

of the politicians of the party was anticipated. It seemed best to begin a crusade against them, for such a movement was certain sooner or later to have all the political Hessians enlisted against it.

I failed to find anyone who was willing to undertake this task in Cincinnati. Therefore, on Mr. Johnson's urgency, I undertook it myself. We fully realized the existing prejudice against the "preacher" in politics. But at the time it seemed to be "preacher" or nothing. Therefore, I suppressed my aversions for the work and decided to make a beginning. I thought of the movement as one which would last until the aim had been accomplished. But I never thought of my leadership as anything but temporary. It was our expectation that after the first few battles other men would be found to take the lead.

I feel that the time has now come when I may step back into the ranks. In some ways the elimination of my personality will be a benefit to the cause. As soon as the national election is over State issues will become paramount and the crusade for "home rule and just taxation" will be carried on, under Mr. Johnson's leadership, with renewed vigor. Another year in Cincinnati, I believe Mr. Johnson will have more friends than ever before, and the irrepressible conflict will continue here, as elsewhere, until principle prevails or the party is destroyed.

Personal ambition is a mistake. The only man who can afford to be active in politics is he who does not want office and who is indifferent to political honors. It seems to me it is the duty of the preacher to inspire such men to take an active interest in public affairs; men who, if they do not live to hear the glad voices of the reapers, will find reward enough in the knowledge that they helped to break the ground and sow the seed.

My three years' experience in politics has been worth everything it has cost. I have had a shocking revelation of the weaker side of human nature. I have also come to know men whose character and patriotism outweigh all the discouragements and leave a balance on the side of faith in man and hope for the republic.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

FREE TRADE A LAW OF NATURE.

A portion of an address delivered by Louis R. Ehrlich before the American Free Trade League, at Boston, June 3, 1904.

A law that is based on truth has this characteristic: It is true and applicable

universally, true at all times and in all places. If the benefits of protection are based on a true economic law, then protection must be good not only between our nation and other nations, but also between each of our States, and between every city of the continent. A cry has already been heard from Illinois and from California asking protection against the cheaper labor of other States; and that cry is simply protection carried to its logical conclusion. Protection, if economically sound, must have been good at the foundation of the republic, it must be good now, and remain good forever. This protectionists disclaim. They have clamored for aid to so-called "infant industries," with the implication that the protection would be abolished when the infant had grown to self-support. Even Alexander Hamilton, in that "Report on Manufacturers," which has been considered the Gibraltar of protectionism, said: "The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must always be of questionable policy; because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success." At that time, 1791, the iron and steel industry was already a lusty infant. Mr. Hamilton, speaking of the manufacturing establishments of the United States, says: "It is certain that several important branches have grown up and flourished with a rapidity which surprises;" and among these he especially mentions "bar and sheet iron and steel." In the tariff then introduced this infant was contented with a duty of eight per cent. To-day, after 113 years, this same (now billion-dollar) infant needs to be sustained with protection pap enriched to a 45 per cent. solution.

Many Republican presidents have expressed the desire for ultimate free trade. President Garfield said: "I am for a protection which leads to ultimate free trade." President Roosevelt, less than 20 years ago, wrote: "Political economists have pretty generally agreed that protection is vicious in theory and harmful in practice." Even that president whose name was synonymous with protection, in the last speech preceding his assassination three years ago, expressed himself: "We should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor. The period of exclusiveness is past." One is tempted to inquire: "Why should there ever have been a period of exclusiveness?"

We maintain that the theory of free trade is based on a fixed law of na-

ture, the law of diversity; the diversity between man and man, climate and climate, soil and soil. We maintain that, under this law, it is economically best for each man, or each body of men, to produce that which he or they can produce to the best advantage, and to exchange these products freely and without restraint for the products of other men. We contend that this free, unimpeded exchange of product will be to the direct advantage of all parties; that it will increase the demand for labor and thereby advance wages; and that it will at the same time increase the exchange value of wages and thereby minister to the added comfort and physical well-being of the wage-earning class. We affirm that free trade is the best policy between men, between States, and between nations; that it was the best policy at the dawn of civilization; that it is the best policy now; and that it will continue to be the best economic policy until the end of time—constantly increasing the wealth of the race, bringing nations into closer and more brotherly relations, and feeding those springs of mutual self-interest and interdependence which form the best guaranty for international concord and peace. As was beautifully said by a distinguished Englishman: "Commerce is, after all, the great peacemaker of the world. Commerce is never militant. It binds us all together in links of gold, like marriage-rings."

"THE PLUG IN THE KEYHOLE."

An extract from the Memorial Day address delivered by Henry H. Wilson, at Monaca, Pa., May 30, 1904.

We used to believe "that all men are created free and equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" we used to quote Thomas Jefferson, who said that the only title to land was the use of land; yet to-day we live, move and have our being in a social system which is a reproach to men and a mockery before God, for it both preaches and practices that it is not man who robs his brother, but that it is God who disinherits His children by giving thousands of idle acres to one and not even a grave to another; that it is God who brings children into this world who must pay some other man's son for the privilege of living "in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;" and that it is God's wisdom which makes some men the dispensers of God's bounty.

I have pointed to the munificence of Providence, and said that the portals of God's storehouse begged opening with the key of labor. Private

appropriation of land value is the plug in the keyhole. Labor will never get its just share of production until every employer bids against a man's ability to labor for himself. That day will be when the plug in the keyhole is drawn, by public instead of private appropriation of land value, for then will be the day of equal opportunity when every man can go to nature's store without paying tribute to monopoly or privilege.

To tax is to take, and when the public, through its authorized agents, takes this land value by concentrating all taxation on such value, it is neither repudiation nor confiscation.

