

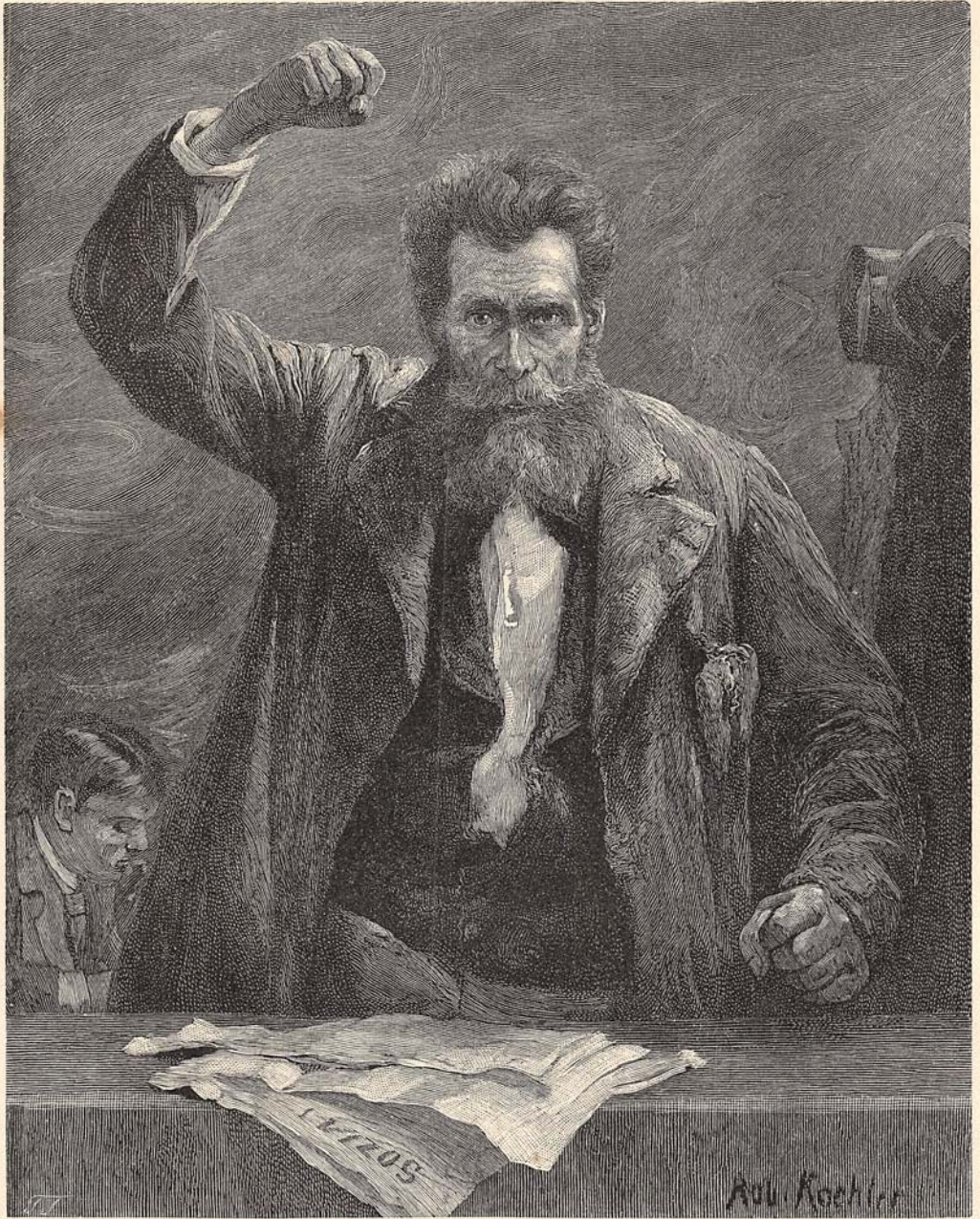
## DANGER AHEAD.

