

corously, and, indeed—except for the publicity of the affair,—exactly as it takes place every day.

Only—it is rather a pity from the standpoint of Krzulwenski—the ladies who lived in the palaces were either driving, taking siestas, or sitting in boxes at the matinee; so that the bit of real drama performed upon the street was only seen by maids and grooms,—most of whom, in all probability, already knew, either by observation or experience, what hunger meant.

L. D. HARDING.

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LABOR AND NEIGHBOR:

An Appeal to First Principles.

A Posthumous Work
By ERNEST CROSBY.

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CHAPTER XI. Part 3.*

Remedies—4. Justice, Freedom and Co-operation.

The spirit of co-operation is the power which must animate society in the future. Just as senseless letters grouped together form a word full of meaning, and as words, in their turn, grouped together, form sentences instinct with genius, so men co-operating one with another gain a force and significance infinitely surpassing the mere arithmetical sum-total of their individual values, for men in combination advance in geometrical progression. Co-operation takes many shapes, and in some of them it has already succeeded. Municipal waterworks are common and uniformly satisfactory. The trade union involves a kind of co-operation, and it may have a great future if it ever trains its members to the point of conducting industries on their own account. It will be a long time before that can be done, but unionism promises better for the democratization of industry than any political movement. Every member of a trade union is learning how to get on with his equals, how to yield his will to the common will, how to present his views to his fellows, and how to compromise with those who cannot be persuaded. If we are to make any approach to Utopia it must be along these lines, for its foundations must be laid in the character of the men who form society, and one of the chief values of the labor union is that it is a school for character. As soon as the members of a union become fully worthy of the confidence of each other, so that they will completely trust each other, there is no limit to the advance which they may make in the way of co-operation.

The trusts are conspicuous examples of successful co-operation. With all their faults they pre-

sent a remarkable spectacle of mutual faith. While they may prey upon the public, the trust promoters among themselves hold their word as if it were their bond. This is a great human achievement, and might have been impossible upon so vast a scale at an earlier stage of civilization. And it is time perhaps to put in a word for our business world. Its ideas come very near being proper ideals. The ideal, for instance, of exerting wide influence, of wielding power, is a noble ideal, where the power is one of character and service and not one of mere brute force. Our business in the world is to express ourselves, to make ourselves felt, to leave our mark on human affairs as deep as we can. In so far as a captain of industry is doing this he is doing well. The ideal of supplying the people with any one of the necessaries of life, such as oil, or sugar, or corn, is also a high ideal. It is one of the best forms of usefulness, and the man who does it has a right to claim a place beside the poet and the teacher; and, indeed, in some respects his function is more fundamental and important than theirs. This field of usefulness is one in which the highest qualities of humanity can well show themselves—in which we ought to look for the devotion of saints and heroes, and the self-sacrifice of martyrs. Why do we not find these in the business world?

It is because the business man puts the emphasis, not on service, but on gain. The clergyman, the professor, the editor, the soldier, thinks little of his salary. It is a mere incident. The business man thinks of little else, and the higher he gets in the world of finance the more his success is measured by the money he makes. There is no reason why a man's success in furnishing the world with kerosene oil should be measured in money, any more than another man's success in providing it with poetry or sermons. Milton got five pounds for his "Paradise Lost," and yet we think none the less of him. We measure his value by what he did, and not by what he got for it. It ought to be a proud thing for a man, other things being equal, to supply millions with sugar, but it is a matter of comparatively little importance how much he gets for it. When the ideal of service is merged in the ideal of seizing others' earnings, then that which might be a noble, unselfish devotion to the interests of the human race, becomes an inordinate desire to squeeze all that can be got out of it. The task of supplying the world with coal, gas, oil or transportation facilities is a grand work, but it becomes infamous when it is made the pretext of exacting tribute, and of reaping where others have sown.

