

THE CITIZEN
AND
THE NEIGHBOR;

OR,
MEN'S RIGHTS AND DUTIES, AS THEY LIVE
TOGETHER IN THE STATE
AND IN SOCIETY.

By CHARLES F. DOLE.

FOURTH EDITION.

BOSTON:
UNITARIAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL SOCIETY,
25 BEACON STREET.
1887.

A. M. Haskell

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PREFACE.

THE subject of this manual may seem to remove it somewhat from the ordinary text-books used in Sunday-schools. Its aim is not, however, remote from the purpose of the Sunday-school, if such purpose is to help form true and useful lives; for the spirit and the ethical principles of religion ought to be made to apply especially to the solution of social and political questions. These questions are among the greatest which our age has to meet. Every young person should, therefore, be trained to an earnest consideration of their nature and importance.

This manual is not designed merely for Sunday-schools. The Author hopes that its unsectarian character may make it of use also in secular schools, in which some instruction is felt to be necessary to fit our students for the duties of citizenship.

The Questions are intended not only to elicit answers to the text, but also to suggest further study of the subjects, which the text has necessarily to treat very briefly. It will be observed that the only questions which admit the answer Yes, or No, are framed to induce discussion and to suggest further questions.

It is impossible to present a thorough set of references to cover the important subjects upon which this manual touches. The suggestion of a few names will readily serve as a clew to guide one to the right shelves, as it were, in the library of authorities. The intent of the manual, it must not be forgotten, is not only to set the young to reading, but, if possible, to thinking and acting.

Besides books upon the general subject of Political Economy, — as, for example, Walker's "Political Economy," — teachers and the more mature scholars will find it for their interest to read the "Economic Tracts" published in New York by the "Society for Political Education;" Nordhoff's "Politics for Young Americans;" and perhaps Lecky's "History of European Morals." A little book by Richard T. Ely, entitled "French and German Socialism in Modern Times," will help answer various questions suggested in Chapter IX. of this manual. The "Journals of Social Science" published by the American Association, and the "Reports of the Conference of Charities and Correction," are full of interesting papers in regard to the care of the poor and the treatment of crime. Mrs. Field's "How to help the Poor" is brief, readable, and excellent. In the same connection, Professor Sumner's little book, "What Social Classes owe each Other," and "How the Poor live," by George R. Sims, are worth reading, to supplement each other.

A "History of Crime in England" is very interesting, in case one wishes to be assured of the progress already made in the repression of crime. Brand's little text-book,

“Lessons on the Human Body,” treats in brief and simple form of the effect of alcoholic drinks upon the health and character.

With respect to the topics treated in Part IV. of the manual, Wheaton’s large work on “International Law” is still the authority; and any one familiar with it will be able to enrich the necessarily meagre suggestions of the manual with ample facts, illustrations, and further questions.

The “Census Reports,” “Whittaker’s Almanac,” and the Encyclopædias, will naturally furnish most of the facts and statistics required. The pupil’s acquaintance with the Bible will be in constant demand for the history and illustration of the subjects discussed, and for the most inspiring statements of the principles which determine them.

The Author wishes specially to acknowledge the kind and thoughtful assistance of the Rev. H. G. Spaulding in the revision of the proof.

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of people, who have to be treated differently, live together in society.

The English have long held the government of India, and compelled the natives to obey them. The question, What right have the English in India? falls under the head of *international* rights and duties, or the duties of one nation towards another; for example, a stronger towards a weaker. We propose, in these Lessons, to study the duties which grow out of instances like the foregoing.

QUESTIONS.

I.

What four classes of duties is this series of Lessons about? What are the sciences connected with each of the divisions of our subject? Are the same principles of justice which we owe to each other in our families sufficient to answer the questions, for instance, of international law or of political economy? Give examples of what a citizen's duty is. What kind of a duty is paying taxes? Give an instance of the kind of questions which come up between employers and laborers. Under what division of our study do such questions fall? Is it a political or a social question when we ask how we can best help the poor? Can you think of an international question? Who ought to use the fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland? Why cannot one nation alone — as, for example, Great Britain — decide this?

PART I.

POLITICAL DUTIES ; OR, THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS.

II.

THE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT.

At a great seaport like Boston or New York one may see forts and ships of war which belong to the government, and soldiers whom the government pays ; or one reads in the newspapers of troops fighting the Indians in the West. The iron-plated ships, the forts, the cannon, and the troops remind us that the government undertakes to defend its citizens from enemies.

The enemies of a country are not all in foreign lands, and barbarous tribes on the frontier. There is also a class of citizens who are enemies to the rest ; they injure and rob property, and even take life ; or they want to be idle, and live at others' expense ; or they are unjust and selfish, and interfere with the rights of others. The government, therefore, undertakes to protect its people from this kind of enemies at home. The courts and the jails which the government supports ; the judges, constables, and police whom it pays,—illustrate this second purpose of the government ; namely, to protect people from the wrong-doing of their fellow-citizens.

The government does not stop with defending the life and property of its people. It sends their letters over the world ; it builds roads and keeps them in order ; it bears the expense of school-houses and teachers ; it owns the lighthouses ; it pays

vast sums to construct levees and breakwaters. Thus government undertakes many great works which individuals would not or could not do so well. A great army of surveyors, engineers, clerks, postmen, and laborers are under the pay of the government, and constitute the civil service.

What the Government is. — When we in the United States speak of the government we generally mean the President and the two Houses of Congress at Washington. But there is also a government or legislature in each State, as well as a government in every city or town. It is a government, for example, when at a town meeting the citizens decide how much money they will spend for roads and schools, and appoint a committee (the selectmen) and other officers who shall act in their name for the year. Congress is really a great committee of the whole people of the United States to make suitable rules or laws for carrying out the purposes of government; each State legislature is a similar committee of the people of that State. The government is thus the method by which the people of a country manage to defend themselves against their foes, to secure life and property from injustice, and to carry on necessary public works.

Examples of the Duties of the Government. — A colony of families who have established a new town in one of the Territories are threatened by a tribe of Indians. It is the duty of the government to send an army, if necessary, to protect these colonists.

A man wants to build a high wooden house in a crowded city, or to keep a store of gunpowder. It is the duty of the government to forbid him from doing, even on his own premises, what would endanger the safety of his neighbors.

There are people whose prejudices are such that they will not ride in the same car with their colored fellow-citizens, or go to the same hotel where Jews are received. It is the duty of the government, through its laws, to give exactly the same protection to all classes of its citizens.

It sometimes happens that a city or a corporation pollutes the water of a stream, and so injures the health of the residents of

another town. It is the duty of the government through the courts to investigate such questions, and to order suitable redress.

In every closely built city it is the duty of its government to provide a fire department, and to make proper regulations for the health of the people. Otherwise the ignorance or carelessness of a few would threaten the safety of all.

One of the dangers which threaten a government is ignorance. It is therefore a duty to provide at least a certain amount of instruction, and to require the attendance of children at school.

Individual Liberty.— While the purpose of the government is to protect and serve the interests of its citizens, it aims to leave every individual as much liberty as is consistent with the rights of others. A citizen is thus free to think and to act wrong as long as he commits no injury. For the utmost individual liberty consistent with the safety of others is necessary to the energy and independence of the citizens. It is therefore bad for people to rely upon the government for what they can do for themselves.

QUESTIONS.

II.

What are the three leading purposes of government? Can you think of any other proper purpose? Which of these purposes would disappear in case nations should cease to fight with each other? What need would there still be of government if all men were just? How many people can you think of who are in some way in the service of government? What is the civil service?

What is a government? Give examples. What does your city or town government do? Describe the government of a city; the government of your State; the national government. Can you see any faults in any of these governments? What great city do you know of which is well governed? What

kinds of government are there in other countries? Who gives a government its authority? What gives the Turkish government a right to exist? What is it called when a few people control the government? Is this possible in a republic? How does the authority of the government come from the people, in such a case? Does a monarchy ever secure the proper purposes of government as well as a republic? What do you call the best kind of government? Why? Do any people live without a government? What is it called when government ceases, and every one does as he pleases? Anarchy. What kind of government was it in the Bible times, as related in the stories of Abraham and Jacob? in the books of Joshua and Judges? under Solomon? under the Maccabees? in Jesus' lifetime? Do you think governments in old times served their purposes as well as they do now? To what do you attribute the difference? If governments are better, is it because people are more just and humane?

Give various examples of the duties of the government. Ought the government to protect the life of a citizen if he goes to another country? Ought the government to compel a neighbor to do his duty; for example, to pay a debt? Why? What was the method in early times by which debts were enforced? (Matt. xviii. 28.) Give reasons why government ought to support public schools. Ought it to support high schools? Colleges? If not, why? Ought it to teach the trades? If not, why? Why ought government to light the streets? Why ought it to build lighthouses? or hospitals? to care for its helpless poor? to carry the mails? Who would do these things if government did not? Would they be done as well? Why not? Ought the government to interfere with a cruel parent who abuses his children? Why? Ought the government to prevent the publication of a vicious book or paper? Why? Has a man a right, because he is poor, to demand a living from the government? Why not? Ought the government, as in England, to support the institutions of religion? If not, why? What reasons are there why government should support education which do not apply to the support of religion? On what

ground are public libraries maintained? Ought the government to do anything for its citizens which they could do as well for themselves? If not, why? What is a government called which looks after its citizens as if they were children? Give an example of such a government. What objections are there to such government? Do you think that the government ought to establish postal savings-banks? to manage railroads? Give your reasons.

In most countries churches, colleges, hospitals, and charitable institutions do not have to pay taxes. What is the law in your State on this subject? On what grounds is it thought fair to exempt such kinds of property? Do you think these reasons good?

III.

THE ABUSES OF GOVERNMENT.

THERE are great evils to which government is liable. In Turkey and Egypt, for example, the peasants have to pay for the luxury of the great court of the Sultan and Khedive, and for the support of a crowd of idle officers. In England, till quite lately, a Roman Catholic or a Unitarian was forbidden to hold office on account of his opinions. In our own country, before the Civil War, the government permitted slavery, and used its power to return slaves to their masters. In certain States the public power has been used to repudiate just debts.

There are also abuses which arise from the attempt of the government to do things which do not properly belong to it ; as, for example, to make laws interfering with business or with prices, or laws which favor one class of people at the expense of another class.

The method of levying the taxes is sometimes unwise, and results in a double burden to certain citizens ; or the method is complicated, and by tempting weaker consciences to concealment and evasion, lays a heavier weight on those who cannot or will not evade. Thus extravagance, jobbery, and waste ; favoritism, persecution on account of religious opinions ; unequal or unwise taxation ; cruelty of punishments, as in Russia, — have been among the abuses of government with which the pages of history are full.

Political Parties. — It generally happens that the citizens of a country differ among themselves as to the conduct of the government. *Political parties* arise out of these differences. One party, for example, is satisfied with the government as it is ; another party believes that it ought to be changed or improved. Parties differ not only over questions of right and wrong, — as when, in the history of the United States, one party

defended slavery and the other party resolved that slavery ought to be abolished, — but they also differ over questions of policy, — such as the best method to raise the taxes, and whether it is wise to compel the goods which come from foreign countries to pay a duty ; or again, how to manage the sale of intoxicating drinks. In general it is through the means of political parties that the abuses of government are discussed and remedied.

Rebellion and Revolution. — When citizens refuse to obey the government, or take up arms against its officers, it is called rebellion. If the rebellion succeeds, and the government is changed, — as, for example, when our forefathers established a republic, — the change is called revolution. Rebellion is right on three conditions; namely, if a government seriously oppresses its citizens with abuses; if all peaceable measures of reform have been tried in vain; and if there is a probability of replacing the bad government with a better. Otherwise rebellion is a terrible injustice.