THE early American colonists were a homogeneous people. They spoke one language; they held substantially one and the same religious faith; they belonged to the same social order. They were at once men of thrift and men of industry; they were therefore all capitalists and all laborers. Their country was small; their means of intercommunication, though poor, were adequate; their interests were common; and the dangers which threatened them, now from a sterile soil or a hostile winter, now from barbarous neighbors, and now from their selfish and unnatural mother, bound them together and made then one. If the Huguenots of South Carolina, the pious cavaliers of Virginia, the devoted Roman Catholics of Maryland, and the sternly religious Puritans of New England could have been left undisturbed after the first century of their occupation in possession of the land of their adoption, their growth would have been slow, but it would have been natural; and the piety, probity, industry, and simplicity of these early colonists might have descended to their children and grand-children with only such changes as are incident to all religious life. But this was not to be. The American Revolution forced the colonists into a united nation. The discovery of steam and the introduction of steam navigation facilitated immigration; the untold wealth of the country invited it. The rapid development of the mechanical arts facilitated the development of the country's wealth, but not its equal distribution. People from foreign lands poured across the bridged Atlantic in numbers so vast and in time so brief that their assimilation and nationalization were impossible. And now, a little more than one century from the Declaration of Independence, our empire comprises a territory already more extensive than that of the Roman empire in the period of its greatest grandeur, and a nation comprising people of every living language, every religious faith, every political opinion, and every social class; a country which two centuries ago had hardly a social rift, is now as full of social crevasses, broad and deep, as the snowy sides of the Alps; a country whose faith was so uniform and so simple that the congregational churches of New England thought it superfluous even to state it in formal creeds, has now on exhibition a greater assortment of religious opinions than is to be found in any other equal area upon the habitable globe; a nation in which

but one language was to be heard from Boston Bay to Savannah, boasts a single city in which all the German dialects can be heard in greater perfection than in any city of Germany.

I do not for an instant regret that these immigrants have come. Coming was their right. The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, and no child of His has a right to exclude his brother from any nook or corner in the divine mansion because, forsooth, he got there first. The pilgrims of the sixteenth century have no better right here than the pilgrims of the nineteenth. Their coming is our benefit,—the wealth of the nation is in its men. No prohibitory tariff ever should and none ever can shut laborers out. They have built our railroads, cultivated our prairies, felled our forests, opened our mines, operated our mills, dug our gardens, and cooked, washed, and broken dishes in our kitchens. But the babe welcomed to the mother's breast brings a new burden to the mother's heart. And this new population, welcome as it is, brings with it both peril and duty,—peril to be escaped only by faithful performance of duty.

This vast immigrant population belongs for the most part to what we call the laboring classes; that is, they are wage-workers. They are generally without capital; often without education; almost always without culture; sometimes densely ignorant. They have never been taught the difficult art of self-government. Many of them are members of the Roman Catholic communion, which teaches one chief lesson to its communicants—to obey. They no sooner reach our shores than they begin to unlearn it. The power of the priesthood weakens; and Protestants, with a fatal folly, rejoice to see this power over reverence and fear grow daily less, though no reverence for God and no fear of conscience grow to take their place. Many of them are adherents of the Mormon hierarchy, which, though only half a century old, already overspreads the entire South-west, an *imperium in imperio*, setting the laws of God and man alike at defiance and sweeping out the Christian home to make room for the Turkish harem. Still more of them come here having learned lessons of anarchy and revolt in their native land. Coming, many of them, from countries in which the church has been an instrument of priestly oppression, and the state an instrument of political oppression, they bring with them an inherited hate of both state and church; a disbelief in



THE SOCIALIST.

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON, FROM THE PAINTING BY ROBERT KOEHLER.

man which is more dangerous to society even than that disbelief in God which always accompanies it. Freed from the restraints of the Old World, they are at the same time endowed with powers to which in the Old World they were utter strangers. In other lands the ballot is the privilege and prerogative of favored classes; here it is the recognized right of manhood. In other lands education, even when free, is under the control either of a religious or a political hierarchy; here to all classes is given that knowledge which is power, under no other regulations than such as the people in their several districts see fit to impose. In other lands meetings for discussion of abuses or the righting of wrongs have been under the surveillance of the police. In America words are as free as the air they are spoken in, and the gathering of men is as unrestrained as the flocking together of sparrows; and their chatter is sometimes as rude and boisterous. With these powers of ballot, of education, of free speech and free organization, modern science puts into their hands a power more dangerous than either, than all combined. With dynamite carried in a carpet-bag or contained in an easily concealed cartridge, the modern Guy Fawkes can destroy in an hour the products of a century's industry. In a warfare between classes for the possession of property, civilization has every advantage. In a warfare by anarchy against all property, the anarchist has every advantage.

Such is one aspect of the elements which threaten danger to society and the state. One-half our workers are wage-workers; one-third of our population, including the vast majority of our wage-workers, are either of foreign birth or children of foreign-born parents. They are restless and are growing more so. There is no power in any church to which they owe allegiance adequate to prevent an outbreak. There is no power in the state, no police, no military, capable of quelling it. Large numbers of them acknowledge no fealty to any religion which teaches them the duty or endows them with the power of self-restraint. The churches too often address not their conscience, but their imagination. The schools address not their conscience, but their intellect. Men who have been taught that modern order is despotism and modern property is theft, find themselves in a country where the only support of order is an enlightened conscience, and the only protection of property is an enlightened self-interest; and neither their conscience nor their self-interest is enlightened. Believing that property is theft, they believe that spoliation is redress; believing that the world's wealth is their inheritance of which they have been too long unjustly deprived,

they are ready with no gentle voice to demand of society, "Give me the portion of goods that falleth to me"; and we may be sure that if it were given to them it would soon be spent in riotous living not followed by repentance and a request for employment as hired servants.

