must look to the colossal system of State socialism if his object is to be attained. He does not wish to dethrone the plutocracy that has entrenched itself on the ruins of overthrown systems merely to set up in its place a new kind of bureaucracy. Nor does he need to. Henry George has incorporated in his philosophy all that is true in the dogmas of socialism and has added to the individualism of the past the one thing that it lacked. On the broad and unshaken platform that he erected these opposing forces will some day unite, and from it privilege will receive its death blow without the surrender of a single hard won individual right.

FRANK C. WELLS.

THE NEW SOCIALISM OF AN EMINENT JURIST.

Declaiming against socialism, United States Circuit Judge Peter S. Grosscup in a much advertised article in the December *American Illustrated Magazine* on "Who Shall Own America?" like many of the controlling legal minds to-day advocates what in effect is the embodiment of that principle in an effort to solve the great economic problems of our time.

Urging his readers to "see through appearances to the thing behind appearances," this eminent jurist himself fails to do this. He assumes that there is comparatively equal distribution of wealth, but that the trouble lies in its concentrated corporate control through bad State corporation laws. He sees no help but through the suspension of such laws by a national incorporation law, carrying with it a "constant watch" by the government to see that "the trust" involved in such incorporation "is executed." Also "provision should be made for a government exchange, or a private exchange under government supervision, through which the securities of national incorporations could be bought and sold." Moreover, the learned jurist thinks that "provision

should be made to interest labor in ownership" of the securities of such national incorporations, by "dividing equitably between the capital invested and the labor put in" all securities "issued on account of increased value." He would do this in order to give labor an interest in what the Socialists call "the tools of production," since, as the judge says, "with few exceptions, the man who works with his hands [to-day] does not even own the tool that is in his hands. On top of all this he would have "the corporation of the future deal fairly with the people in the matter of prices," although whether he means the prices of corporate securities or the prices of such corporations' productions is not clear.

All told, Judge Grosscup professes to solve the great social problems of our time by substituting a national for a state incorporation law, have the national government regulate the construction and operation of all national corporations, and have the stock artificially distributed, to the end that labor should possess some ownership in the tools of production; while he would also possibly have the government regulate prices in production.

This is what he calls the *peopleization* of corporations, the *peopleization* of trusts. It would, in effect, be nothing less than the using of the national government by the few to exploit to still greater degrees than they do to-day various forms of privilege around which incorporation now occurs.

For the main evil about corporations to-day is not in the nature of the corporations themselves, but in the privileges they are organized to use. The vital part of the coal trust is not the incorporation but the ownership of coal-bearing lands and railroad franchises; of the steel trust, not that its charter was drawn under the New Jersey corporation act, but that it has a monopoly of the Connellsville coking-coal fields, that it possesses great advantages in ore and natural gas fields and transportation advantages through ownership of roads or possession of secret rebate contracts. Bereft of such privileges, these trusts would go to pieces despite the supposed privileges of their corporation laws.

The fact is that Judge Grosscup, whether consciously or unconsciously, does not heed his own words and "see through appearances to the thing behind appearances." "Appearances" are that the trouble lies with corporation laws, whereas the real evil "lies behind appearances"—the monopoly of natural opportunities, the ownership of public franchises and the unjust advantages arising from the taxation of production and its fruits. There are other forms of privileges, but these are the chief ones. With the whole taxation burden shifted from production to land monopoly, and with public franchises in public hands, the great demand for vast incorporation powers would be gone. Corporations then would operate for the most part not in fields of exclusive-