QUESTIONS.

III.

Relate some of the abuses of government. Can you think of other similar instances in your reading of history? For whose sake did King Louis XIV. of France suppose that government existed? For whose sake did the Tweed Ring, that governed the city of New York between 1867 and 1872, think government existed? What can you tell of the result of such ideas of government? Have public officers any right to use the government for their own advantage, or for that of their friends? What if they think themselves underpaid? Has a government the right to exclude any one from a voice in public affairs because of his religious opinions? Why? Can it exclude Mormons? Has it a right to exclude any one on account of poverty? What is meant by a property qualification? Is it fair in a town or city? If so, on what ground? Has government a right to exclude any one on account of race? or color? Because of

ignorance or crime? If so, why? Why is it fair for the government to require a certain standard of education before one may enjoy the full rights of citizenship? What do you think this standard should be?

What do you mean by political favoritism? Has government the right to exclude or dismiss men from office on account of their political opinions? Is this ever done? What harm is there in it?

Have any class of people—as, for example, the manufacturers or the farmers—the right to expect government to help them make money? or to make special laws for their interests? If so, why? What objections are there to this? Can you tell how this has ever been done? Is it ever right for a government to favor one church, denomination, or religion more than another? Why not? Ought the government to control a citizen's opinions? to interfere with the expression of any one's opinions? Suppose the majority think such opinions dangerous?

What is jobbery? Is it right to charge government a higher price than one would charge any other purchaser? What is double taxation? Is it right to have a system of taxation which tempts men to lie? Can you think of any such? What injustice does it do to the honest? Can you think of any way of levying the taxes in which cheating would be impossible? If so, what?

What is repudiation? What excuses are there for it? Can you tell some of its forms? Is repudiation ever just? What States or countries have repudiated their debts? What harm have they done to themselves?

What are political parties? Give the names of some of them in England; in Germany; in the United States. Tell what they differ about. What is the use of parties? Can you think of any parties who defend what is wrong? Is it a sufficient reason for a party that its leaders want to have offices?

Is there any moral principle in the question whether French silks ought to be taxed more than American silks? If so, what is it? Do you think that our national or city governments undertake to do anything which is beyond their proper duty?

Has the government a right to forbid to any of its citizens the use of intoxicating drinks? If so, on what ground? How does the world ever determine the political questions on which good citizens differ? *Answer.* By trial of different methods and by candid discussion. Show how.

What is rebellion? When is it right? Give an example of a just rebellion. Of an unjust rebellion. What made the difference? Is assassination of a bad ruler or a despot ever justifiable? What do you think of the story in Judges iv.? Has no one a right to rebel if he is too feeble to succeed? Why not? Has any individual the right to rebel or to oppose the laws on account of a private grievance against the government? Ought a Russian to obey the Czar? Ought the Irish to resist the British government? If so, by what means? Which is worse, a bad government, or none at all? Give some account of the Revolution. What was Jesus' example as regards living under a bad government? How do you suppose that he would have expected to remedy a bad government? Do you think that men persecuted on account of their religion have a right to rebel? Tell the story of the death of Socrates. Read passages from the "Crito" of Plato. Was Socrates right in refusing to escape from prison?

IV.

THE GOOD CITIZEN ; OR, WHAT THE CITIZEN OUGHT TO DO FOR THE GOVERNMENT.

WE have seen how numerous and important the services are which the government renders to its citizens. It extends its protection over their lives and property ; it provides courts of justice, schools, and education ; it maintains roads and carries the mails ; it brings water and extinguishes fires ; it guards the public health and cleanses the streets ; it supports public hospitals. All these things and more are done by the government for its citizens. It would plainly be unfair that citizens should enjoy these benefits without making any return. There are several simple duties, therefore, which the citizens owe to the government.

Obeying the Laws. — In every civilized state there are published laws. Some of them are very old, and no one knows when they were first made; others have been decreed by the government of the city, the state, or the nation, by the legislature, the congress, the parliament, or the king. They treat of all sorts of subjects, — of property, of commerce, of behavior. Some of the laws, and generally the oldest of all, are such as appeal to every one's conscience, such as we learn in our childhood; as, for example, not to steal or to injure. We should obey these moral laws if no courts threatened to enforce them. There are many other rules, ordinances, and laws, however, which have been found by experience to be necessary, or which serve the common convenience. Thus the laws for wise reasons require a certain form to be observed in marriage. So, also, they require the attendance of children at school, because no state can afford to let its youth grow up in ignorance. Sometimes a law may seem to the individual citizen unnecessary or trivial, or may prove inconvenient. Nevertheless no one has

any right to put his personal preference or convenience before the laws which serve the public good.

Voting. — Every boy has heard of election-day, and looks forward to the time when he may first throw his vote for a governor or a president. It is the legal right of every man of twenty-one years of age to go to the polls or voting-place, and by holding up his hand, or by saying yea or nay, or else by dropping a written or printed slip of paper into a box, to help choose public officers and decide public affairs. This is not only every man's right, to use or not as he pleases, but it is every man's duty. By shirking this duty and refusing to vote, a man virtually says that he does not care what happens to his country, or what kind of men are its officers. Neither is it enough merely to vote. Every man is responsible for the men and the public policy for which he votes. Intelligence, thoughtfulness, and honesty in voting are therefore part of the duty which voters owe to their government, in return for the public benefits which they receive. In other words, to vote conscientiously is one way of repaying the citizen's debt to the government.

Paying Taxes. — Forts and soldiers, police and prisons, schools, reservoirs, and roads, cost vast sums of money. It is likely that in many places as much as one tenth of all that is earned is needed by the government. This money is called the taxes. It would plainly be unfair to enjoy the costly benefits which government gives, and yet be unwilling to pay one's share of the expense. The rich derive all that they possess from the public prosperity which government secures; the poorest are made to share through the government in the public wealth. No honorable person would, therefore, wish to be exempt from his taxes.

The Duty to be Soldiers. — In times of danger or war it is necessary for the government to call upon citizens to enlist in the army. Government protects the lives of its people. But there could not be any government if people were not willing, in case of need, to risk their lives in return for this protection. It is not merely cowardice to refuse to be a soldier when needed, it is dishonesty.

Patriotism. — There are two kinds of citizens : one kind are bent on getting as much out of government as they can, and giving to it as little as possible. They like offices and public pay, but they do not want to work ; they break the laws whenever these cross their convenience ; they will not take the trouble to vote, or they vote for worthless men ; they evade taxes ; when war comes they will not fight. We call the opposite class of citizens patriots, — who love their country or city well enough to spend their money, give their time, or devote their lives to its interests.

QUESTIONS.

IV.

Why has no citizen a right to receive the services of his government without any return ?

Who make the laws of a land ? In obeying the laws whom do you serve ? What laws can you think of which would be binding if they were not published ? What makes such laws as these ? Besides the laws which directly appeal to our consciences, what laws can you think of which are necessary for the common convenience or safety ? What city ordinances can you think of which are laws of this sort ? Ought a citizen to obey such laws if inconvenient or expensive ? Give examples. Can a good citizen evade or break laws which restrict his liberty ? which injure his livelihood ? Give examples of such a law. Can you think of any unjust laws ? The laws are sometimes called *sacred* ; what makes them sacred ? Are all laws sacred ? What laws ? Does the fact that a majority vote for a law make it right ? Ought a citizen to obey a law which he believes wicked, or injurious to the public good ? Read the story of the slave Burns. Ought one to have helped return him to his master ? What is higher than the laws of the land ? Can a man honorably disregard the laws for any other reason than because his conscience requires ? Ought a slave to obey the laws of the country in which he lives ?

What is it to vote? What is meant by the polls? In what ways are votes taken? Who, in our country, have a legal right to vote? Who in England? Who in Russia? Can there be a just government where citizens cannot vote? If not, why? Can there be bad government where citizens are free to vote? Are the English less free, who do not vote for their sovereign, than we, who vote for our president? Is voting to be thought of chiefly as a right, or a duty? Why is it a duty? What harm can a citizen do by refusing to vote? What does one virtually say who will not take the trouble to vote? Are such citizens common in our country? What happens when people vote ignorantly or thoughtlessly? Give examples.

Are there ever circumstances in which it is right to abstain from voting? What do you think of the course of some of the anti-slavery people, before the Civil War, who refused to vote?

Why do not women vote, as well as men? Is this fair? Can you give reasons why women should be made voters? Can you give reasons to the contrary? Would government be purer if women voted? Suppose women generally do not choose to vote: do you think that they ought to be required to assume a new duty?

What is meant by the taxes? Tell some of the purposes which the money raised by the government is expended for. Can you tell something about the methods by which it is raised; as, for example, the custom-houses, the licenses, the State and town tax, etc.? How is the share of each person fixed? Find how much the average tax is upon every person in your town. Does this expense do you any good? What good does it do the rich? the very poor? Why is it a duty to pay one's share of this money? Is it less dishonest to refuse or to evade paying taxes than any other just dues? Ought a citizen to continue to pay his taxes when he thinks the public money wasted? If he thinks that he is taxed more than his share? What do you think of a man who tries to remedy an abuse by throwing its burden upon others? How are the custom-duties sometimes evaded? What do you think of people who do this? Do you know any people who pay their taxes cheerfully?

Why does government ever need soldiers? Upon whom has it a right to call? Has a good citizen a right to save his life for his family when his country needs it? What does government require of women in time of war? Give examples from American history of what women have done for the country. Read Whittier's poem, "Barbara Frietchie."

What is it to be a patriot? What does a patriot do in time of peace? Give instances of men who have showed themselves patriots. Do you know any public-spirited people? What do they do? What do you think the best historical examples of patriotism?

PART II.

ECONOMICAL DUTIES ; OR, THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF BUSINESS AND MONEY.

V.

BARBARISM, PIRACY, CASTE, AND SLAVERY ; AND HOW THEY HINDERED THE WORLD FROM GROWING RICH.

WHEN people were barbarous the duties of business and property were extremely simple. The land belonged to the whole family or tribe. There was little furniture in the rude tents or huts, where the people lived together in alternate plenty and want. There was little or no barter, or exchange of goods, and no shops or merchants, and not for a long time any coined money. The chiefs lived very much like the common people, as is still the case among the American Indians. As men came to live in cities, life grew less simple ; all sorts of luxuries were demanded ; various trades arose ; and there became everywhere a wealthy class, living differently from their neighbors. The growth of cities brought travel, and therefore the more trade, as the people of one place learned to desire the things which another place produced. There came to be great trading cities, like Tyre and Carthage, which sent their ships beyond the Mediterranean Sea.

There were serious obstacles, however, in the way of industry and commerce in early times.

War. — There was almost constant war. A rich city was always liable to be pillaged and burned. The caravans of

merchants were likely to be attacked by robbers. Men had to defend themselves or to obey ambitious kings, and had not the leisure to work and earn money.

Piracy.—The seas, too, were infested with pirates, who thought it right to seize merchant ships and sell their crews for slaves.

Slavery.—Slavery also obstructed industry and business. The slaves did less work than free men could do, and the latter were less willing to work. Thus there came to be everywhere a great class of idle people.

Caste.—In some countries also, as in India to-day, there were castes; that is, classes of people, the members of which could not change their occupation. The son of a tanner had to be a tanner too. Thus bright men in the lower castes were kept from rising, ambition and invention were checked, and warriors were thought better of than workers.