Two other facts must be added to these which I have so rapidly sketched:

1. Labor is organizing for the protection of its interests. It is thus deepening the chasm and intensifying the hostility between the laboring class and the capitalist. Nearly every trade has now its trades-union,—some local, some national. They exist in every State of the Union, except Florida, and in most of the territories. The annual income of the larger unions has ranged from five thousand to fifteen thousand dollars. Of their full membership there is no adequate census. A coalition has been formed, not yet fully perfected, for the union of them all in one confederation. Agriculture is the only considerable industry which has not its industrial organization. These unions are essentially warlike, both in their aims and in their methods. Let me explain what I mean by that assertion. Commercial organizations may be rudely divided into two classes: those for the promotion of industry, and those for the protection of rights. The former are industrial; the latter are military. All corporations, co-operative societies, associations for amicable discussion of mutual interest, are of the first description; all trades-unions are of the second. They give aid to their members in case of sickness or inability to work; and are in so far philanthropical. They have lodge rooms, with meetings for reading, debate, and mutual improvement, and in so far are educational. But the reason for their existence is self-protection. They are not organized to promote education in their several industries; to facilitate apprenticeship; to introduce new and improved methods; to encourage the introduction of labor-saving machines; to equalize wages by equalizing intelligence and industry. On the contrary, apprenticeship is discouraged, new methods are obstructed, the introduction of labor-saving machinery has been more than once made the occasion of a strike, and the equalizing of wages is attempted by leveling down, not by leveling up. The trades-union is not organized, like a political club, for purposes of persuasion, nor, like a literary club, for purposes of education, nor, like a co-operative club, for purposes of industrial benefit; it is organized to protect its members against the oppression of employers, or to wrest from employers a larger share of the profits. It is founded on the assumption that the interests of employer and employed are antagonistic;

and that combination is necessary to protect the employed from their employers. As it is essentially military in its aims, so also is it in its structure. It is ruled over by a directory scarcely less absolute than that which governed the revolutionists in the days of Mirabeau. This directory sits in secret, issues its orders, demands implicit obedience, and enforces it by industrial excommunication, and often by open violence or secret assault. A condition of society in which the working class is leagued together in a clan whose hostility to employers is not concealed, whose watchword is absolute obedience to the decrees of chiefs, whose designs are perfected in secret conferences, whose tendency, and sometimes whose aim, is to widen the chasm between classes, is a dangerous condition; the danger is but hinted at in frequent strikes often accompanied with violence, occasionally bursting forth in rioting, and once flaming out into a national conflagration. Every new strike, whether it succeeds or fails, widens the chasm and increases the danger.

But trades-unions are organizations of honest workmen who desire only fair wages for fair work; who submit to the despotism of a military organization because it is less despotic than that of the capitalist with whom they believe themselves to be at war. But there are other organizations of working-men in America, men who do not conceal their belief that property is theft and robbery is righteousness. In September, 1883, a procession of over ten thousand so-called working-men marched through the streets of New York city, bearing on their banners such inscriptions as, "Workers in tenement houses— idlers in brown-stone fronts"; "Which shall it be, the ballot or Judge Lynch?" A like procession is perpetually marching through the United States in constantly augmenting numbers. Its journals are its banners; for its mottoes, read these sentences gathered from their editorial utterances:

"When the laboring man understands that the heaven which they are promised hereafter is but a mirage, they will knock at the door of the wealthy robber with a musket in hand, and demand their share of the goods of this life now."—"Religion, authority, and the state are all carved out of the same piece of wood—to the devil with them all."—"Hurrah for science! Hurrah for dynamite! The power which in our hands shall make an end to tyranny."—"Truth is five cents a copy; and dynamite is fifty cents a pound."—"Judge Lynch is the best and cheapest court in the land."—"The revolutionist knows only one science—namely, destruction."

Every successful journal is the representative of thousands of readers; the three journals from which I have quoted the above represent each a platoon in the great army. This is the vanguard. A greater army follows,

led it knows not by whom, marching it knows not whither.

While working-men are thus combining in military organizations for either offensive or defensive warfare, the progress of civilization, facilities of locomotion, labor-saving machinery, and the substitution of associated for individual industry, incident to the increased and increasing division of labor, are bringing them together in compact communities, where there are more living to the acre than there are corpses in our burying-grounds, where liquor shops are many and churches are few, where there is every facility for vicious combination and every stimulant to vicious growth, where the home perishes of asphyxia, and the swarming tenement grows rank.

