

say, that those 40,000 mill workers get so small a portion of the mills' profits for their wages that they simply can not live in conditions where health is possible.

The mortality figures of these workers in Fall River are startling. I think I have already said that in that most favorably situated city, with no towering tenements, no congested areas, out of every 100 deaths, 50 are of children under 5 years of age, and of those 39 are of children under 1 year of age. . . . Taking the most favorable report it is seen that in 1909 in Fall River, including stillbirths, 1,036 children under 1 year of age died. As the result of his investigation, Mr. Chew tabulated thus:

Stillbirths	250
From preventable diseases.....	501
Nonpreventable diseases.....	285
Total	1,036

Then he goes into the causes of deaths of children under 1 year of age, and he is not ashamed to use those tabooed words, malnutrition and marasmus, meaning starvation, and he finds from that cause that there were in Fall River in that year 141 deaths of children under 1 year of age. And their mothers were working for \$6.25 a week, manufacturing goods upon which a Republican tariff bonus of 90 per cent is charged against every person in the United States who wears a garment of cotton. And then, there were 250 stillbirths—250 little bodies starved to death before they were born, and the tariff only 90 per cent. Why, good God! the Republicans are only half right. If the privileged beneficiaries of a Republican tariff cannot afford to pay wages high enough to prevent this slaughter of infants, let us double the tax, make it high enough, at least, so that babies may not be starved to death before they come into the world. . . .



Not far from Fall River is the home of a summer colony famous all over the world for the magnificence of its palaces, the extravagance of its people, the varied and whimsical methods of their entertainment, the gorgeousness of their lawn fetes and their water carnivals, the splendor of their entertainment of foreign people of title, the stately sweep of their lawns, and the perfection of their gardens. The same water which partly surrounds Fall River laps the beaches and bluffs of Newport. But in Newport in July, August and September these palaces, some of them, are occupied by men and women whose colossal fortunes have been given to them by the operation of this Republican tariff subsidy. Their children you will find there in July, August and September, cared for by nurses, by governesses, by tutors, enjoying every pleasure, every entertainment that wit or fancy can devise and prodigality provide to make

their little lives happy and healthy. They are taken there in private yachts; they are cared for like little princes and princesses, protected from chill or from the summer heat, nourished, petted and amused. All of this during those three dreadful months, whose record of infant deaths in the town of Fall River make ghastly red the splashes on this chart.

I am not inventing this shameful story; it is taken from the official records of a city. . . . I am not endeavoring to incite class hatred. I merely wish, if I can, to make my fellow Members of the House of Representatives ask themselves if all is well with a fiscal policy responsible for this hideous red record on one shore of the waters of that beautiful sound, and responsible at the same time for the conditions of wealth, of luxury, of idleness, at a near-by part of those historic waters. . . . The salvage of human life must be taken as one fair measure of a community's conscience, its sense of right and wrong, of charity. What, then, must be our judgment of the rich in a community who are indifferent even to the salvage of the lives of those who can not save themselves—the little ones, the children! Let 90 per cent of helpless infants die if only those who need no aid are helped by tariff subsidies at a 90 per cent rate. What do they care about the death rate so long as the tariff rate is maintained by votes of a Republican Senate or the veto of a Republican President?



THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS

Rose Trumbull in *The Independent*.

"O Mother, see the mill lights in the darkness glow!"

"I see but candles for my dead
At foot and head."

"Nay, see how wrought by childish hands, world-fabrics grow!"

"I see my babes, decrepit, bowed—
They weave a shroud."

"Yet see their golden wage: the purse of wealth is deep."

"The tide of barter at its flood
Gives bread for blood!"

"O Mother, with thy visions dark, dost thou not weep?"

"For slaughtered babes upon such biers
There are no tears."



THE GOSPEL OF DEMOCRACY.

Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Michigan, in the *Chicago Tribune* of October 27, 1912.

Here lies, it seems to me, the primary mission of the Christian church, and the first duty of the Christian man in the midst of our social and industrial strife—namely: to realize the democracy

of the kingdom of God and the brotherhood of all men in Christ Jesus.