Prejudice against Foreigners.—There was a prejudice everywhere against foreigners, who were not given an equal chance with native citizens, and whose goods were often heavily taxed, and sometimes confiscated.

Thus war, piracy, slavery, caste, contempt of work, jealousy of foreigners,—in fact all unjust customs,—hinder business and prevent the increase of wealth.

It has been found at last, by long and costly experience, that the countries flourish most where, as in the United States and England, the laws are most fair, where every one has a chance to earn wealth and rise, and where labor is thought to be honorable. We have come at last to an industrial and commercial age, in which the world is vastly richer than ever before, because, in every civilized country, slavery has been abolished, the laws encourage the workers to acquire wealth, and war, though still a disastrous burden, has been vastly restrained.

QUESTIONS.

V.

What sort of property do barbarous people possess? Find what sort of property Jacob had; Job; Ulysses. What sort of property did the American Indians have? Did our ancestors live in the same way? What were some of the ancient Hebrew laws about property? (Ex. xx. 15, xxii. 1-10; Lev. xix. 9, 11, 13, 35, 36, xxv. 23-29, 35-38.) It was a duty, in old times, to entertain strangers without compensation; is it a duty now? If not, why?

What new kinds of wealth came when cities were built? (Amos v. 11, vi. 4-6; Rev. xviii. 11-14; Ezek. xxvii.) Name some of the great commercial cities of the ancient world. Tell what difficulties their merchants had to contend with. What became of these cities?

What was the mischief in slavery? What harm did slavery do to ancient Athens or Rome? Did slavery ever pay? If not, why? How did slavery hurt the Southern States of our Union? Whom did it hurt most, the slaves, or their masters? How?

What is caste? What was the harm in it? What classes were generally thought the highest? Where does caste still prevail? Is there anything like caste in this country? or England? If so, what? What is pride of birth? Is it ever right? If so, how? Does it hinder other persons from rising? What is it to be purse-proud? What harm does it do? To whom?

What is jealousy of foreigners? Give examples. How does it ever work to hinder prosperity? Can any unjust custom help a people to be prosperous? Did the Hebrew religion forbid slavery? or caste? Did Christianity? If so, how?

What is an industrial age? Why is this an industrial age? What are the richest countries? What makes them rich? Is labor still thought dishonorable by any? Are there those who

think it a curse? If so, why? Do you think manual labor as honorable as anything else? Give reasons. Do you think a merchant as noble as a general? as a man who lives on his property? Why? Do you think the world is happier for having grown richer? Is wealth good in itself? What makes it good?

VI.

WHAT WEALTH IS.

Wealth. — Wealth is everything which has a market value; that is, which can be bought and sold. In this sense a man's labor, his learning, or his ability is wealth, since it can be bought and sold. In the same way, what is wealth in one place may not be in another, — as land, which has a high value in New York, may have no value in Greenland; or as the skill of a jeweller would be worth nothing among the Patagonians; nor gold on a desert island. It is visible wealth when we can see and touch it, like land and houses. It is none the less wealth when we cannot touch it, as the patent right of an inventor, or his skill. It is natural wealth when, like gold or fertile soil, man has only to find and use it. It is artificial wealth when man's labor or skill has created it.

Money. — Money is that by which we measure the value of wealth. Wampum, for instance, or beads, have served for money, as well as gold and silver. Money also helps in the exchange of different kinds of wealth. For the man with wheat to sell may not want cloth, and the man with cloth may not want wheat; but both men want money, with which they can at once get what they wish.

Besides gold and silver coin, — that is, exact, stamped weights of these metals, — we also often call bank-notes, drafts, and checks money; but though they conveniently serve the purpose of money, and save carrying about heavy metal, they are strictly only orders for money, and have no value in themselves; since if they were all destroyed, the country would still have as much wealth in it as before.

Capital. — When any enterprise is started, — like a farm, a factory, or a railroad, — it is often necessary to do a good deal of work, or to purchase material and stores, and to wait a long time before any return is made. In other words, to start

and carry on the enterprise requires more or less wealth in the form of labor or of supplies. The wealth which is thus invested, or put into any enterprise, we call capital.

Credit. — A man who can work and is honest may expect, if he needs, a certain advance of money or provisions on the expectation that he will do work or business enough to repay. The amount of this advance is called credit, and depends on his ability and his character. If he has at the same time a piece of property, his credit will be greater, and people will be ready to lend him a certain sum without his selling the property. A great deal of business is thus done on credit, or on the strength of the confidence which people have in each other's ability and integrity to do what they promise.

Notes and Bonds are the certificates of the sums borrowed and due to creditors.

Interest is the compensation paid by the borrower for the advantage which he gets from a loan.

A Bank is an association for greater convenience in lending money. It collects the money and savings of those who wish to lend, and advances this money to those who need to use it in their business.

Profits. — In most kinds of industry, — in farming, for example, — labor produces something more than its bare equivalent. There is a natural increase besides the cost of production. We call this surplus the profit; it is the encouragement which Nature gives when man begins to work.

QUESTIONS.

VI.

What is wealth? How is labor wealth? How is skill? How does character increase a man's income? What is visible wealth? Natural wealth? Artificial wealth? Could Robinson Crusoe be said to have any wealth?

What is money? What kinds of money have men used? Explain how money is a "medium of exchange." What makes

gold the best kind of money? Does the value of gold change? How could a workman in old times live on a penny a day? When was money first coined? What good does the stamp on the coin do?

What is paper money? What is the use of it? What harm happens if the banks or the government issue as much of it as they please? Illustrate by facts. What do you call it when one gives notes and does not pay them? What is it when a nation does this? What is the harm in having two standards of money, as a gold dollar, and a silver dollar of less value? Is this dishonest?

What is capital? Is the furniture in one's house capital? Could business be carried on without capital? What is credit? What gives a man credit? How does his character affect his credit?

What is interest? What is the old word for interest? There are those who think it wrong to take interest; what is their reason? Does the Bible say anything about it? Does a money-lender confer a benefit by his loan? Why does he deserve to be compensated? What is now meant by usury? Are there usury laws in your State? Do such laws do good, or harm? How are they evaded? Can you think of any reason why the laws should fix the interest of money more than the price of other things?

What are banks? Describe their operation. What good do they do? Do they do any harm? What special character do they require in their officers? Is it well for people ever to borrow? Give examples.

What are profits? What are the profits in farming, and whence do they arise? In the fisheries? In commerce? Is the interest on one's capital profit? Suppose a laborer by his great strength were able to do an average day's work in five hours; could this gain of time be properly called his profit? What is there in business which sometimes offsets profits? Which does a man's character most good, the work which he does, or the profit which he secures? Do losses ever make him a worse man?

VII.

TO WHOM WEALTH BELONGS, AND HOW IT IS DIVIDED.

It has been seen that labor alone does not make wealth, as some think. Wealth is partly natural; as the land, the fisheries, and the ores in the mines. It is partly created by human skill, which directs labor into forms of use or beauty. Taste helps make wealth, setting a new price on what the common eye did not appreciate. Morals and religion also make wealth by so much as they enhance the safety, the value, or the dignity of human life and its works. This is why property is worth more in New England, with its schools, benevolent institutions, and churches, than in Morocco or Siberia.

Who are entitled to share in the Possession of Wealth. — It is evident that all the citizens of a state whose labor or thought increases the wealth, the happiness, and the character of their community, ought to share in the wealth. It is impossible, however, accurately to determine the value which each contributes. It is impossible, on the other hand, to distribute an exactly equal portion to each individual. Neither would this be just, since some contribute vastly more value than others to the common wealth. The needs of some — as, for instance, the expensively educated professional class — are also greater than the needs of others. There is, however, a certain general principle, or law, as it is sometimes called, upon which, whether justly or not, the distribution of wealth has come to be made.

The Law of Supply and Demand, or Competition. — One can imagine all the cattle of the country to be in the hands of a few families who have cattle and nothing else. They must have wheat and supplies, however, from the farmers. They begin by exchanging with the first farmer at his own price, which happens

to give him a large profit. A second farmer presently offers his wheat for less price; and the first farmer, rather than not sell, reduces his price. Thus after a while, by competition, the farmers fix a price as low as they can afford to sell wheat. Henceforward the exchange of cattle and wheat regulates itself naturally, according to the plenty or scarcity of the one product and the other.

It is in some such way as this that the prices of all sorts of things and the wages of all kinds of labor are fixed. The more useful a man is, the more valuable his product or the rarer his ability, the higher the share which he draws from the common wealth. Whereas if a man's place is easily filled by others who are ready to do his work for less pay, such a man is supposed to earn a smaller share of the common wealth. In other words, if the supply of anything, whether labor, skill, or products, is greater than the need or demand, its price falls; but if the need or demand is greater than the supply, the price rises, to meet the demand.

The principle of competition thus works out a rude kind of justice; since, on the whole, a man's share depends upon how useful or necessary he is. In a world where every one was just and wise, without idlers, feeble people, or criminals, and where no accidents happened, the law of supply and demand would divide the wealth fairly.

Difficulties with the Division of Wealth by the Law of Supply and Demand. — The fact is, on the contrary, that the law of supply and demand does not work alone, but it meets with constant interferences. Some of these interferences are natural. Men not only do not start on a natural equality, with equal strength and ability, but they are also liable, by fire and flood, by the failure of crops, by disease, and by other accidents, to lose their earnings, while other men are enjoying special good fortune. These irregularities of Nature, as in the case of a drought, sometimes work on an immense scale. They change prices and wages, throw people out of employment, cause terrible suffering, and perhaps disturb the relations of supply and demand over the whole world.

Business Crises. — Moreover men never can see far enough ahead to arrange exactly the distribution of work. While it is not likely that there can ever be too many people to work, there may easily be too large a proportion in certain kinds of work. For example, too many may be trying to get a living in cities; or more cotton-mills may be started than are at present needed. The law of supply and demand works in such cases to cut down profits and wages, and to turn men from employments where they are less needed to those where they are more needed. Meanwhile, during the process of adjustment, work stops, less wealth is created, business becomes dull, merchants fail, and new enterprises are checked. Thus whenever men work too fast or unwisely in any direction, a period of reaction is likely to set in till the right proportions can be adjusted.

Various other causes, not least of which are bad laws and customs, also interfere with the just working of the law of supply and demand.

QUESTIONS.

VII.

What kind of wealth can you think of which labor alone created? Show, in the case of a watch, how skill creates wealth. What part of the value of the watch was natural wealth? What part of the value did unskilled labor give to the watch? What forms of wealth can you think of which depend mostly upon taste? What trades work to gratify men's tastes? How does a teacher's work bear upon wealth? Is a city richer for having theatres in it? Is a city richer for having courts? or churches? How? On what ground do lawyers, doctors, poets, or ministers deserve to share in the wealth of the community? On what ground did Socrates deserve to share in the wealth of Athens? Do such people serve to produce wealth, to preserve it, or to increase it?

Are there those who make the community poorer? If so, who? Can you think of any trades or professions which make the

community poorer? Would a city be poorer, or richer, if there were no bar-rooms in it? Why? If there were no stock-speculators? If there were no tobacconists? If there were no confectioners? Where do you draw the line between luxuries which make people poorer, and those which make people richer?

Among whom ought the wealth of a community to be divided? Would it be fair to give to each individual according to his exact value to the public? Why is this not possible? Why is it not fair to give every one an equal share? Has anything like this ever been tried? What is the law called on which the division of wealth takes place? What is competition? Explain how it works to fix prices, wages, salaries, interest. How does this law work to cut down excessive prices or wages? How far does it work to raise wages which are too low? How does it work with reference to a great artist or singer? Does it tend to treat unskilled laborers fairly? How does it serve the idle and useless? Has a man a right to his living if he gives no value to the community?