In 1848 Alexis de Tocqueville wrote the following prophetic words: "I look upon the size of certain American cities, and especially on the nature of their population, as a real danger which threatens the future security of the republics of the New World; and I venture to predict that they will perish from this circumstance, unless the government succeeds in creating an armed force, which, while it remains under the control of the majority of the nation, will be independent of the town population, and able to repress its excesses."

When Tocqueville wrote that warning, there were but two cities in the Union with a population exceeding 200,000; there are now eight. Then seven-eighths of the population lived in the country or in country towns; now nearly one-quarter live in large cities.\* Then the industry of the nation was still mainly agricultural; now mining and manufacturing have combined with immigration to change the nature of labor, and the character of the laborer. Then communism was almost unknown; now Proudhon's aphorism "Property is theft" is the fundamental doctrine of organizations, fatally prolific in their natural nests the great cities, and with the destructive instruments which modern science has put into their hands, threatening civilization in Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States. This dangerous element does not lack for leaders as dangerous. Every king has his courtiers. The worse the despot the more despicable the sycophants who fawn upon him, and affect to reverence while they really direct his powers. The American demagogue is the courtier of American mobocracy; and never did baser courtier flatter and fawn upon more dangerous king.

2. If labor had no just cause of complaint we might look upon its organization, whether in peaceful or in revolutionary forms, without fear; for any cause which has the conscience of

\* Of over 8000 population.

humanity for its ally is sure of victory. But labor has a cause of complaint, a serious cause of complaint. While the laborers in America have been organizing an army, the great body for defensive warfare, the vanguard for attack, a steady concentration of capital in the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists has been taking place. A youth starts in life as a deck-hand on a river steamer; in half a century he has amassed a fortune of seventy millions. Another begins life with a mouse-trap; in twenty-seven years he exhibits securities worth a hundred millions. Society is a joint stock concern. These are the profits which these two railroad kings have taken from it? Have they earned them? Do the seventy millions in the one case and the hundred millions in the other represent what they have added to the common stock?

We brought nothing into this world; that is very certain. What, then, any man possesses he has either produced by his industry or has taken from some one else who has produced it by industry. His fortune is either: first, the product of his industry; second, a gift; or third, a robbery. These are the only three ways by which any man can ever acquire property,—by industry, by gift, and by stealing. There will always be inequalities in condition because there will always be inequalities in character. The industrious man has a right to the fruits of his industry; the sagacious man has a right to the fruits of his sagacity; but no man has a right to take the fruits of his neighbor's industry or his neighbor's sagacity without giving an equivalent therefor. No man has a right to take out of the joint stock more than he puts in. And society is organized in the interest of robbery whenever it is so organized as to enable men by their sagacity to take out of the world wealth whose equivalent they have never put into the world. This is the complaint, and the just complaint, of the laboring classes,—not that some men get better pay than other men, but that some men get a wealth which does not belong to them, which does belong to their neighbors; that some forms of robbery are legalized; that some forms of robbery are encouraged and stimulated. That the railroad president should have ten or twenty thousand dollars a year for his service, and the brakeman but five hundred dollars a year for his, would arouse little complaint; but that the speculator in railroad stocks should realize four millions of dollars a year for his services and the brakeman five hundred dollars for his, does arouse a well-grounded complaint. And the bitterness of the complaint is increased because the brakeman sees, dimly if not clearly, that the inequality is due not to difference in intellectual qualifications, but to

injustice in social organization. Grant that a certain capitalist has added every year of his life a million dollars to the wealth of the nation by his industry, his sagacity, his forecast, the other seventy-three million dollars which he has won in life's lottery are unearned; and unearned wealth is stolen wealth. Certain people in the United States are seventy-three million dollars poorer because he has seventy-three million dollars for which he has given society no equivalent. This is the brakeman's argument. If he is in error, his error must be shown him. An inequality of wealth is not wrong; but an inequality of wealth greater than the inequality of industry is wrong. Two "railway kings" have gone into partnership with Tom, Dick, and Harry to develop the mines and open the railroads of a great district of country. Tom, Dick, and Harry do not complain that the railway kings are better paid than they; they do complain that the railway kings have taken more than their share of the profits of the enterprise. And bitterness is added to their complaint because they see more or less clearly that society is responsible; that the terms of partnership are unfair; that legislation gives to capital every advantage and leaves labor to shift for itself. They see, more or less clearly, that this money has been made not by individual industry, but by gambling; and that this gambling has been made possible by means of great corporations.\* These corporations are organizations created by society in the interest of capital, and for the avowed purpose of increasing its profits. They are a contrivance for the concentration of the wealth of many men in a few hands, in order to increase its power and enhance the facility of its administration. These corporations are already a power in the state greater than the state itself. They control the United States Senate if not the United States House of Representatives, and the legislatures of several of our States. They have autocratic powers bestowed upon them. They fix the rates of transportation of goods and passengers; they determine the conditions on which and the prices at which telegraphic communication may be carried on between different parts of the country; they are absolute masters both of the nerves and the arteries of the body politic. The combined wealth of the railroad corporations counts by billions; their annual income by hundred millions; their interests are combined in pools and syndicates. Against them private citizens are almost power-

