

ruinous interest. His possession will be actual.

But no one will want another's piece of land if he can have one of his own on equal terms. Your land may be naturally more fertile and nearer the market. Still, no one will want to drive you off, because your superior natural

fertility value and nearness to the market are Public Values and you are paying them to the Public Treasury. In actual cash they will not amount to anything like as much as you now pay in taxes on improvements, stock, crops, etc., and in monopoly prices for everything you buy.

The "Right" to Drive People off Idle Land

Now if it is Right to have exclusive possession of the land you use, and the Power to drive other people off, it is anything but right, it is hideously, cruelly wrong for anyone to have the Power to drive people off idle acres and unused mines.

There isn't a normal man or woman in the world who doesn't know it is Wrong to drive people off idle natural resources. It is just as wrong in just the same way, as if you should take all the bread on the table and pile it on your own plate. Others at the table would have to go without bread.

No one disputes this, no one can. There is an inborn sense of Justice in every human being (as there is indeed in every animal) which Knows without argument that it is rank, heartless injustice for anyone to take more bread or more land than he can use—it means starvation for others. And people are starving every day before our eyes because we the people give Power to others to take and hold more than they have any use for. It is the Power to enslave and pauperize.

It can't be defended on the ground that everyone has the same chance to secure the same Power. That's a specious falsehood. Only the first comers in a new land have anything like an equal chance. Today all the desirable and profitable pieces of land are gone—Gone? No. They are right where they always were, but a few monopolists have the Power to drive the people off them. There's a trespass sign on every idle acre and unused coal or iron mine or oil well.

It's rank injustice and it brings harm to everyone. No one gets much joy on a pauperized earth. No one can grow and develop and express himself wholesomely in a nation where a few people have the Power to drive all the people off the unused natural resources.

Injustice cannot really benefit anyone.

Clearly this power must be revoked, and it can be revoked easily and simply without harming anyone—merely by establishing the rule that Public Values shall be used for Public Purposes, merely by denying to anyone the "right" to take Public Values for his own uses.

It cannot harm anyone. It cannot take from anyone any land that he uses. It cannot impoverish any human being—not even the mil-

lionaire; he will have enough left to keep him out of the poorhouse.

Those who have put their savings into small holdings hoping to reap the Public Values thereof will not be impoverished. The land will still be there—let them put it to productive use.

Speculation being halted Production will begin. Men won't sit around idle and starve to death—that's not their nature. They will use the land, much of it, at least for homes.

But the new developer has no capital! Neither did Adam have. Neither do the first settlers in new regions have capital. Capital is a thing produced by labor. It doesn't originate in the bank. It comes out of human labor applied to land. It comes that way now as it came in Adam's time. The bank is a storage house for capital—or should be and will be when the land is opened. Just now it is a gambler's den—any honest banker will privately admit that.

But there will be no need of each man first producing his own capital. He will be able to borrow on terms to suit himself. Capital will be running after labor and begging labor to put it to work—just as labor now runs after capital.

Capital will run after labor as soon as it finds all the opportunities to employ itself in speculation closed—just as labor now runs after capital because it finds all the chances to employ itself in the natural resources closed.

Single Tax will reverse the order of things and make labor the dictator of terms to capital.

It will make money bow to manhood.

Capital turns its back on labor now, browbeats, enslaves labor, because labor is helpless, all the natural opportunities for self employment being closed; and because capital can get a much larger wage by investing in speculation.

When speculation is closed to capital and the land is opened to man, human beings will be rated higher than dollars.

How much land shall each one have?

All he can make productive use of. He can't use much land without employing labor, getting others to help him work it. Let him have a million acres if he uses it all. Some men are better qualified for managing than others. Let such a one take all the land he can profitably farm. Use is the only test, the only limit, the matter of acreage in one holding will be gov-

erned, doubtless, by the trend of inventive genius. The future belongs to the inventor.