There are other things to be done.

For example, there are economic, industrial, and political reforms that must be carried out. The present economic condition is manifestly unjust and intolerable; the wealth produced by the sweat of the brow and the sweat of the brain of the toilers is largely absorbed by a lot of social parasites, the idle holders of privilege. It is also the prey of the predatory activity of our robber barons of Wall street. These parasites and highwaymen skim off the rich cream of our common production and leave the rest of us, the real producers, nothing but the blue milk. And the consequence is all our involuntary poverty, with its unspeakable suffering and misery, and its damning effects on life and character.

Society itself is largely responsible for most of our crime and our sin. Here lies one deep-seated cause for our social unrest and discontent, and things will never be settled until they are settled right, and we must see to it that they are settled right.

The Christian church and the Christian man must stand stoutly for economic and industrial justice and equity, for a square deal, for a fair division of wealth, and, above all, for equality of opportunity for every son of man. It is an essential part of our religion to take interest, vital interest, and an active, efficient part in every righteous movement toward that end.

But just what ought the Christian church to do in these matters?

As Christians, whether as a church or as individual disciples of Christ, we are primarily concerned not with policies of social reform but with principles of social justice and righteousness; not with methods of economic or industrial procedure, but with the motives of brotherly love. Therefore the paramount social duty that confronts the Christian church and the Christian man is the enlargement of sympathies and the realization of fellowship among all men; the kindling of brotherly love and the spreading of it as by contagion throughout humanity.

We may go on multiplying our charities and beneficences until they are like the sand on the seashore—innumerable—and they will not heal one wound in the body politic; they will not bridge one of those chasms which so widely divide men from their fellowmen on every side; they will not reconcile one bitterness or enmity which now inflames our too common strife.

Mere charity and beneficence without brotherly love, especially patronizing and supercilious beneficence, always antagonize. These debase the conscience of the church as much as bribes do the conscience of legislatures.

If a man only give liberally the church does not often stop to ask, "How did you make the money

you spend so freely?" And if such charity and beneficence come from wealth gotten by dishonest means they infuriate the popular mind. Even at their best, they sap the manhood and destroy the self-respect of those upon whom they are bestowed.

And the world is mortal weary of charity, but it is hungry—starving—for downright, genuine brotherly love; the love that expresses itself first in common justice and fairness, and then in honest, heartfelt sympathy, mutual understanding, and fellowship. That is the only thing that can furnish the basis and inspiration for the solution of our modern social problems.

BOOKS

AN AID TO THOUGHT.

Second Notice.

Taxation of Land Values; As It Affects Land Owners and Others. By John Orr, M. A. Preface by Mary Fels. London: P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster. 1912.*

Mrs. Fels writes an introduction to Orr's "Taxation of Land Values" and concludes with this charming little metaphor: "A vine dresser today hoeing his vineyard on the banks of the Arno, throws out a stone that obstructs his work. Yet the vineyard has been cultivated since the days of Caesar, and one might think that all such stones had been removed long ago—not so, neither here nor in vineyards of any sort."

Mr. Orr makes a "White Paper" (as Queensland calls its government reports) the text for a much needed sermon to show that the taxation of land values has been of advantage to "architects, builders, estate agents, and men in similar professions." As Thorold Rogers says, "Every improvement in the condition of the soil, every highway, bridge or railroad raises rent." The landowner sleeps but thrives.

Until the most of the land value is taken in taxes land owners will be the richer for it financially: when the whole value is taken they will not want to be any richer than they are. In support of some such contention, the author cites the British system of assessing Indian agricultural lands twice a year. The book is worth study for its careful examination of this claim.

Mr. Orr gives a new twist to the rotten "ability to pay" theory by saying that this ability of each man should be measured by the community's earnings that he gets. "There is no more just and inexorable measure of men's ability than the value of land."

The booklet concludes with an argument that the true rental value of land includes all rates,

*See Public of October 4, page 953.