\* Washington Gladden has recently stated in the pages of *THE CENTURY* that the amount of wealth transferred by their gambling operations in a year in Wall Street is estimated to aggregate \$800,000,000.

less; the workman must take what work they will furnish at what wages they will give; the shipper must pay what freights they charge. If any complaint is made, the complainant is recommended to go elsewhere; as if one syndicate should control the globe, and a complaining citizen should be told to try his fortunes on some other planet.

The stocks of these great corporations are turned into dice, by which gigantic gambling operations are carried on, operations in which fortunes are lost and made in a day, operations by which honest men are tempted from honest industry to their ruin; and other honest men who resist the temptation are involved in the ruin which a common wreck inflicts upon the community. As if this were not enough, the brakeman sees these great corporations the recipients not only of vast powers, but of gifts as vast. He sees the nation giving away to these railroad companies an area nearly equal to the great States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri; and three times the total area of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. He is told, indeed, that this has been given in alternate sections, and is urged to believe that the appreciation in value of what remains is an adequate equivalent for what has been given away. But he sees no definite and appreciable advantage accruing to himself; and he sees the recipients of the nation's landed wealth becoming by its means millionaires in a lifetime. If there be any advantage to him, it is remote, intangible, unseen. This great domain belonging in part to him he sees conferred by legislation on one class of capitalists; he sees other capitalists, less scrupulous, pushing their way into our Western territory, and taking its best estate without leave or license; he is told by official reports from Congress that millions of acres have been fenced in by domestic and foreign lords, and converted into feudal estates, defended alike against lawlessness and against representatives of the law by cow-boy retainers. In the grip of this great mercenary power the laborer is powerless; against its injustice when it is unjust he has no remedy; and for his constantly diminishing wages modern political economy suggests no better relief than a tax on all foreign importations, that the price of every article bought, every garment worn, every utensil used may be increased, and some small portion of the increase be added to his slender income. Thus far the rapid increase of property and wealth in a new country of almost illimitable resources makes light the burden of his life. But every year the burden grows greater and the danger of revolt more threatening. The low growl of the thunder is already to

be heard in great cities; the lambent flame already runs along the clouds; the bitter cry of outcast London is faintly echoed from New York and Cincinnati, from Chicago and St. Louis, and from a hundred smaller manufacturing towns and mining villages. It grows not fainter but louder. *Elisée Reclus* tells us that the average mortality among the well-to-do is one to sixty; that in Europe it is three times as great; that every year ten million people die who, in a well-ordered social condition, should have lived. Think what that means, and wonder not, as wealth increases and poverty increases, and the rift between the poor and the rich grows wider, that many a thoughtful *Curtius* begins to ask where Rome shall find a jewel precious enough to be cast in and save the city from being swallowed up.

On the one side of a narrow valley capital is concentrating its forces, small in numbers but compact in organization, powerful in equipment, and not always either scrupulous in its means or generous in its spirit. On the other side, labor is concentrating its forces,—an increasing host, loose in organization, but with a discontent in its heart which a great disaster might easily convert into bitter wrath,—armed by modern science with fatally efficient equipment for destruction, and officered by leaders often both unscrupulous and daring. Every morning paper brings us the report of some strike or lockout, which is like the shot of a single picket along the line; and now and then we are startled by a riot such as that at Cincinnati, Chicago, or Cleveland, which is like a skirmish between the advance guards. Who can tell that the next skirmish may not bring on a battle?

So far I have written as a pessimist. I should be a pessimist if I were not a believer in Christianity. Let me briefly indicate the direction in which we are to look and labor for the protection of our industries, our homes, and our land from this danger ahead.

Certainly not by the remedy which *Tocqueville* suggested. One-quarter of the population of America lives in cities. The other three-quarters will not leave their peaceful vocations to serve as city police. The farmer will not leave his plow in the half-turned furrow to protect the palace of the city prince from pillage by the city mob. Repression is not remedy. We cannot suppress this growing discontent; we must remove its cause. We cannot maintain both a free republic and a standing army; therefore, we cannot maintain a free republic by a standing army. We cannot learn from the Old World how to repress the disorders which threaten both worlds. The ruins of the Louvre attest the monumental folly of the endeavor of imperialism — no matter how

disguised — to leave wrongs unrighted, and prevent revolution by an armed force. All that we can learn from Alexander III., Bismarck, and the two Napoleons is, how not to do it. Not by making America less democratic, but by making it more so, are we to perpetuate the republic.