Justice alone can bring the highest good to all. Injustice can bring no real good.

What is Justice?

Conduct that brings harm to no one.

This definition we can accept without quibble, if we are so disposed. The profoundest reaches of reason will get us no further.

We may haggle over the word "unmerited" and stand with the self-righteous who say the poor deserve their suffering because they are

shiftless, and the rich their wealth because they are careful—but what shall we answer to the million homeless children, starved in their infancy, debauched in the streets, trained for prison, brothel, and gallows?

We may lie to ourselves and say, "O, it has always been so!" But it has not. On every frontier known to history, wherever the unused earth was not preempted and the people forcibly kept off by trespass laws, there was no great poverty, no degradation of the children, or disemployment, prostitution, or wage slavery.

Greed's Loaded Dice Against the Weak

It is a narrow view of history that sees only the slaveries of decadent Greece and Rome and reasons therefrom that injustice is the natural way of human progress. Whole nations and races have lived and died without slavery or its modern development of idle men kept from idle land. As history broadens many a bright spot lightens the black record of tyranny and bloodshed, many an instance where considerable Justice obtained—because the earth was free.

Nor is it true now, as popular thought runs, that all the world is steeped with injustice. In the heart of old Japan, of Abyssinia, Turkey, Polynesia, in many nations, there is no progressive human degradation—no starving children in the midst of plenty, no hovels or slums backing wanton palaces. In Australia, whose people voted against conscription while in the United States a federal drafting law was ratified, poverty is on the decrease, prisons and pauperism are almost abolished. No one is hungry in New Zealand, no one rack-rented or disemployed; children are not enslaved in fabric mills, coal mines, or sweat shops; no one makes a business of selling human flesh or sex; there are no slums anywhere in Australasia. Complete Justice probably obtains among no people, but much more of it is found among all other people than those of Western Europe and North America—the present seat of civilization—by its own confession!

Today in the heart of christendom Justice is a mockery. Look at Europe. In one of William A. Brady's moving picture scenarios the plot turns upon a secret meeting of all the belligerent powers to determine whether the slaughter of the people shall be continued. No one seems shocked at the idea, not even when the meeting itself is flashed on the screen. It is quite possible that such meetings take place, guided by the munition manufacturers and money lenders. And if they do not, at least we can accept Lord Roberts illuminating estimate of the war. In a recently published essay he writes: "This war was virtually necessary

to all the nations engaged in it," because if it had not occurred, he explains, the people of Europe would have ousted their ruling classes and established Justice among men—would have dethroned kings and millionaires and landlords and have stopped the pauperization and debasement of the people for the over-enrichment of the few. To all the powers of Europe, Lord Roberts says, the war—the wanton slaughter of a million human beings, by each other—"is salutary, necessary, and the only national tonic that can be prescribed"—except Justice!

Is the situation better in America?

It is even worse, if one looks below the surface. Our injustice is less obvious but more fatal. The dead and wounded list of the industries of the United States is larger than that of the war. The soldier is better off than half the wage slaves of the United States. There is excitement, emotional expansion (the strongest desire of the human being) on the battlefield. At least the soldier lives!—if only for a day. And if maimed he is tenderly nursed as a hero in wholesome surroundings by mothering red cross girls. His masters are caring for his children—they will not starve. Who cares for the slum children on this side of the Atlantic? Prison, poorhouse, brothel, sweatshop, await those who survive—the luckier die. One half the people are in actual want and most of the other half in perpetual fear of it. Less than a quarter of the population have two-thirds of all the wealth and by mere paper titles are able to keep the people from going to the unused land and idle resources where they might at least feed and clothe themselves.

Justice in America is—a platitude. We have the word, and its temples, but not the thing.

Justice is a human ideal. It relates to conduct among individuals of the human species. Natural forces take no account of the individual. Earthquakes entomb innocent children as well as "guilty" men—so far as we can see—beyond which is God's will, karma, spirit