What does it mean to "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest"? Is it just? Is it consistent with generosity? If so, how? What better reason can you give for it than that every one does it? What would happen if a merchant were to offer his goods at lower prices than others? if he gave extra measure?

Do women receive as high pay as men for the same work? If not, why? Is this fair? Can women, as a rule, afford to work cheaper than men? If so, why? Can wages be fixed aside from the law of supply and demand?

Under what conditions can you imagine the law of supply and demand to work with perfect impartiality? Why does not this law actually secure a fair distribution of wealth? Is it any argument against this law that it does not work absolute justice? How does Nature interfere with its working? Are all men born equal? If not, what differences can you think of? Give illustrations how Nature throws people out of work; how she gives certain people good fortune, while others suffer ill fortune. Is

there any way of equalizing the irregularities of Nature? Do these irregularities of Nature do any moral harm?

What are crises in business? What causes them? What is over-production? Can more corn ever be produced than is needed? Can there be too much cloth made in a year? or too many railroads built? How does the law of supply and demand work if more people want to be clerks in stores than there are places for? Can any way be thought of to determine exactly how many men are needed to make shoes or to build ships? Is it possible for a country to do more work of every kind in a year than is wanted? Has such a thing ever happened? Do you think men work more or less than they did a century ago?

What other causes interfere with the division of wealth by the law of supply and demand? How does crime, robbery or fraud interfere with it? Does selfishness interfere with it? What moral harm is done to a man when he gets less than his share? Is this harm necessary?

VIII.

THE INSTITUTION OF PROPERTY.

Property. — Property is that which is one's own, which no other person has a right to take away. Thus whatever one fairly earns — the product of one's labor, skill, or thought — is property. The copyright of a book or the patent of an invention is held to be one's property. Whatever one finds which does not belong to another — as a nugget of gold — is also property. The rightful gift of another is likewise property; as when a father makes a gift to his child. There is also property in land. The title to land generally comes by purchase, or by gift and inheritance. The justice of property in land rests originally upon the right of some individual to appropriate and improve wild land which no one else used. Thus, whatever portions of land the first settlers in America fenced, cleared, and tilled, it was not right that any one should take away from them. There is also property which comes by accidental good fortune; as the discovery of a mine on one's land, or when the city of New York grew up over the fields owned by the Astors. The increase of the property sprang in this case not certainly from any service which its holders rendered, but mainly from the prosperity of the city. Society, however, recognizes this kind of property which comes by the occasional good fortune of an investment; probably on the same principle that it acknowledges the property-right of a lucky finder of a nugget of gold, or of the fisherman who has an extraordinary catch of fish. Society, therefore, has judged it neither wise nor practicable, even if it were just, to take away from the individual owner the property which comes honorably into his hands from a fortunate rise in values.

Besides property justly acquired, whether by earning and saving, by finding, by good fortune, by honorable gift or inheritance, by special skill or genius, there is more or less property,

the origin of which was in fraud or violence; as with the lands of which Scotch Lords, generations ago, dispossessed the Highlanders. There may be also property, the origin of which was in illegitimate or hurtful occupations; as the slave-trade, gambling, and the like. Society, however, generally recognizes the right of the present owners, unless convicted of crime, to such property, because in most cases it would now be impossible to restore it to its rightful owners. As long as men are avaricious or fraudulent, society cannot altogether cure the results of their vices.

The Significance of Property. — Property gives its possessor a lien on the produce of the world. Besides the share which his work or skill brings, he is also entitled to an extra share representing his property. He may even do nothing, and yet draw from the world an income equal to the value of the labor of scores or hundreds of men. It is as if the world carried a mortgage upon its shoulders. It is a mortgage, however, which represents more or less actual value or service rendered. The owners of property have furnished the world the tools and materials which are the capital necessary for its work. The property owners have often made the tools by their skill, or gathered the material by their frugality. The law of supply and demand determines the share of the produce which shall be distributed to the holders of property.

The Rich. — A few rich men in every country are likely to possess a disproportionate share of all the property. These very rich men bear the same relation to the rest of the people which the fortunate miner or fisherman bears to his neighbors. Only part of their success is generally due to their exertions. A large part, like a gift, is due to good fortune. We leave out of the account here that which comes by fraud, and is like the gains of highwaymen.

Besides the rich through the ownership of property such as houses and lands, there is a considerable class who are practically rich through the large incomes which genius, special ability, or skill enables them to draw. The voice of a great singer, the acumen of a great lawyer, the insight of a physician, or the

rare administrative ability of a railroad superintendent, naturally brings the same sort of exceptional income as the possession of visible property, and raises its possessor into the class of the rich. Rare skill or genius, in fact, like good fortune, enables its possessor to compete with his neighbors with the same kind of advantage as if he had property.

Monopolies. — When one man or a few men get control of all there is of anything, this is called a monopoly. For example, a few men by their wealth sometimes contrive to buy up all the coffee or the quinine. A railroad may be a monopoly. People must pay its charges or not use it. The laws have sometimes made monopolies; as when by a high tariff they require people to buy goods of a few producers at home, rather than at lower prices abroad. The old-fashioned trade-guilds were monopolies, since they tried to keep up prices by limiting the number of men who should learn their trades. In a certain sense a great artist has a monopoly, and can make his own terms. An inventor protected by patent-rights is given a monopoly. Monopolies, whether natural or artificial, tend to disturb the working of the law of supply and demand, because monopolies forbid the free competition which works to reduce excessive prices.

QUESTIONS.

VIII.

What is property? What gives a man a right to his earnings? to his savings? When may one keep what he finds? Why ought he not to be willing to divide it with others? Who ever gives the first owner a right to possess land? Is it possible for any one to get more land than is fair? Does it work harm in England that a few own most of the land? Are there any countries where the state owns all the land? or the mines? Does this plan secure greater prosperity? Would it have been a fair plan to adopt when America was settled? Would it be a fair plan to adopt now? If not, why?

Is it right that the owner of a farm which a great city needs for house-lots or a park should have the benefit of the rise in the value of his land? If so, on what principle? What service, if any, has such a man conferred? Ought a merchant to have the benefit of a sudden rise in the value of his stock? Why ought he not to be obliged to divide it among his neighbors?

Has one a right to property which originated in fraud? to land of which one's ancestor robbed the Indians? If so, why? Has one a moral right to property which came by gambling? Who are speculators? What moral right has one to property which he acquires by speculations? Can you think of any cases where legal owners of property ought, in justice, to give it up or divide it with others? Suppose a man has made property by failing in business?

What does the world have to do for the owners of property? What do they practically lend the world? How does the law of supply and demand work to determine the share of capitalists?

Why cannot there be many rich? Is it true that the rich grow richer? If so, why? Do the rich grow richer faster than the world at large? Were there very rich men five hundred years ago? in Roman times? in Old Testament times? in primitive times? Do the very rich as a rule have more than they have deserved? How can you tell how much any one deserves? If any have more than they have deserved, is this a sufficient reason why others should interfere to take away their property? Do you think it would be right to limit by law the amount of property which an individual could own? Give reasons. In some countries a tax is imposed upon the inheritance of property; what do you think of such a tax? What reasons are there for increasing the rate of such a tax according to the amount of the property? Are there any reasons against this?

What other rich people are there besides property-owners? What things, if any, does Nature distribute evenly? what things very unevenly? Is this fair? Does more good or evil come from it? Give reasons.

What is a monopoly? Give examples. What harm does a monopoly do? Does it ever do any good? Is it ever right for men to make monopolies? for instance, to buy up all the land? What is a "corner in grain"? Is it right? How does self-interest work to check the evils of monopolies; for example, to reduce the fares on a railroad? Can it be permanently for a man's interest to oppress his neighbors?

What monopolies does Nature make? How far is it right for the possessor of a rare mineral spring to take advantage of it to grow rich? How with a great actor? What is a patent-right? Ought inventors to be given patents? Can you think of any good which is thus done? of any injustice? Can you tell what the law of entail is? How does such a law work injustice? Can you think of any unjust laws about property in your State? Is there any danger to be feared from the power of great corporations like railroads? If so, what danger? Do you think that rich men ever get laws passed for their private benefit? If so, how? What check is there on such legislation? If it is not just to take away the property which a man does not deserve, — for example, which he has inherited from an unscrupulous father, — how do you think the present owner ought to feel with regard to such property?

IX.

THE GRIEVANCES OF THE POOR, AND THEIR CAUSES.

ALONGSIDE of the rich there is a large class of people, especially in the towns, whose means of living are quite small. Many of them depend upon the wages of manual labor. They are sometimes called the laboring class. Their work is absolutely necessary to the life of a civilized community. Considerable numbers of them, however, are forced by a stern competition to live on a bare pittance; and whenever work or health fails they are pushed to the verge of want.¹

Thus while a few have more than they can use, many do not at present have enough for comfort. Justice and humanity alike raise the question how this unequal distribution of wealth may be hindered from working cruelty.

The Socialists. — In some countries there are many who are bitterly discontented about these things. They are sometimes called Socialists; some of them are called Communists. They all agree that the system of society which allows some to grow so rich, while many remain in poverty, is wrong, and ought somehow to be changed.

There are various divisions among the Socialists. Some are revolutionary, like the Russian Nihilists, who are only sure that existing institutions are bad, and ought to be destroyed. Some would break up existing governments in favor of voluntary associations of individuals. Many hold the private ownership of property to be wrong. The state or the association, they hold, should own all the wealth. Others think that if private property in land was taken away, and if all land was owned by the

¹ The words *rich* and *poor* and *laborers* are apt, unless carefully used, to mislead. There is no real distinction between rich and poor. Many who are called poor own property. Laborers rise to be rich, and do not cease to work. The words are here used in their popular sense, to illustrate the general fact that some have much and others have little.

community, every one would be happy. Others, more moderate in their demands, claim that the state should own the railroads, the telegraph, the mines, the factories, and other such property, now held by great corporations or by millionnaires, and that the state should therefore furnish employment to laborers with fair wages and short hours of work. Such change, it is claimed, may be brought about gradually, without violence or confiscation, by process of careful legislation.

The Socialist Ideal. — Only the more ignorant Communists expect to reduce men to an equality of wages or of living. On the contrary, the ideal of the most thoughtful Socialists — some of whom are men of learning and wealth — would be a world where all had an opportunity to work ; where every one had a living according to the value of his services ; where every one had a fair chance to rise to the place for which he was fitted ; and where no one could have opportunity to squander the fruits of other men's labors.

Trades-Unions and Strikes. — Besides those who aim through the laws to secure a more uniform distribution of wealth, there are also attempts made by combinations of workmen to compel their employers to pay higher wages or, what is the same thing, to reduce the hours of work. Thus the printers or the telegraph-operators, by union among themselves, may make a monopoly of their skill, and, for the time, set their own terms for their labor, exactly as rich men who own a railroad or who buy up cotton or wheat make a monopoly. When such a combination of men refuse to work unless higher pay is given, it is called a strike. A strike is an attempt of a body of workmen to interfere with the law of supply and demand.

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

It is necessary now to see what reasons, besides the uneven distribution of wealth, make poverty.

The Inefficient. — There is everywhere a class of ne'er-do-well people, feeble in body or mind, lacking in energy or skill. These people, wherever they are, naturally tend to be poor.

It would plainly be unjust to enable such as these to live as well as the capable and efficient. Their condition is worst in the cities, where, without friends, they easily sink into pitiable pauperism.