Politically America is a democracy; industrially America is an aristocracy. The community which allows the laborer to determine the destinies of the nation, allows him no voice in determining the nature or the profits of his own industry. He *makes* political laws; he is *under* industrial laws. At the ballot box he is a king; in the factory he is a servant, sometimes a slave. Men who make legislators, governors, judges, presidents, are not allowed to determine how many hours a day they will work, and are able to determine what wages they shall receive only by organizing into an unarmed militia to preserve that right. The community at the same moment puts a ballot *into* the hand, and a manacle *upon* it. We must either take the ballot out or the manacle off. If humanity has a capacity such that it can carry on the affairs and direct the destinies of an empire, it has a capacity such that it can carry on the affairs and direct the destinies of a coöperative corporation. It is estimated by political economists that to carry on any large organized industry requires an average capital of \$1000 for every working-man employed. This requires a large capital when it is furnished by a single man; but it is not a large capital when it is divided up among one thousand working-men. A healthy, thrifty, energetic, industrious, sober mechanic ought to be able to lay up \$1000 before he is gray-haired; and this makes him a capitalist. A hundred such would have in their savings capital enough to inaugurate a successful industry, and ought to have brains enough to conduct it. Coöperation is the first step toward the redemption of labor from the oppression of capital. And coöperation has been proved pecuniarily practicable. At the annual meeting of the English Coöperative Congress, held at Derby last year, the statistics for 1882 were presented. Coöperative production has been a failure (perhaps I should say, rather, has not been a success; it still exists, though on a small scale), because the working-men have not yet the self-denial to hold themselves back from over-production and live on small profits when there is small demand for their labor. They require a "boss" to cut their wages down. But coöperative distribution has been a marvelous success. The figures are significantly eloquent: 1346 societies; a membership of 661,000; an

aggregate capital of \$38,000,000; a gross business for the year of \$130,000,000; a profit of \$10,500,000, or twenty-six per cent. on the investment,—these figures show what the democracy of labor can achieve under favorable conditions and wise direction. They indicate the direction in which humanity is to seek for safety from the danger ahead.

I wish I had the ear of the working-men's organizations. I would put these figures before them, and then I would address them in some such terms as the following:

Do you not see the fatal defect of all your organizations? You combine only that you may not work. In one summer's telegraphic strike you spent \$400,000 for the right to be idle. Why did you not expend it for the right to be independent? Half a million dollars, plus all the best telegraphic talent in the United States, with the sympathies of the nation as a reserve, combined to establish postal telegraphy, might have given you success instead of failure. Strike, not for better wages in servitude, but for independence. Organize not to be idle, but to be busy. Combine not against your employers, but that you may employ yourselves. You battle not for the rights of labor, but for the right not to labor; it is a barren, fruitless right not worth fighting for. Victory is as bad as defeat. For combination put coöperation; for few hours and fair wages put independence; for a right to be idle put power to work. Make yourselves capitalists, combine your capital with your industry, and add to it by your credit, and so become your own masters.

The conflict between labor and capital can be and is ameliorated by every influence which tends to produce kindly feeling between the two. America is at least partly protected from the revolutions such as destroyed Rome and ravaged France; for America has what neither Rome nor France possessed—Protestant Christianity. But kindly feeling can only give a truce, not peace. Peace will come only with a completion of the progress of democracy—only with the final triumph of what I may call social and organic Christianity,—only when an industrial democracy is organized, identical in its principles and its spirit with the political and religious democracy which already characterizes our country,—only by processes which will convert the laborer himself into a capitalist and endow him with the power, the intelligence, and the virtue to be his own master. The first step in this process is coöperation. The first contribution to it is a broader, better, more universal, and more practical education.

The second step is a new conception of the functions of government and consequent en-

largement of its powers, and the sphere of its operations. The first governmental organizations are military, for protection of the community from enemies without. The organization is that of an army, the king is the commander-in-chief, the authority is despotic; for the authority of a military organization always must be despotic. The second step in the development of government makes it a great police force. The enemies which threaten it are no longer from without, but from within; its magistrates and its constabulary are its regular police, its militia is its *posse comitatus*. Rebellion is simply an enormous riot; and when the citizens have put it down, they disarm and go back to their peaceful vocations. This is the epoch in political history of *laissez faire*. This is Jeffersonian democracy. This is as far in history as Herbert Spencer and Professor Sumner have gone. The function, the sole function of government is thought to be protection; social classes owe nothing to one another, and each individual is left to make what he can out of the world or to be crushed by it, as may happen. Its motto is every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. It is organic selfishness. But there is a third epoch in the history of mankind; an epoch in which government is neither a military nor a police organization, but a great industrial corporation; in which it becomes a league of men combined not for the protection of the community from enemies without, nor for the protection of the individual from enemies within, but for the better development of its wealth, the better reward of its industry, the better promotion of its welfare. On this epoch we have entered. We shall not turn back; neither Herbert Spencer nor Professor Sumner can stay the forward march of humanity. Modern governments are already great industrial corporations. In Belgium government operates the railroads; in England it does the express and telegraph business; in America it is an enormous banker. The more democratic the government, the more enlarged are its functions. Free government establishes libraries, constructs and endows a magnificent school system; maintains sewage; compels unwilling parents to vaccinate their children; regulates the size and structure of houses; in short, does a hundred things which a mere state police has no right to do, but which a great coöperative industrial organization may fitly and wisely do for itself. What it thinks itself incompetent to do, it calls on others to do for it; and creates great corporations to furnish it with coal, with means of communication, with currency, corporations on whom it confers almost autocratic powers, to whom it gives