Another indictment against the financiers who are responsible for the present state of the world, is that they have made it ugly, and are steadily making it uglier and uglier. A hundred years ago the world was less sanitary but far more beau-

*The series of articles of which this one is the last, are now in press in book form. For particulars see advertisement in another column.—Editors of The Public.

tiful, and our industries of all kinds are busily at work spoiling city and country. This side of the industrial question is often forgotten by the average man, but it presents itself forcibly to the artist, and perhaps we should all cultivate the artist's eye. It is this hideous quality of our industries, in factory and mining region and city slum, that forced such men as Ruskin and William Morris into radicalism, for they yearned for a civilization in which production should be beautiful, and they saw that the root of the ugliness was the selfishness and injustice which defied gain at the expense of service. We must exchange the question, "Will it pay?" for the better one, "Will it be of use?" No true art can grow up in a society living in conscious injustice, for justice is the architecture of heaven, and our architects cannot build noble cities until we square our conduct with the heavenly vision. We find artistic wonders to-day in the ruins of Athens and Memphis and Nineveh, but what would there be a thousand years hence to pick up in the ruins of New York, except indeed a few articles in our museums, the product of other ages and climes? And the secret of the trouble is that we are unjust, and that at the bottom of our hearts we know it. We must begin to be beautiful by adopting a new idea in our business world—the ideal of usefulness instead of the idea of gain. Business must cease to fly the pirate flag. Directors must think more of the public than of shareholders, and must learn that their railways do not consist of stock and bonds. And manufacturers must feel that it is their business to manufacture goods and not dividends.

The great co-operative societies of England, most successful examples of co-operation among consumers, are profit-sharing concerns, but it is quite possible to co-operate without any idea of profit. And there are many existing examples of such co-operation. Take Harvard University, for instance. It is a corporation of considerable importance, and carries on a business which rivals in extent and intricacy a good many large business houses. Yet it has no stockholders, pays no dividends, and knows not the name of profit. No one thinks of asking whether it pays or not, and it is considered a sufficient justification for its existence that it is useful. The real design of such an institution is service, and those who co-operate in its work live in an atmosphere in which they are likely to think more of their work than of their stipend. No decent professor cares much about "making money." Our hospitals, museums, libraries and picture galleries are managed in the same way. Now, there is no reason in the world why the same principle should not be applied to other activities. Railways and factories could be founded and administered in precisely the same fashion, and under new conditions railway men might forget the chase of the dollar and actually

have no stockholders to forage for. Mr. Carnegie founded libraries. He might just as well have founded railways, and he would thus have contributed to the settlement of the conflict between monopoly and labor. His railways could have been operated at cost by employes at once well paid and not overworked, and by the law of competition the other railways and industries of the country would have been directed toward a cost basis. The result would be that each man would retain more and more of his own earnings, and less and less of the earnings of other people.

But there need be no element of charity in such enterprises, and the public can raise sufficient capital for them if they have the wisdom and the confidence. And the thing was actually done some years ago in Indianapolis, as I learned some time after having recommended it in an article. In 1887 Mr. Potts of that city was aroused by the exactions of the Indianapolis Natural Gas Company, and in order to free the people from its power he organized the "Consumers' Gas Trust." An active canvass was conducted in every ward of the city for popular subscriptions to the stock of the trust at \$25 a share, and five hundred thousand dollars were thus raised in three weeks. The trustees served without pay, and they saved a million dollars a year to the consumers! Interest was paid at first on the stock (which was non-salable), but the design was to return the capital invested as soon as possible, and then furnish the gas at cost. The stock had to be increased to \$605,000, and it was necessary to borrow \$750,000 besides, but early in 1898 all of this had been paid off, and only \$236,000 of the original \$500,000 remained on hand. The experiment is described by Professor Forrest of the University of Indianapolis in the American Journal of Sociology for May, 1898, and it appears to have been a complete success. The plan is applicable to any kind of business, the only requisite being public confidence in the managers. And if the public desires the service sufficiently, the money could be subscribed without interest, the principal to be refunded as soon as possible. By such a corporation the charges could be reduced to actual cost, and when such a system became common the old rule of charging "all that the traffic will bear" will be forgotten. Once get rid of the stockholder, and it seems to me that such a system is preferable to municipal ownership. You escape bureaucracy and the dry-rot of officialism, you preserve the all-important vitality of private initiative, and you do not force the dissentient portion of the community to take part in an enterprise against their will. And what a good thing it is to dispense with the stockholder—this new freak among property-holders; the owner without duties or responsibilities, who like a leech does nothing but suck! In no former period of the world's history has such an irresponsible kind of

property been possible, and it is not likely that this sport of nature, this *lusus naturae*, is destined for long to reproduce itself.