The Unfortunate. — There are those who, without being imbecile or inefficient, are through sickness, accidents, losses, and death of friends, from time to time reduced to poverty. Among these are many widows and children, who for awhile, and perhaps permanently, are unable to earn their living.

The Ignorant. — Ignorance makes and keeps many poor. The ignorant cannot justly earn equal wages with the intelligent. Besides, ignorance in a thousand ways leads to waste of food, fuel, money, and life itself.

The Idle. — There are everywhere those who, though able, are unwilling to work. They wish to get a living without earning it, or they only work part of the time. They always tend to grow poor.

The Vicious. — A considerable amount of the worst poverty arises, directly or indirectly, from vice. Besides the cost of prisons and police, the labor of the community has to bear the constant burden of all the vices which waste property, destroy health, and ruin the character. Very much of the imbecility, the idleness, and the misfortune of the lower classes comes from vice. Drunkenness alone is the cause of a large proportion of the sufferings of the poor.

Thus vice, idleness, ignorance, accidental misfortune, and natural defects of body and mind are the chief causes of poverty. This is also proved by the fact that the capable, the industrious, the temperate, and the intelligent everywhere tend to rise to prosperity. There is, in fact, a considerable and increasing class of the working people who, by their earnings and savings, have become capitalists by as much as the value of their houses or shops, or the amount of money in the bank. Moreover, there is no real distinction between different kinds of honorable labor. A bank cashier is as truly a laboring man as if he worked with his hands; while the income of certain classes of artisans compares favorably with many professional incomes.

QUESTIONS.

IX.

Who are the working people? Find what are the ordinary daily wages of laborers where you live. Do you think this as much as those who receive it ought to have? What amount of pay do you think enough comfortably to support an average family? On what class does the law of supply and demand press hardest? Why? In case any considerable class of your fellow-citizens failed to get a decent living, would it be right to leave the matter to the working of the laws of political economy; for example, to let people suffer till their wages should rise? What does the science of political economy say to this question? what does statesmanship say? what does humanity say? what does religion? Give an answer to this question from the Old Testament (Neh. v.). Can you give similar instances from classic history? If your neighbor had more than he deserved, and you had too little, would this fact ever give you the right to rob him if you were starving?

Who are Socialists or Communists? Nihilists? How much wealth is there in your country? in your town or city? What average does this give to each citizen? Is it enough to support any one in idleness?

Whose consent would it be necessary to secure before the state could justly own all the property? How could this consent be obtained? Do you think that people would work as hard, if the state owned all the wealth, as they work now?

Would there be more advantages or disadvantages, if the state were to undertake the business of manufacturing, building houses, employing labor, etc.? How would it be possible to fix wages fairly under such a system? Would there be danger of a larger population than the state could provide for?

Would it be fair to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor? Has this ever been tried? Would the honorable poor wish it?

Where has the plan ever been tried of owning all the land in common? Were people happier and more prosperous under it than with the private ownership of land? Are the people better off where the state does most for them, or where they are left to do most for themselves? Why?

What is the ideal of the more intelligent Socialists? What do you think of this ideal? Would you be willing to be prevented by the laws from ever having the power to squander property? Do you think this ideal practicable? Could it come to pass as long as there were dishonest, lazy, and selfish people in the world?

What is a trades-union? What is a strike? Is it ever necessary? Give an example of a just strike. Does a strike ever do good? Have working men a right in any way to compel others to join a union or to strike? Has a majority of a union a right to require poor workmen to receive the same wages as better men? or to limit the number of workmen? Why cannot a union permanently keep wages higher than the law of supply and demand fixes them? What kind of trades have the best chance to make a monopoly by a strike? Are strikes and trades-unions modern, or not?

Where is more wealth produced, — in a country where men are allowed to grow rich, or in a country where all men are on a level? Is it well in a country to do more work, or less? Does the increase of the working population tend to increase, or to take away, the share of each in the common wealth? Give reasons. Can there ever be too many people in the world? too many industrious people?

What prevalent causes of poverty can you think of? Show how these causes work. Is it just to treat an imbecile workman as well as you treat the efficient? What harm, if any, would it do to equalize the wages of the imbecile with the wages of the efficient?

How large a proportion of the poverty which you see could be prevented by the poor themselves? How great, in a fair estimate, is the cost to the country of intemperance? Does any one need to suffer from poverty in our country? When does a poor

man become a capitalist? Is any kind of labor dishonorable? If so, what?

The progress of civilization and the arts ought to be expected to increase the means and the comfort of the world; has this been the case? Do you think that there is more, or less, poverty now than in former times? Do the poor grow poorer or richer? Do they live as well? Give reasons. Find what wages were in England in the time of Chaucer. Are the poor worse off in the city than in the country? If so, why?

X.

HONEST SOCIALISM ; OR, THE USES AND DUTIES OF PROPERTY.

WE have so far considered the possession of property as though it were only the enjoyment of a right in which some had accidentally more than their deserts, and which only did good to its possessor. Property, however, has certain uses, which its possessor serves.

Saving. — When a man lays by money, he does not take it from the community, but he increases the general wealth. He invests it in houses, and it helps make houses cheaper to rent ; or in a railroad, and it helps bring more corn and wheat to market. As long, therefore, as people save and invest, they help employ the workers ; and therefore furnish in greater plenty all the necessities and luxuries of life.

Spending. — No man can spend money, and only benefit himself. If a rich man spends ten thousand dollars a year, it means that so much is transferred from himself and made over to a host of people, who thus receive the reward for their various kinds of work. A rich man thus becomes a sort of disbursing agent or paymaster. Even when idle he is less expensive than is commonly thought.

The Moral or Christian Duties of Property. — Property imposes certain obvious duties on its possessor.

Trusteeship. — There are said to be, in the city of New York, four hundred millionnaires. No one supposes that their actual services to the community can have been worth so much money. They may justly be considered as so many trustees, holding for the time the accumulation of the wealth of the whole community. This great fund, as we have seen, is partly a product of human labor, and partly the bounty of Nature. It is morally sacred for purposes of good. No one, however rich, has a right to waste from this fund ; that is, to spend money for what

does no good. Trusteeship does not apply merely to millionnaires. Every man is morally responsible for all that he uses or spends.

Service. — The possession of property gives no one a right to lead a useless or idle life. On the contrary, however much any one inherits or accumulates, one is bound to the universal duty of making the world richer, better, or happier.

Sharing. — The trusteeship of property forbids excess in personal expenditures, as well as unnecessary exclusiveness of enjoyment, especially with regard to grounds, paintings, and works of art. The rarer products of wealth ought to be held with a generous consideration towards the community on whose labor wealth is based.

Giving. — It is not merely generosity to give; it is the return of an obligation, or the fulfilment of a trust. In fact, a portion of the accumulated wealth of the past is always due, not only for present needs, but also in special provision for the future, — for public works and buildings; for schools and colleges; for works of philanthropy and religion. The more property one has, the larger his just responsibility for these purposes.

The Ideal Distribution of Property. — That community would not be most prosperous and happy in which all had equal incomes, — for this is not natural nor just, — nor where the state held everything, and the individual was least free to follow his natural bent. But the truest prosperity would come about where the accumulated wealth was distributed among those who were most wise, capable, prudent, virtuous, and disinterested; where the laws gave the freest circulation to the skill and the energy of the people; and where, among rich and poor alike, least money was wasted or squandered. In such conditions no one could fall into poverty, and no rich man, who held himself as a trustee of his wealth, could use it for oppression. In fact all the wealth of the community would be made to render the utmost possible service in increasing the sum of happiness.

Moral or Christian Socialism. — The attempt to bring about this kind of distribution of wealth by the elevation of the character of the people, is the moral, or Christian, method, as

opposed to Socialism, by process merely of law or by violence. Moral or Christian Socialism does not aim to remove inequalities, — which is impossible, — but to make men friends with each other.

QUESTIONS.

X.

What good does a man do to the community who saves money? How? Where, if at all, can a man put his savings so that they will not do good? Does saving money ever do harm? If so, to whom? Does the existence of accumulations of wealth harm the poor?

What becomes of money when spent? Is it lost? Show where an income of ten thousand dollars might go without waste or injury? How large an income do you think one might spend without waste?

Legally, property belongs exclusively to its owner; does it morally? If not, why? Has he a moral right to do what he pleases with it? to throw it away? What is it to be a trustee? In what sense is the owner of property a trustee? To whom is he morally responsible? Is a man more responsible for the part of his property which he did not himself earn, than for his actual earnings? Is a man of small property also a trustee?

What is waste? How do you draw the line between wasteful and proper expenditure? Is it waste to buy works of art? Is it waste, or not, to employ more service than one needs? Is it waste to travel? Is it waste to feast every day? What expenditures can you think of which are worse than waste?

What universal duty do all men owe? Is it a legal duty? Why not? How do you know that it is a duty? What wrong is there in idleness if one is poor? if one is rich? In what ways may the rich work?

Why is it not well for a man to divide his money with his neighbors? What sort of possessions can he wisely share? Why these rather than money?

What obligations do the men of the present owe to the future? What kind of institutions are the accumulations of property meant to support? What do you think of a rich man who never makes any public gifts? Give instances which you know of large and wise bequests of rich men. Why do not men oftener make such gifts during their lifetime? Why is it unwise for a man to defer his gifts till he makes his will? What institutions do you know of that are principally maintained by the gifts of the wealthy? Does any obligation rest upon the large owners of property which does not rest upon poore, men?

In whose hands would it be best to trust the property of the country? In the hands of officers and legislators? If not, why? Why should some men be trusted with more than others? Could there be too many rich men, like Peter Cooper? Is more money wasted by the rich than by the poor? From what condition of life do rich men generally come? Do more come from the city than from the country?

What does moral or Christian Socialism aim to do? With what other methods of reform is it contrasted? Do the rich do more good, or less, with their money than in former times? Is there more, or less, sympathy with suffering in the world? How can you tell? What, as a rule, becomes of vicious and wasteful rich men? How long, in this country, can wealth stay in a family? If the family is bad, what becomes of its wealth?

What is your highest ideal of a rich man? of the house which he should have? of the style in which he should live? of the use to which he should put his money? of the disposal of his wealth at death?

XI.

BUYERS AND SELLERS; OR, THE GOLDEN RULE IN BUSINESS.

There are two theories of the conduct of business. One theory is, that each party in trade aims to get an advantage over his neighbor. One should try to get as much and give as little as possible. If goods are defective, the seller should conceal the fact. The only rights which this theory of business recognizes are legal rights. One must not overreach far enough to come within the penalties of the law. Otherwise, so far as the law does not prescribe, the other party to a bargain must look out for himself.

The notion underlying this theory of business is that whatever one makes, the other loses. As in gambling it is thought to be for the interest of the winner that all the others should lose, so in business it is sometimes supposed that the successful merchant grows rich at the expense of his neighbors. Business is thus a game in which every one is trying to win. The laws are merely the rules of the game.

The True Idea of Business.—The fact is that buyers and sellers perform mutual services to each other. Mercantile business is not a game, but an industry, like farming or manufacturing. The merchant increases the value of goods by bringing them to market. He therefore deserves wages or salary for the services which he renders in collecting and distributing his goods. He receives his wages in the form of the surplus of his sales over their cost. The larger his sales and the greater his skill,—that is, the more valuable his services,—the greater his income deserves to be. The law of supply and demand regulates this. The income of merchants is not, however, uniform. Sometimes it is less than the equivalent of the work and cost which they have spent, and sometimes much more. In the

long run, it is nearly the same as equal labor, skill, and experience would produce in any other industry.

