

this ideal will enjoy abundant success, not merely as a business enterprise but also as a trusted teacher and leader. Conscious, however, of the difficulties of the undertaking, we make no promise for The Public except that it will be held as closely as we can hold it to the ideal here indicated.

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**"THE OUTLOOK" ON PLUTOCRATS.**

From an Editorial in The Outlook for March 21, 1906.

By the plutocrats we do not mean the very rich. There are very rich men who are not plutocrats; there are plutocrats who are not very rich men. A democrat is a man who believes in government by the people for the people; a plutocrat is a man who believes in government by the rich for the rich.

The plutocrat believes that the object of government is to protect person and property—especially property. Government should simply preserve order while the individuals make money. For the chief end of man is to glorify money and enjoy it for—as long as he lives and his children after him. If government does this, the shrewd and sagacious will make money; the less shrewd and less sagacious will make less money, but they will generally make enough to live, and that is enough—for the less shrewd and sagacious. The plutocrat, therefore, measures all government policies by their effect in dollars and cents. A policy which reduces the chance of the shrewd and sagacious to make money and increases the chance of the less shrewd and sagacious to make money is an unjust policy, because money rewards should be proportional to shrewdness and sagacity. In the view of the plutocrat the object of government is to promote money-making; and the money made should go to those who show the greatest shrewdness in making it. If a policy tends to weaken the confidence of the plain people in the shrewd and sagacious money-maker, it is a dishonest and disastrous policy, and is to be condemned. For if the public confidence in the moral infallibility of the great money-maker is impaired, his power to make money will be seriously weakened. And this is fatal to the ends for which society is constituted—the making of money.

This is the first principle of the plutocrats; the second principle is a natural deduction. Clearly the best and wisest in the community should govern. But since the object of society is to make money, and the standard of excellence is ability to make money, it follows that the shrewd and sagacious money-makers should control the government. Or, to put the principle in other language, since the object of legislation should be to promote prosperity, and since the shrewd and sagacious money-makers have demonstrated their ability to secure prosperity for themselves, they should direct the legislation. The plutocrat is not

necessarily dishonest; but his standard of honesty is a little apt to become the Turkish standard. He does not always think it dishonest to buy legislators; this is only dividing the profit of shrewdness and sagacity between the partners in the enterprise. Honesty does not require that legislators should not be bought; it only requires that they should stay bought.

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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 1.\***

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

The social problem of the future we consider to be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor.

—John Stuart Mill, "Autobiography," chapter vii.

To regret that socialists fail to avail themselves of natural laws is not to assert positively that these laws are all-sufficient by themselves to secure absolute justice to all. All that we know of them is that they have that tendency, that they have always been grossly hampered by artificial obstructions, and that if left to work out their natural results they would ensure a far greater degree of justice than we now enjoy. Friction always interferes with the mathematical precision of a machine, and there will always be friction in human affairs. To prophesy how much and how little there would be under free conditions, is an idle pastime, and the foretelling of a Golden Age belongs to the realm of poetry and not to that of practical economics. It has never been possible to predict future social systems, but it is always in order to put a stop to injustice. It may be necessary when all impediments to natural laws are removed still to do something more to prevent all exploitation of man by his fellow, but I contend that first we should make all the use possible of

\*Mr. Crosby left with the manuscript of this book several notes and memoranda. The four which follow seem to be properly connected with this chapter.—Editors of The Public.

"Land value question the most important because all other reforms but increase land values."

"The introduction of machinery has greatly increased and centralized land values, and the equitable distribution of land values will also equalize the effect of the introduction of machinery."

"Monopoly is the king of robbers for it strikes at the root of the tree."

"The foolish thief stealth his victims' goods and is cursed by them; but the wise thief stealth their opportunities, and behold, they rise up and bless him."