enormous compensation, and whom, in judicial decisions recently announced, it is just beginning to recognize as public servants, deriving all their powers from the people, and to them amenable for the just exercise of their powers. In so far as what we call communism is a tendency toward the realization of this enlarged conception of government as a great industrial organism, it is a tendency to be carefully guided and directed, not to be condemned and repressed. I shall not attempt to enter upon this branch of the subject, except by way of suggestion,—partly because the topic is too large and the space too limited, partly because my object in this article is to start the reader to thinking rather than to think for him. I have no desire to do more than suggest the direction in which he may think to advantage. And this may best be done by reporting without note or comment three facts for his consideration:

1. Three or four years after the British Government had secured the ownership and control of the telegraph lines of Great Britain, the following results of its administration were ascertained: the number of offices for business had increased thirty per cent.; the number of messages fifty per cent.; the number of words sent two hundred per cent.; the cost of sending had been reduced forty per cent.; and it had actually cost the government nothing, for it borrowed the money for the enterprise at three per cent., and the profits of the business were four and three-tenths per cent. Government in England can conduct a great telegraphic enterprise for the people better than private enterprise. If government in America cannot, it is time that we found out the reason why.

2. The Erie Canal, the great highway of commerce before railroads were in operation, had cost this State a few years ago, in capital, in interest, in repairs, in administration, two hundred and thirty millions of dollars; it had brought into the State two hundred and twenty-one millions of dollars; and the people still own the canal. If we can own, administer, and control a great waterway, why not a great ironway?

3. A few years ago we wanted to build a railroad from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. We did not think we could undertake that work ourselves as a government. We asked some private capitalists to do it for us. They generously consented. We gave them for their generosity great gifts of land, and loaned them thirty-three millions of dollars in bonds, for which we stand responsible to-day. They borrowed seventeen millions elsewhere and built the road; it cost them fifty millions. Three-fifths of the cost of the Union Pacific we



paid out of our own pockets, and we do not own the road nor any share of it. A few years ago England wanted a railway in India. She invited capitalists to build it for her, and guaranteed the capitalists five per cent. on their money. They built the road; England has a representative in its direction; she receives an income of seven per cent., pays the capitalists the guaranteed five per cent., and the two per cent. profit has enabled her to abolish the income tax in India. If England can do this in India, why cannot we do it in America? These three questions I leave the readers of this article to ponder and answer to themselves, at their leisure.

*Lyman Abbott.*

## GIFTS.

"Oh, World-God, give me Wealth!" the Egyptian cried.  
 His prayer was granted. High as heaven, behold  
 Palace and pyramid; the brimming tide  
 Of lavish Nile washed all his land with gold.  
 Armies of slaves toiled ant-wise at his feet,  
 World-circling traffic roared through mart and street.  
 His priests were gods, his spice-balmed kings enshrined,  
 Set death at naught in rock-ribbed charnels deep.  
 Seek Pharaoh's race to-day and ye shall find  
 Rust and the moth, silence and dusty sleep.

"Oh, World-God, give me Beauty!" cried the Greek.  
 His prayer was granted. All the earth became  
 Plastic and vocal to his sense; each peak,  
 Each grove, each stream, quick with Promethean flame,  
 Peopled the world with imaged grace and light.  
 The lyre was his, and his the breathing might  
 Of the immortal marble, his the play  
 Of diamond-pointed thought and golden tongue.  
 Go seek the sunshine-race, ye find to-day  
 A broken column and a lute unstrung.

"Oh, World-God, give me Power!" the Roman cried.  
 His prayer was granted. The vast world was chained  
 A captive to the chariot of his pride.  
 The blood of myriad provinces was drained  
 To feed that fierce, insatiable red heart.  
 Invulnerably bulwarked every part  
 With serried legions and with close-meshed Code.  
 Within, the burrowing worm had gnawed its home.  
 A roofless ruin stands where once abode  
 The imperial race of everlasting Rome.