It follows that what the merchant honestly makes is not at any one's expense or loss. The wheat gathered in the warehouses is actually worth more than in the farmers' granaries. Neither the farmer, therefore, nor any one else has lost by the merchant's profit in the purchase and sale of the wheat. So with all other products.

The Rights of Buyers and Sellers.—The earliest kind of trade was barter. In barter each party was both buyer and seller. In fair barter each shared the mutual advantage of the exchange; as, for example, a pack of skins for a sack of wheat. So in modern trade, which is only a more complicated kind of barter. In a fair sale the buyer and seller divide the value of a mutual advantage between them; each, therefore, ought to be better off than before. If any dealer, as a rule, got for himself the whole advantage of his bargains, it would be the same as getting what did not belong to him.

It follows that all overreaching, even though the laws do not specify it, is an attempt to get what belongs to another. The sale of goods which are defective or below the standard,—the adulteration of food or the watering of milk,—is not trade, but an attempt to get what belongs to others. So too of purchasers who seek to beat prices down to less than the cost of goods: they not only try to get what belongs to others, but they tempt men to cheat them.

The Interests of Buyers and Sellers.—It is not only just that buyers and sellers should share in the mutual advantage of their bargains, it is also for their interest. This is the meaning of the proverb, that honesty is the best policy. Thus business is best when every class gets fair pay for its services. If the farmers do not get their share of the proceeds of their labor, the merchants will feel the loss in the end in the diminution of business. This is also true in individual cases, because, as a rule, men reciprocate just treatment, and tend to do as they are done by. In a community where men aim to share equitably, there is a general increase of values, and there is, therefore, more wealth to share.

QUESTIONS.

XI.

What false theory is there of the conduct of business? What is the rule of such business? How are the gains of business supposed to come? What is business by this theory like? Where is the wrong in gambling?

Show how mercantile business is an industry. What good does a merchant do? What kind of work? Show how he increases the value of goods. Show this of a wool-merchant; of a provision-dealer; of a stockbroker. Can this be shown of every legitimate business? What is a merchant's remuneration? Show how it is regulated. Why does it vary in different years? If the merchant's profit does not come from the loss of others, where does it come from? Show how this is.

What was the earliest method of trade called? Explain it. Why ought the buyer and seller, after a fair trade, to be each better off? Can you think of any fair trade which leaves either party poorer? Under what circumstances, if any, would it be right to get more advantage out of a trade than your share? What would it be if one always tried for this? What is the ideal of a true trade?

Explain some of the ways in which men try to get what belongs to others in trade. What is it to beat down prices? What harm is there in it? Is it a benefit, or not, to working people to have goods sold at a loss? Give reasons. Show how it is for the interest of buyers and sellers to share the advantages of their bargains. Is honesty always the best policy? Is this the reason why you should be honest? When is business best? Show why. Is it for a man's interest to seek to give his neighbor his due share? If so, how? Do you know of such men who have succeeded in business? Why is there more wealth to divide, when men govern trade by this principle?

Why can few ever succeed as gamblers and robbers? What is it to fail in business? Is it ever right? When? One some-

times reads that a bankrupt firm has settled for fifty cents on a dollar. What does this mean? How do men ever make money by failing? Is this ever honest? A man who is likely to fail sometimes transfers property to his wife. Why? Is this right? What is illegitimate business? Why is it generally unsuccessful?

What would you think of a man in business who always did "as he would wish to be done by"? Do you think that he would succeed? What do you call it when a man "makes money" and is not just? When he "makes money" and is not generous? What do you mean by success?

XII.

EMPLOYERS AND THE EMPLOYED; OR, THE GOLDEN RULE SET TO WORK.

ALL men are either employers of labor or employés. Most men are at the same time both employers and laborers.

The Rights of Employers. Fidelity. — The meaning of fidelity is to do another's work as well as possible, or as well as if it were one's own. The truth is that the workman sells something; namely, his work, whether of his hands or his brain; and, like everything else sold, it ought to be of standard quality. The right to faithful service is not lessened if the employer pays insufficient wages or salary. Fidelity covers the courtesy, sobriety, honesty, etc., which are due to the employer, and which tend to make permanent and friendly relations with him.

The Rights of Employés. Wages or Salary. — Whoever sells his work or skill, is entitled to its fair price, as if it were corn or cloth. Fair pay is not only a righteous amount, but also punctuality in payment. Fair pay has reference to the hours of work and to the amount of vacation or holiday time given.

Respect. — The employer has not discharged his duty in paying a laborer; he owes him also friendly respect as a man.

Honest Management. — The employé is not only entitled to fair wages, but a wrong is done him by a dishonest and speculative management of business, which results in failure and bankruptcy. He is in a certain sense a partner with his employer, and his interests ought not to be risked.

Arbitration. — We have already spoken in another connection of trades-unions and strikes. It is impossible for majorities, whether in a trade or in the state, permanently to fix prices or wages. It is unjust, as well as unwise, to try to prevent the free and natural relations of employers and employés. It sometimes happens, however, that difficulties and questions arise between

employers and their men in which impartial advice might serve to remedy misunderstanding or injustice on one side or the other. This is called arbitration. So far as employers are fair, and their employés are intelligent, arbitration may be expected to save the waste and ill-feeling of the more barbarous methods of violence, strikes and lock-outs.

Co-operation.—Enterprises have sometimes been undertaken in which all who had part in the work shared in the profits; as, for instance, in the fisheries and in certain factories. It is thought that men, if made partners in a business, work better, and accomplish more. This is especially the case in work requiring skill.

All kinds of business, however, are really co-operative, whether called so or not. For the payment of regular salaries and wages (which are apt to rise in good times, and fall in poor times) is simply a method of sharing the profits of business with all those who are concerned in carrying it on.

QUESTIONS.

XII.

Show how the same man may be an employé and an employer. What does an employé owe to his employer? Why? Give instances to show what you mean by fidelity. Why does a physician owe fidelity to his patient, in case he is unpaid? Can you think of any case where an employé is released from the obligation of fidelity? What does fidelity have to do with courtesy? Give instances to illustrate. What is sobriety? How is it a part of fidelity. What other qualities does fidelity include? Show how.

Who are employés? Is the president of a bank an employer or an employé? In what sense is a provision-dealer or a merchant an employé? What do you mean by fair pay? Is it fair to expect higher pay than what others are willing to do the same work for? Show how the lessening of the

hours of work, or giving holidays, is the same thing as increase of pay. What difference, if any, is there between paying an employé less than was promised, and delaying his pay? Give instances of injustice for want of promptness in paying for services.

Why does an employer owe an employé respect? How can he show it? Give instances. Have the employés of a mill a right to claim libraries and reading-rooms from their employers? On what ground are such benefits sometimes given? Give instances.

How are employés hurt by the dishonest management of a business? By speculative management? Why ought the interests of employés to be considered in the management of business? Why are laborers best off with successful employers?

Recall what is meant by a strike. What were the objections to strikes? What are they like among nations? Why can they not fix wages and prices? How does it do harm to interfere with the free relation of each employé with his employer? What harm does it do when employers, as in the iron trade, combine to fix wages? What is it called when they stop work to compel men to accept their terms? What is arbitration? What does arbitration require on the part of the men? On the part of the employers?

What are co-operative stores? Give instances. What are co-operative industries? Do they work as well as private enterprises? What difficulty hinders their success? What advantages have they? Ought employés to share in the profits of business? In the losses? When is it right to cut down wages? Do you think it fair to cut down the wages of the weavers, and not reduce the salary of the treasurer of the mill? Give your reasons for and against this. How do you suppose that a man as good as Jesus would answer this question?

Show how all kinds of business are really co-operative. What do you think of the custom of certain corporations or employers, to advance wages according to the length of service? Give instances of this. How would this custom benefit a corporation?

What is a pension? On what ground are pensions given? Which would you prefer, to have more pay, and save money against sickness and old age, or to have less pay, and be entitled to a pension?

If all employers were just, would there still be labor troubles? Could there be trouble if all workmen were temperate and faithful? Do you know any employers who never have trouble with their workmen? Any workmen who never have trouble with their employers? Will a good employer aim to give the lowest possible wages, or the highest, which his business will afford? Why

What is meant when it is said that "corporations have no souls"? Ought a corporation to have a soul? What does political economy say to this? What does humanity? What is your ideal of the best corporation? What dangers to society may come from the existence of great corporations? How may such dangers be averted?

PART III.

SOCIAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES; OR, THE DUTIES OF MEN AS THEY LIVE TOGETHER IN SOCIETY.

XIII.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NEIGHBORS.

BESIDES the duties which we owe the state as citizens, and the duties which we owe each other as buyers and sellers or employers and workers, there are certain duties which we owe each other in society as neighbors.

The Growth of the Social Sentiment. — The old idea used to be that members of the same race, caste, or class were bound to help each other. Thus Hebrews should help Hebrews, and Brahmins should help the poorer Brahmins, and noblemen should stand by each other; but Jews need not help Samaritans, nor nobles spend their sympathy on peasants. Jesus taught that every one is our neighbor; but his teaching has never been very generally believed till lately. It is now coming to be the creed of the world that we ought to treat all men, of every race and condition, as our neighbors.

Just Judgments. — As we meet in business, elect men to office, or choose our friends, we are constantly obliged to pass judgment on each other. We should aim to give every man, therefore, fair consideration, and to value him for what he is really worth.

Respect. — We are bound, as neighbors, to give each other respect; by which we mean not only courteous behavior, but respectful feeling. This respect is based on the fact that every

man has something in him which we call divine; that is, certain noble qualities — such as courage, generosity, fairness — which command honor.

Sympathy. — The dispositions, difficulties, and circumstances of all men are common. The good of one is the good of all; the hurt of one is a hurt to all. The duty of sympathy springs from this unity of human nature. Sympathy means that we are glad to see others happy, and sorry to see them in pain.

Forbearance and Forgiveness. — Forbearance means that we do not condemn our neighbor till we know the circumstances against which he has to struggle. It forbids us from ever being impatient with him. Forgiveness means that when he does us injury, we do not harbor cruel and revengeful feeling against him, or wish him evil.

Assistance. — Moreover we owe a neighbor all needful assistance, or that help which we should need if we were in our neighbor's place.

The Difficulty in treating Men as Neighbors. — If all men were equal in intelligence, power, and goodness, there would be no special difficulty in treating them as our neighbors. We have seen, however, that there are all sorts of inequalities. The actual difference between a savage and a great statesman, poet, or philosopher, is as great as used to be thought to exist between a slave and an emperor. The difference between men in moral character is equally great. We cannot, therefore, truthfully treat all men in exactly the same way, or give all equal respect or sympathy, since there is much more to love and honor in some men than in others. Indeed it would be very unfair if we treated idle, ignorant, or vicious people with the same respect which we show to the industrious, intelligent, and virtuous.

The Social Aim. — We found that, so far as the duties of wealth are concerned, the aim of men was to produce more wealth, and that the great law which guided them was justice. The aim of men, as they live in society, is happiness, and the great rule is benevolence.

QUESTIONS.

XIII.

What is meant by social rights and duties? Who, in old times, were thought to be neighbors? What old story illustrates this? What famous rule illustrates the higher idea of men's duty to their neighbors? When have men ever lived up to this rule? Have any religions besides Christianity taught such a rule? If so, what? and how?

What general duties do men owe each other as neighbors? Why is it right or necessary to pass judgments on each other? When is it wrong? Do you think that, as a rule, men judge each other too favorably, or the reverse?