Two classes of objection will be brought against the plan of reform which I have outlined. The socialist will declare that it does not go far enough. He will have nothing less than "the public ownership of all the means of production." But even he must admit that injustice is unjust, and that it is right to abolish unjust privileges. He will not deny that it is wise to equalize the rights of men in land, and that there are a greater number of valid arguments for doing this than for equalizing their rights in manufactured wealth. All personal property flows from land, and it is easiest to deflect the river at its source. The present stock of things will soon wear out of itself, just as the present water in the river-bed will be lost in the sea. Then why not begin by equalizing rights in land? It is surely a long enough step to take. On the other hand, the conservative critic will contend that I am much too radical, even if he admits that there is some ground for complaint. To him I would say that these changes can be made as slowly as the people please. Begin to reduce your tariffs on imports and to increase the freedom of banking and trade, and at the same time remove taxation as gradually as you wish from personal property and improvements on land, to the land—the site value. Set your face toward freedom and equal rights, that is all that is essential. Free trade is the real remedy, but "free trade" in a far wider sense than most free-traders have understood. Trade, to be truly free, must cast off all its shackles—not only the protective tariff, but all taxation on industry, and all tribute to the monopolists of money, rights of way and situation; and in this work if it stops short of land monopoly, the danger is that all the resultant benefits will inure to the advantage only of the landlord, whose rents are sure to rise as the condition of his neighborhood improves. Real free trade means trade free from all artificial hindrances.

To the critic who finds this whole discussion too materialistic, who declares that man does not live by bread alone, who thinks the poor are as happy as the rich, and that we should turn our attention to affairs of mind and soul, rather than those of bread and butter, I would reply that bread and butter are merely pawns for spiritual things. Justice is a thing of the spirit, but it works in the material world; and we must have just foundations for society before we can properly indulge in the cultivation of our higher natures. Our souls must express themselves through our bodies, and the soul of society must speak through its institutions. We must play the game of life fair before we can be at peace with ourselves, and we cannot develop ourselves or our society until we are thus at peace. But let us not

call that peace which is no peace, for there is a peace of life and a peace of death—a glorious peace founded on justice, and a disgraceful peace founded on injustice. We must not wish for peace in the industrial world unless it comes hand in hand with equity.

It is impossible to predict what course the human race will take in the future. A new order seems to be forming, and its motive power promises to be the co-operative spirit. Our first duty is to cease from injustice, individually and as a community; and our second duty is to cultivate this new spirit in ourselves and in others. Let us experiment in co-operation in every possible way and encourage those whom the new spirit impels forward, for no one knows which seed will produce the future tree of life. We may grow gradually into the new order, or some great social crisis may force us into it; but whatever the case may be, the safe progress of society will depend upon those of its members who keep distinctly before their mind's eye three great principles, and who insist upon advancing whither they converge—and these principles are justice, freedom and co-operation.

THE END.

BOOKS

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER."

Christianity and the Social Order. By R. J. Campbell, M. A., Minister of the City Temple, London. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1907. Price, \$1.50.

The author of "The New Theology" opens the statement of his present vital theme with a strong declaration that "the Christianity of the churches is not the religion of Jesus." The religion of Jesus, as he goes on to show us, must be found in the words and deeds recorded, not by himself but by his personal followers who imbibed the spirit of his teachings, whether or not they gave a literal transcript of his language.

It is claimed that Jesus taught nothing more nor less than the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. This kingdom did not comprise the material power and splendor contemplated by the Jews with their long cherished traditions of the coming Messiah and King. The Kingdom of God as portrayed by the clear unequivocal teachings of Jesus was an ideal social order where there could be no question of poverty or riches, but where each man would find his highest happiness in loving service of others. And this heavenly order was not a state to be postponed until another life. It was a present and immediate motive of being. The "other worldism" of later Christianity had no showing in the Gospel of