"Oh, Godhead, give me Truth!" the Hebrew cried.  
 His prayer was granted; he became the slave  
 Of the Idea, a pilgrim far and wide,  
 Cursed, hated, spurned, and scourged with none to save.  
 The Pharaohs knew him, and when Greece beheld,  
 His wisdom wore the hoary crown of Eld.  
 Beauty he hath forsworn and wealth and power.  
 Seek him to-day, and find in every land.  
 No fire consumes him, neither floods devour,  
 Immortal through the lamp within his hand.

*Emma Lazarus.*

the people to eat more wholesome bread, it is time that we found out the reason why. If we can own and control great penitentiaries for the accommodation of the lawless, why not great hotels for the accommodation of the law-abiding? If great manufacturing establishments can make money out of patented inventions, why should not government go into the same line of business? Are these three questions absurd? Yes. But no more so in principle than the questions of Dr. Abbott. Why absurd? Because all these things are beyond the province of government.

We are very liable to be misled by unauthorized acts of government, and to suppose them right and done by authority; and when we have taken unauthorized acts as a basis of action, we are most certain to run into great error. The government was established solely for the protection of the people. Its departments were organized for this purpose only. For the protection of life, liberty, and property. Our fundamental law makes the government a protector, not a guardian. It is not for government to assume the functions of the individual, and engage in pursuits other than those necessary for this protection. What the people can do for themselves it is not necessary for the government to do for them; for it would be useless to form a government for the doing of what could be done before it was formed. Because, perchance, the government can carry on some work better than an individual, is no reason it should do so; for by so doing it becomes a dictator. If government would give full and complete protection to the people in their person and property, and allow them to develop the country and manage their own enterprises, many of the "dangers ahead" would be avoided.

A strong government is a necessity, but complex departments necessitating an army of officers, and built up on the false idea that a government is a huge organization for business, debases politics, substitutes the desire for office in place of the desire for the welfare of the nation, and thus leads to that corruption of which we have had glaring examples, and which

may work great injury. This is a "danger ahead" which it is well for us to guard against.

The opening up of new portions of the country should be left to the people, that they may act as necessity requires. The forcing process by government aid and credit, which throws open vast areas which cannot be occupied excepting by calling for, and inducing the Old World to unload its surplus, and oftentimes lawless population upon us, leads to the growth of socialism. If socialism is a "danger ahead," the government may take part of the blame for not leaving the law of increase and progress to work out its own natural result. Our desire for increase of population, and the settling up of the country, to a degree beyond that afforded by increase within, and through natural immigration, has made it necessary to call upon government to do that which was not contemplated by our organic law, and which cannot properly be considered a duty of government. And this has led to inviting "danger ahead," by indiscriminately opening our doors to the world, and drawing to us the lowest disturbing elements of Europe, and placing the ballot in the hands of those absolutely unfit to govern themselves, and much less fitted to have a voice in the government of others. By this process we have not strengthened our government. A country may grow beyond its strength. Material may be gained which adds to the growth, but injures the stability. When government keeps within the line of its duty, and protects the people, while they build such avenues of communication, open up such sections of the land, and engage in such other enterprises as they may deem proper and required by the natural growth of the country, there will be found less "danger ahead" than when the government assumes the functions of a gigantic monied corporation, engages in all sorts of business, and comes into competition with private enterprise. The question is, not what government can do, but what government may do, consistent with the purposes for which it was established.

*H. C. Fulton.*

## BRIC-À-BRAC.

### Uncle Esek's Wisdom.

WIT and humor are born of sober parents.

A LITTLE authority is a dangerous thing. A terrible fellow to meet is a country constable with half-a-dozen subpenas to serve.

PRECOCIOUS children are not only nuisances, but they are generally as stupid at twenty as they are starting at ten.

THE man who can't find anything to do is generally afraid he will.

THE more a man knows, the more he suspects what he has already learned.

IT is possible that friendship may be disinterested; but it is hardly possible to separate love from self-love.

INTELLIGENCE is the leading feature of beauty; almost anything will answer for the background.

IF the Devil were as lazy as many Christians are, he could count his proselytes for each year on his fingers.

GAMBLING ends in poverty and disgrace. It is only a question of time and strict attention to business.

A MAN has a right to his opinions as long as he keeps them to himself.

FLATTERY is like treason; we like the treason well enough, but we despise the traitor.

MANY men fail by being too much for the occasion.

THE lion and the lamb may lie down together, but I don't think the same lamb will do it the second time.

A MAN may be a fool for yielding to the importunity of his passions, but if he had no passions he certainly would be a fool.

ALL snobs are toadies, and toady to some other snob.

THERE are plenty of people who mix their religion with their business, but who don't stir it up well. The business invariably rises to the top.

*Uncle Esek.*