How much do you mean by respect? Ought you to show respect which you do not feel? On what ground is respect due to men? Ought respect to be given to a bad man? How could respect honestly have been shown to Nero? Are there men without any noble qualities? Is it ever right to refuse to speak to a neighbor? If so, under what circumstances?

What is sympathy? What is the ground of sympathy? Prove, if you can, that the good of one is the good of all; that the hurt of one hurts all. Ought one to be glad, or sorry, to see a bad man succeed? Why? Give instances to prove that there is more sympathy in the world than in former times. How do you account for the increase? Does the increase of sympathy bring more enjoyment, or suffering?

What is forbearance? What circumstances can you think of which should lead you to forbearance? Can you quote any of the sayings of Marcus Aurelius about forbearance? What is forgiveness? What does Jesus say about it? What is revenge? What harm is there in it? Ought you to wait till a neighbor is sorry for an injury before you forgive him? Does forgiveness require you to treat him the same as before? to trust him as fully? If not, why? Who have you observed are most

ready to forgive, those who are partly to blame themselves, or those who are quite innocent? Why is this?

How far ought assistance ever to be given to a neighbor? Why not as much as one asks for? Is it ever a duty to give one's life for a neighbor? If so, on what ground? Give examples. What circumstances, if any, can you think of where assistance ought to be refused? Why?

Is it possible to treat men alike whom you do not equally value? Is social equality ever possible? If not, why? What are the natural differences in men which require more respect for some than for others? Why ought education to count in commanding respect? why ought virtue to count? Ought official position? ought wealth to count? If so, on what ground? Ought birth and family to count at all? If so, how? Ought dress to count? ought manners? Ought one to be respected on account of age? If so, why? Do you respect the people of any nation or race more than others? If so, why? Is such difference of feeling right? What men, if any, are entitled to special deference? or to reverence? On what ground? How does it do you good to look up to others who are above you in character or ability? What do you call a man who thinks his own opinion as good as the opinion of any one else? Whom do you mean by *your equals*? Can you think of any one whom it is right to despise? Is pride ever right? What makes one man to differ from another? How ought a strong man to regard his weaker neighbors?

Do you think cliques and "sets" right? Give reasons. On what is intimacy based? Is every one entitled to be your intimate friend? If not, why? In giving an entertainment, should one invite all one's neighbors? If not, on what ground could a really kind person exclude any? What would you think unkind reasons of exclusion? How do you understand what Jesus says in Luke xiv. 12? Do you think that the prevailing judgments of society where you live are fair? What fault can you find with the judgments of society? What traits of character do you notice give people a welcome "in society"? What traits of character keep people

"out of society"? What is your ideal of "good society"?
What is the difference of aim between men in business and
men as bound together in society? What rule is sufficient
to secure proper economic relations? What is the great rule
in society?

XIV.

THE TREATMENT OF CRIME.

THERE are thousands of people in our country who are confined in jails and prisons on account of their crimes. There are many more at large who are regarded with suspicion as dangerous. Many children, also, either by inheritance or unfortunate circumstances, belong to this class. It is sometimes called the dangerous class. We learned in our study of the duties of citizenship that the government was bound to protect its citizens from dangerous persons.

When people have been shut up in prison, however, they do not cease to be our neighbors, and we still have duties to them. It is for their good as well as our own that we confine them, as we would wish ourselves to be prevented from doing injury. Idleness ruins men ; there is perhaps nothing which criminals fear more than hard work ; it is our duty, therefore, to furnish them employment in prison. Many criminals have no education or trade ; it is our duty to teach them the way of earning an honest living ; it is our duty to give them a fair chance to recover, if they can, a respectable place in society. If they cannot or will not behave themselves out of confinement, it is equally our duty, for their sake as well as our own, *to keep them confined*, on exactly the same principle as we confine madmen. For no one who has shown himself dangerous to society has any right to be at large.

Punishment. — The ancient idea of punishment was retaliation. It was thought that the wrong-doer ought to suffer as much as to offset the harm he had done. The Hebrew law was an eye for an eye. The modern idea of punishment is to prevent more harm being done. It is partly for the sake of society, to remove dangerous people and warn the thoughtless against doing wrong, and partly to cure the criminal and persuade him to become virtuous. Thus no kind of punishment is good for society

which tends to make the criminal worse. The purpose of punishment in society is, therefore, exactly the same as in a well-ordered home.

The Prevention of Crime. — With crime, as with every other evil, the chief hope of remedy is in prevention. This requires an understanding of the causes which lead to crime. These causes are partly the inheritance from weak or vicious parents. Other causes are the unfortunate circumstances in which many people live; such as bad and crowded tenement houses, and pressing poverty. Very many of the criminals, also, are ignorant people. The abuse of alcoholic drinks is the cause of a great deal of crime.

The prevention of crime consists largely in the removal of the prevalent causes which make criminals. The improvement of the houses of the poor, more wholesome sanitary arrangements, the spread of intelligence, a firm moral training, the forming of habits of temperance and self-control, — all surely tend to prevent crime. The children of vicious parents have also to be taken away from bad homes and placed under new and moral surroundings. Great good is done by the societies which thus aim to find homes for the children of the destitute.

Caution. — There is sometimes a harsh feeling towards criminals, as though they were a different race from other men, or as if detection and civil punishment made wrong-doing worse than if it had escaped detection. On the contrary, all improvement in the treatment and reform of crime has come from the efforts of those who, like John Howard, held the wrong-doer to be a man like themselves, and pitied him accordingly.

QUESTIONS.

XIV.

Who are the criminal class? Ought they ever to be treated as enemies? Why does not our duty to criminals end when the state takes charge of them? How is it "doing as we would be done by" to confine a highwayman in prison? On what

ground is work required of convicts? Why ought proper reading to be furnished them? why ought suitable food? On what ground ought they to be taught trades? What difficulties have they to meet when discharged from prison? Should you be willing to hire an ex-convict to work for you? If not, why? Is it right to distrust him? Can you think of any way in which ex-convicts may be helped to start a respectable life? Why ought a dangerous criminal to be kept in confinement? Ought such a man ever to be discharged? If so, when?

What was the old idea of punishment? State some of the ancient retaliatory laws. State some of the old methods of punishment in England. Is such retaliation right?

What do you think is the true use of criminal punishments? How do punishments ever benefit the wrong-doer? How do they do good to society? What kinds of criminal punishment are in use in this country? Is whipping an offender ever justifiable? If so, in what cases? What do you think of capital punishment? What are the objections to it? What arguments are there in favor of it? What is lynch law? Is it ever right? If not, why? Do you think that criminals are made to suffer too much or too little in this country? What is the danger of too great severity? What is the danger of too great leniency?

How many are suffering punishment in jails and prisons in your State? How large a proportion of them return to prison again? What is the average length of sentences? Ought sentences to be longer?

What different methods of prison discipline are there? Which do you think best? Do you know anything of the so-called Irish system? What is the "convict-lease system"? What reasons can you give for and against it?

How are prisons managed in your State? How much do they cost every year? Does the cost increase, or diminish? Are there separate prisons for women? What is done to reform criminals? What is done to aid them when discharged? What is done with the money which they earn if they labor in prison? What do you think ought to be done

with such money? What are the county jails? How are they managed in your State? What evils, if any, are there in the present management of the jails? Did you ever visit a jail or prison?

What causes lead to crime? What is heredity? What has it to do with crime? How can the influence of bad hereditary causes be lessened or removed? What has a bad or filthy home to do with crime? How can such causes be remedied? How does stress of poverty lead to crime? Are criminals likely to be ignorant people? If so, why? If all people were educated, would there cease to be crime? If not, what more is necessary? If all drinking-places were closed in your State, what effect do you think it would have upon crime? Is such a method of preventing crime practicable? Give reasons for your answer.

Under what circumstances is it right to take children away from their parents? What can you tell of the work of children's aid societies?

Do you think that it is character, or circumstances, which keep the majority of people from crime? Who, if any, have no temptation to crime? What kinds of bad character are there which do not always bring people before the courts? Is it possible to steal by process of law? If so, how?

Do "respectable" people ever have to go to prison? What punishments fall upon the guilty besides the penalties of the law? Is there any disgrace in going to prison if one is innocent? Is it possible to punish, and yet to have sympathy with the criminal? Ought our abhorrence of crime ever to take away our sympathy for the criminal? Does a criminal morally belong to a different class from other men? (Luke xxiii. 9-15.) What famous story is there of Jesus' treatment of crime? (John viii. 1-12.) Give an instance of his severity. (Matt xxiii. 14.) Why was he lenient in one case and severe in the other? Who was John Howard? What good did he do?

XV.

HOW TO HELP THE POOR.

It was seen, in our study of economic conditions, what causes lead to poverty. One of the great questions which society has to answer is: How best to help the poor. It used to be answered very easily. Alms, it was said, ought to be given to the poor.

Pauperism. — This plan of giving alms was tried for hundreds of years, till it was found that the more money was given to the poor, the poorer they became. In some countries, like Italy, there came to be a large class of miserable beggars who depended on alms rather than on honest work. In England, vast numbers of the people became paupers; that is, they were dependent for more or less of their living upon the support of the government. At last it was seen that gifts of money and of food, instead of helping the poor, took away their manliness and independence, and made them less capable of earning their living.

Moreover, when the poor could get their living for nothing, honest and industrious workmen had to suffer in consequence. This was partly because the taxes, which always come out of the industrious people, were made higher by all that was given to the poor. Besides, when much money is given to the poor, the wages of the industrious class are likely to fall. For the poor who are partly supported by private or public charity can afford to work for lower wages than the industrious and independent class, who support themselves. The competition of pauper laborers, therefore, always tends to bring down wages to the lower level.

The same effect happens when any of the poor are given board or food at less than market values. Thus we will suppose that there are in New York ten thousand poor girls for whom kind people provide rooms free of cost. These girls can afford to work at perhaps fifty cents a week less than girls who have

to pay the rent of their rooms. Now employers prefer to hire the girls who can afford to serve for the smallest wages. These employers, again, can afford to sell their goods a little cheaper, and other employers, who compete with them, are forced to lower their price to the thousands of girls whose kind friends do not furnish free lodging. Thus unwise giving tends to hurt the people whom one meant to help.

Work not a Curse. — Underneath the custom of giving alms to the poor there was a strange old notion that work was a curse. For it used to be thought that the most desirable condition was a life of ease and idleness. This is no longer believed. Work, if not excessive, is now known to be a favorable condition of health and happiness. Even the struggle necessary to overcoming difficulties is proved to develop the highest types of character.

The General Law of Charity. — The wisest and kindest charity is to *help the poor to help themselves*. This is the working of Nature, which rewards exertion, and has all sorts of penalties against imprudence and laziness. Thus it is charity to find a poor man work, or to show his wife how not to waste food, or to persuade the poor not to spend their money in drink. It is charity to teach co-operation among the poor, in order to provide for the expenses of sickness. It is charity to help the children of the poor to get trades in which they can earn better wages. It is charity — provided one's motive is benevolent — to start a new industry in a poor neighborhood which shall distribute regular wages to a great many people. It is charity to build wholesome dwelling-houses at fair rates of rent.

Exceptional Cases. — There are, however, certain poor people who, for various reasons, seem unable to help themselves; as the aged, the sick and feeble, and widows with little children. There are also times in which, for want of work or failure of the harvests, large numbers of people are thrown out of employment. In ancient times such people were often left to suffer terrible hardships, and to starve to death. It is now regarded as the duty of society to provide for these exceptional cases of poverty. This provision is mostly rendered by the state, which

builds its almshouses at public expense, or furnishes a certain amount of food and fuel, to tide the poor over critical periods. There are also, in every large town, various societies which aim at the same result.