It is not repudiation, because you and I, and the child born this minute, are as much the children of God as were our grandfathers, and we have never been a party to a contract or grant of land to one man to the exclusion of others, in case that grantee failed to use that land. It is beyond human power to make a grant of land that does not bear the implied condition of use. Our existence depends upon our access to land; it is our life, our liberty, and our pursuit of happiness; all these are contained in a grant of land; the barter and sale of land is the barter and sale of blood, and we have no more right to sell our land into the bondage of slavery, for they are one and the same thing.

It is not confiscation, because land value is something which comes from and attaches to people or population.

When in 1787 the commonwealth of Pennsylvania granted 300 acres to Ephraim Blaine for the trifling sum of \$210 it had little or no value, but when those 300 acres have a population of 3,000, and they become the site of the town of Monaca, they have an assessed value of \$800,000, and this value does not belong to the grantees of Ephraim Blaine, nor to the descendants of Ephraim Blaine, even though one of them was the plumed knight from Maine, but that value was created by and belongs to the 3,000 souls who live their lives, do their work and have their homes in this beautiful and busy town.

That this is the only sane and safe way to combat many ills and most remedies, permit me one illustration, remembering that man has no life apart from land. Suppose that instead of wool sheep grew clothes, that instead of leaves trees brought forth bread and meat, that instead of the busy bustle of menial service all processes of the home were performed by the silent messengers of magic;

suppose that without labor, desire, like Aladdin's Lamp, conjured up its own gratification, what then would become of the man who held no land, of you men who own nothing but your ability to work?

Yes, we cannot avoid the conclusion, that so long as the present systems of land tenures and taxation are continued, just so long will invention and the onward march of progress, with ever increasing cruelty, condemn men to the refuse heap as an incumbrance upon the earth where God meant them for the masters.

"Do you think that Judge Parker's silence is a detriment to him?"

"Well, it makes him unavailable as a candidate of the Women's Party."

G. T. E.

"I see," remarked Mr. Reedley, "that Carnegie is to give a million to the Republican National Committee."

"Give!" snorted Mr. Zharper, "don't you suppose that he expects to get it back?"

G. T. E.

BOOKS

THE DARROW ENIGMA.

Melvin L. Severy's mystery story (The Darrow Enigma. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company) is vulnerable in too many places to escape criticism or to be entitled to escape it. At some points it is fantastic; at others it is labored; frequently it is false; and now and then, as in its use of the trail of the thumb mark, it introduces the commonplace with too much of an air of novelty.

But in spite of its defects of detail, the story does stimulate curiosity and hold the interest of the reader from the occurrence of the mysterious homicide to the final explanation, through all the ramifications of mistaken theories and false scents. And that, after all, is the vital requisite of a mystery story.

Some critics have intimated that the author should have made himself more familiar with court proceedings; and, indeed, the story of the trial of an innocent suspect who has pleaded guilty does seem very non-technical. But it is probable that Mr. Severy's critics are mystified by the peculiar circumstance of a trial upon a plea of guilty. This trial is indeed informal. The author describes it, however, more with reference to results in successive stages than to details of procedure, and in that view of it the criticism is undeserved. In real life judgments in capital cases are not delivered merely upon pleas of guilty. Trials upon such pleas are required by the law, because accused men have been known to make false pleas of guilty. But trials in cases of that kind are, as may well be supposed, much less

formal than in contested cases, and the author appears to have recognized this fact. As a realistic picture Mr. Severy's trial scene would be a failure; but as part of the process of unraveling the mystery its verisimilitude as to substance is sufficient.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The American City: A Problem in Democracy.—By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price \$1.25 net. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

The International Socialist Review for May is a handy reference compendium of political Socialism in the United States at the present date.

The Metropolitan Magazine has become one of the best of the light entertainers. The first story in the June number is by Anthony Hope, and is delightfully new and clever. A rich young fellow is rich from his inherited interest in a tailoring establishment, of which fact he is somewhat ashamed. On the continent he meets a charming, rich young woman. They fall in love with each other; but before any declaration, the unfortunate man hears his innamorata declare, in a burst of democratic zeal, that she would draw the line at no pursuit—except, alas, that of tailoring. He is in despair. But finally the truth comes out that she is the chief owner of a large clothing house. So the businesses are combined, and they live happy ever after. J. H. D.

The London Saturday Review in a recent article on the "German Government and Socialism" says: "As a theory socialism is accepted more deliberately in Germany than it is in any other country, and the government has responded more readily to the pressure put upon it than have the governments of other countries. Yet Germany is the most autocratic and aristocratic of all the European (Christian) nations with the exception of Russia. None of the nations who claim the distinction of possessing representative institutions in the most complete form, England, France, the United States, has done so much towards carrying out many of the ideas of socialism as Germany has done." It may be that the German socialists are after something else than to have socialism handed out by the present autocratic

The REPUBLIC of PLATO

This work, written in the fourth century before the Christian era, is the earliest and also the best of all the utopias, of all the books written to suggest the reconstruction of society on an ideal plan, without any full recognition of the obstinate economic forces that must be reckoned with in practice. In Plato's work can be found most of the utopian theories that have at various times and by various people in later ages been put forward as original.

Plato's Republic has until lately been the property of the leisure class. Most editions of it have been in the original Greek, and the English versions have been in a difficult style, suitable only for scholars, and sold at high prices.

Prof. Alexander Kerr, of the University of Wisconsin, is now engaged in preparing a new translation, closely following the thought and even the forms of expression of the original, yet written in a strong and simple English style that is easy to understand. Plato's Republic is divided into ten books. Three of these have previously appeared in Professor Kerr's translation, and the fourth has just been published. The price is fifteen cents for each part, or sixty cents for the four parts that are now ready. This includes postage.

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