

lem of Individual Life." If ever man builded better than he thought to, this man did. Read in his own words how simply, how blindly, if they can be called blind who are led by love, he entered upon his work: "I have in this inquiry followed the course of my own thought. When in mind I set out on it I had no theory to support, no conclusions to prove. Only when I realized the squalid misery of a great city it appalled and tormented me and would not let me rest for thinking of what caused it and how it could be cured."

"Out of this inquiry," he says, "has come to me something I did not think to find." Aye, and this also that he did not think to find, that his mission and the mission of those who preach his gospel of the land for the people is in very truth the mission of him who, entering into the synagogue as his custom was on the Sabbath Day, read from the book of the prophet Essias the reason of his coming—"To preach the gospel to the poor; to heal the brokenhearted; to preach deliverance to the captive and recovery of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised."

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## THE GROWTH OF THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

(For the Review).

By ELIZA STOWE TWITCHELL.

It is not enough that men should die for liberty; they must be willing to surrender their superstitions to her truths. This is far more difficult, as history testifies. Think of the bondage in which man has long held himself, simply by his own delusions. His belief in "the divine right of kings," his awe and respect for "vested interests," his blind adherence to authorized superstitions, both religious and economic.

Of late, not having many gods to worship, and feeling the need of bestowing his "most distinguished considerations" upon something, he has begun to worship The Flag; to believe in "my Party—right or wrong," to assume that our national "destiny" is under the guidance of powerful, political leaders, with whom it behoves all good citizens to "stand pat." These, and other delusions, have kept him from using his own reason, and thinking himself a free man because he could cast a ballot, he has followed the advice of his instructors, and voted for the commercial interests that have enslaved him by taxation.

It is a dangerous thing for the ruling class when the masses begin to think for themselves. Their keen instinct for justice often leads them to the very truth that meets the crying need of the age. If that truth has already found utterance, if it has a following of earnest, unselfish, pure-minded disciples who love to proclaim it, then its dissemination is only a question of time. Thus evolution prevents revolution.

The history of the world is the history of the growth of the spirit of liberty. Viewed otherwise, history becomes a confused mass of unintelligible detail—an appalling account of atrocious deeds and unavailing sacrifices. One turns from its pages in despair, doubting the very existence of God, since such things were permitted. But a broader view shows that the history of the world is not intelligible apart from a moral Government. It was not that God did not exist, but that men's conception of Him was clouded by passion and selfishness. The general character of every civilization has been the natural outgrowth of its conception of God.

The fixed condition of castes had its foundation in the oriental religion. The Greek and Roman philosophers taught that some men were free; but Christianity was the first to proclaim that all are free. In its doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, a new conception of both God and man was given to the world. This idea has already greatly changed, and is still changing, not only the character of the people, but the form of the State.

Heretofore Christianity has concerned itself almost exclusively in seeking to free each individual separately, chiefly from his own sins and weaknesses, and thus fit him for another world. In so doing it has regarded only one-half of its great mission—the Fatherhood of God. True, this implies the brotherhood of man, and hence it has sought to help the poor by charity, and some Christians have even found a divine sanction for war and the oppression of a weaker race, under the term, “benevolent assimilation.” Such is the power of words to hide truth.

But now, at length, Christianity begins to realize her full mission. Those of her disciples who comprehend its breadth, feel that charity must no longer be offered as a substitute for justice, or war and slavery for education and freedom. They are teaching how to make of this world a heaven, and look forward confidently to the coming of “the kingdom of heaven here upon earth.”

Dante said: “Humanity is one, hence there must be a single aim for all men, a work to be achieved by all.” That aim is civil liberty and the instrument through which it is to be achieved is human government. Progress is the law for both the individual and the State. Our progress is seen in the growth of the spirit of liberty and also in our clearer perceptions of the true functions of government—of what it may do to make more secure the rights of each individual, and what it may not do for fear of infringing upon those rights. Liberty is not the negation of all law and government; neither does it consist in each one’s doing as he please, provided he injure no one else, for without some form of agreement civil liberty is impossible. Because, as yet, the instrument is imperfect, some have falsely declared government to be a necessary evil. But of human laws, as well as of religious idols, it may be said: “They that make them are like unto them.” Christian nations must soon conform all human laws to their highest conception of the Moral Law. This conception will grow clearer the more it is obeyed, and it will thus become, at length, the law of righteousness for all nations.

Since the publication of “Progress and Poverty” what rapid advance has been made in understanding the meaning of that political maxim, which is to civil government what the Golden Rule is to the individual, viz.: “Equal rights for all, and special privileges for none.” A new meaning has come with the words “special privileges.” The people are learning how, through its means, the few are able to grow enormously rich by taxing the many. One of the greatest superstitions of the age—the protective tariff—is beginning to show its “special privilege” of taxation, beneath its mask of protecting the wage-earner. Everywhere, the people are talking of “municipal ownership,” even governmental ownership of the great railroads is in the air, because it is known, at last, that every franchise carries to its owners a “special privilege.” Politicians are talking glibly of “the equality of opportunity,” hardly realizing the full meaning of the phrase, but should there be a coal strike, these words would soon burn with meaning. The “special privilege” of exclusive ownership of those rich coal fields, which are the source of warmth and comfort to eighty millions of people, is a privilege or a natural opportunity that can only be equalized by taxation, or by governmental ownership. A just tax upon coal

land according to its market value would force monopoly to yield to competition, and the price of coal would fall to its natural level.

Furthermore, the people are considering what would be the effect upon the production and distribution of wealth, if all taxes were taken off the products of labor, and placed on the "special privilege" of private property in land, basing the amount of the tax according to the market value of each privilege. To socialize privileges is to equalize opportunities.

In the closing chapters of "Progress and Poverty" there is presented, in glowing words, the loftiest picture of liberty that has yet been revealed to mankind, and prophecies of the coming of the Prince of Peace.

Some who read it exclaim: "How visionary!" Others hope it may become theoretically true in some far off distant age. But those students who have mastered the truths of that great work have no doubts. They are neither dismayed at the startling revelations of political corruption, nor surprised at the frantic efforts of greed to resist the surrender of its "special privileges." These disciples of Henry George see before them more serious problems than have ever before confronted any people, but they see also a people more enlightened, more imbued with the spirit of liberty.

Already the spirit of the age is perceiving that "it is not enough that men should vote, not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law." They must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounties of nature, and also have equal access to the accumulated privileges of civilization.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," each man's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and to *secure these rights, governments are formed*. The failure of government to perform its high purpose has resulted in the establishment of one that is democratic only in theory. More, it has given rise to the anarchistic theory that these ends can be secured without government; and to the socialistic theory that the power and machinery of government must be enlarged to include all means of production! We are now come to the parting of the ways, to where these theories of liberty must either be abandoned or put into practical operation. We must now prove that we have faith in the Moral Law, and in the fundamental teachings of Christianity.

The power and machinery of government need not be enlarged, but they must be intelligently used to secure these definite ends. Government already possesses the power to grant "special privileges," as well as the power to tax them. By means of these two powers, and with the consent of the governed, all special privileges that are the result of the progress of civilization can be socialized, and by so doing, equal access to the bounties of nature will be made secure to every citizen.

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Upholders of Henry George's principles have cause to rejoice in the great Liberal landslide in England. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the new Premier, has definitely committed his Government to one of the principles advocated by all Henry Georgians from time immemorial—the taxation of land values. Besides the Prime Minister the most important members of the Cabinet are well-known advocates of taxation of the value of land. Among these are Mr. Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Edward Grey, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Haldane, Earl of Carrington, Mr. Bryce, the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, John Burns and others.—*N. Y. Press*.