Why Society relieves Exceptional Poverty. — The duty of helping the needy poor, society partly owes to itself; because it would lessen the general happiness and narrow men's sympathies to witness suffering and do nothing to relieve it. In some cases — for instance, in a famine — the assistance of the poor is necessary to the welfare and safety of society. Society also owes its help, in cases of extreme poverty, to the innocent and to children, of whom it is the natural guardian. So far also as defective social conditions — like the working of bad laws and customs — have caused poverty, society ought to help pay the penalty of its own faults. The ideals of our common humanity, however, specially call upon us never to rest content while fellow-men are in distress.

Cautions. — The duty of exceptional help for the unfortunate poor, to which society is bound, is still attended with serious dangers, lest more harm be done than good. The poor must not be encouraged, when ill or out of work, to depend upon public aid or benevolent societies, instead of their own prudence and savings. It is unjust to the thrifty and industrious, if the improvident are helped so as to fare as well as themselves. The complaints and sufferings of all who ask help must, therefore, be carefully investigated before aid is rendered. The inveterate beggars must be found out, and punished, if necessary; the intemperate husband must not think that he can spend his wages in drink, and have his family supported by charity.

The Ideal Charity. — In the old-fashioned alms-giving there was one noble thing; namely, sympathy for suffering. The most perfect charity aims to keep and foster this sympathy, and to direct it to the most permanent good. Such charity is the intelligent application of the Golden Rule. When actual help is required it follows the gift with visits of personal friendliness, and stops giving as soon as possible, for the self-respect of the poor. In cases of actual helplessness it finds the suitable hospital

or home, or perhaps a regular pension from the benevolent. This is the work which the Associated Charities of our large towns endeavor to do. They aim to find out all the suffering poor, and to distinguish between those who are worthy and those who are not. Such work, however, requires the co-operation of large numbers of kind and intelligent people, who must give time and thought, if not money

QUESTIONS.

XV.

Recall what causes lead to poverty. What do you mean by "alms"? What do you think of what Jesus said in Luke xviii. 22? What good do you think that alms-giving does? (Acts xx. 35.) Where has it been tried on a large scale, or by governments? What harm did it do? Give instances. How was it not real kindness to the poor? How did alms-giving affect wages? Whom besides the poor did it therefore harm, and how? Show how it affects wages to give board or lodgings for less than cost.

What is a *pauper*? How does a rich man, who does no good in the world, morally differ from a pauper? What is it to *pauperize* a man? Does the gift of food from the state always tend to pauperize people? Give reasons. Does the gift of a free education pauperize people? Give reasons. Is there any harm in giving the poor free entertainments and amusements? Or ought a man to pay for everything which he uses? Have the good things which you have received without cost done you any harm? Does a friendly gift do any harm to a poor man? Give reasons. What difference is there between a friendly gift and alms? Is there any real distinction between the poor and those who are not poor?

What was the old idea about work? What is the modern idea? Which do you think true? Which have most happiness, workers, or idlers? Give instances of men who have been made greater by overcoming obstacles.

What is the general law of charity? How does Nature work to enforce this law? Show why it is a kind law. Give instances of wise charity. How can it be charity to start a new industry? to build houses to rent? Where has this been tried? How does the spirit of charity differ from business?

What cases can you think of where the poor cannot help themselves? What provision does the public make for such cases where you live? Did you ever visit an almshouse? Is there any necessary disgrace in becoming an inmate of an almshouse? In receiving help from the state or from a society? What sometimes makes this disgraceful? What is "out-door relief"? What objections to it are there? What is the public expense for the poor where you live? Is it increasing?

What has the government of India done for its people in years of famine? Was this wise? What can you tell of the great Irish famine? What needed to be done for the people? When and how has our national government ever been called upon to give assistance to unfortunate citizens?

What charitable societies do you know about? What are their objects? Do you think any of their methods unwise? Why do we need such societies in cities, and not in the country? How do such benevolent societies sometimes tempt people to come into cities to live? Is this well?

Why does society owe to itself the duty of helping the needy poor? Do any deny this? If so, on what ground? How far does society owe its help to suffering children? What penalty would it have to pay if it neglected this duty? Is society—that is, all the people together—to blame for any of the poverty? If so, how? Suppose those who suffered poverty were entirely to blame; would any then be justified in holding aloof? Read 1 John iii. 17.

What cautions need to be observed in helping the poor? Give reasons in each case. What harm is ever done in interfering to prevent a man from suffering the consequences of his faults? Ought his innocent children to suffer? How can you help this? Why is it dangerous to give to people whom you do not know? What ought you first to do? Which do you think

the greater charity, to give time, or money? Did you ever know any one to remain idle rather than take lower wages? Is this ever right? When is it certainly wrong? What do you think ought to be done with a man who spends his wages for drink, and leaves his family to suffer?

Which is most essential to true charity, — sympathy, or intelligence? Ought acquaintance with poverty ever to diminish sympathy? Is it possible for wise charity always to follow the Golden Rule? For example, in stopping help? or in arresting a beggar? What can wisely be done for those who need permanent aid, as helpless aged people? What is meant by the Association of Charities? What does it aim to do? By what means? Can you tell anything of the life and work of any eminent friends of the poor? Of Florence Nightingale? Of Octavia Hill? Of Charles L. Brace? Of others?

XVI.

TEMPERANCE AND PURITY.

1. INTEMPERANCE.

WE have found that one of the evils in society most fruitful of suffering is intemperance. All thoughtful citizens are agreed that there are great dangers in the use of alcoholic drinks. Nearly all believe that the use of the stronger drinks as a beverage is injurious.

Two Theories. — There are two theories current in society upon the subject of intemperance. One theory is, that there are certain beverages, containing but little alcohol, the moderate use of which is not harmful. A distinction ought, therefore, to be made, between use and abuse.

The second theory is, that alcoholic drinks, in every form, are a poison. Their only proper use is as medicine, but never as a beverage. Those who hold this theory are therefore committed to habits of total abstinence. Some also believe in total abstinence because, on the whole, they think that the use of alcoholic drinks does vastly more harm than good.

Various Methods of the Reform of Intemperance. — Most persons agree that there ought to be certain laws to restrict the sale of intoxicating drinks, — they ought not to be sold to children or to drunkards; they ought not to be sold by reckless and unprincipled persons; the places of sale ought to be closed within certain hours; there ought to be no adulteration of the liquors sold; dealers who break the laws should not only be punished, but also forbidden to sell again; drunkenness should also be punished.

License. — It is held by many citizens that the sale of intoxicating drinks, like that of drugs, should only be in the hands of authorized or licensed dealers. As the expense to the community from drinking habits is enormous, and as alcoholic drinks

are not a necessity, but a luxury, the license to sell should require a special fee or tax. The higher this license tax is made, the smaller the number of drinking-places will be, and the more careful the licensed dealers will be to obey the laws. It also becomes for their interest to aid the police to close unlicensed places. The experiment has also been tried in Europe of restricting the sale of intoxicating drinks to a limited number of places owned and strictly managed by the government. License laws are favored by those who hold that there is a proper use of the lighter alcoholic beverages, as well as a danger of abuse. There are many, also, who, believing such beverages to be injurious, yet favor license laws; partly because they do not think it possible to prevent people by law from using these drinks, and partly because, as long as men use them, it seems just that the dealers should be made to bear the public loss which results from their business.

Prohibition. — Most of those who hold that alcoholic drinks are a poison believe that laws ought to be made to prevent their sale, except strictly for mechanical or medicinal purposes. They would have all drinking-saloons closed. No hotels should furnish wine to their guests; no grocers should sell it to their customers. Some think that the national government should prohibit the manufacture or importation of all intoxicating beverages. It is thought by many that reform by prohibition is of so much importance that it ought to be provided for not only by statutes, which might at any time be repealed, but also by the state and national constitutions, which cannot so easily be changed.

Moral Education. — Besides the change in the drinking habits which laws aim to effect, there is a slow growth of public opinion which works to make people temperate. The evil physical effects of alcohol are coming to be better known. Drunkenness, which was once respectable, is now a disgrace. Cheaper and more wholesome beverages tend to drive out the fiery and hurtful drinks. As a people's resources for enjoyment become more ample, their homes more comfortable, their food more suitable, their intelligence greater, and their moral principles higher, intemperance tends to decrease.

2. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.¹

It has been found, by long experience of mankind, that the marriage of one man to one woman is the true law of domestic happiness and social purity. Regard for personal purity, consideration for the welfare of others, for the natural rights of children, for the just inheritance of property, and for the interests of society at large, unite with the sanctions of religion to enforce this law of marriage. All deviations from this law have actually worked towards misery or vice, towards the degradation of woman, and consequently, also, towards the loosening of the moral foundations of society. The sacredness of the marriage relation cannot, however, be secured by laws. It depends upon the intelligence and healthy moral sentiment of all the people in a community.

Divorce. — There are certain causes which prevent marriage from being happy, or even tolerable. Such are unfaithfulness, cruelty, and crime. It does not seem just to require the life of the innocent husband or wife to be blighted by the guilt of the other party. The state, therefore, which by the marriage law unites husband and wife, may also, by a special permit, sever the bond. This is called divorce. The authority to grant divorce is generally vested in the courts, in order that injustice may not be done to innocent parties and to children. The reasons, however, which are held sufficient for divorce vary in different States; and this difference of custom and law helps unscrupulous persons to obtain an easy divorce.

QUESTIONS.

XVI.

1. INTEMPERANCE.

Why does the subject of intemperance deserve special treatment? What are thoughtful citizens agreed in thinking about it? What liquors are certainly injurious as a beverage?

¹ This section may be omitted if the teacher does not think the class sufficiently mature to consider it.

What theory about the use of intoxicating drinks is first mentioned? What do you think of this theory? What reasons are given in its support? What drinks does it suppose harmless? Does it hold any alcoholic drinks to be perfectly safe or necessary to health? Are people in health any better for their use? Where is this first theory most common?

State the second theory about alcoholic drinks, and the reasons given for it. What does science say about the use of alcoholic drinks? Do you think the question is settled yet?

What laws restricting the sale of intoxicating drinks are generally favored? What are the laws of this kind in your State? Give reasons for these laws. Why ought intoxicating drinks never to be sold to children?

What is a license law? What is the reason for it? Why ought there to be a tax or fee required? What advantages are there in a "high license" law? Where has such a law been tried? How has it worked? Can you tell what the Gothenburg System is? Who mostly favor license laws? What objection applies to licensing bar-rooms more than to licensing hotels? Is it inconsistent to believe in total abstinence for one's self, and yet to accept a license law for the state? Is there a license law in your State? Does it do any good? If not, why?

What is prohibition? Why do people favor it? If alcoholic drinks are poisonous, is it fair to forbid people to sell them? If such drinks are not poisonous, is it fair? If so, on what grounds? If alcoholic drinks are poisonous, ought the state to prohibit people from using them? Ought the state to prohibit the manufacture of alcoholic liquors? If not, why? How far has the state a right to interfere with the conduct of individuals? Where has prohibition been tried? Has it made people temperate?

What else besides laws helps check intemperance? Does the world grow more, or less, temperate? Give reasons for your answer. What can you tell of the effects of intemperance on the body? on the mind? Do you know any place where it is respectable to be a drunkard? What have comfortable homes to do with temperance? Do you think that intemperance causes

poverty, or that poverty causes intemperance? Does the use of beer or wine drive out brandy and stronger drinks? Does the use of tea and coffee drive out alcoholic drinks? What sort of people are most likely to be the victims of intemperance? What weakness of character most easily leads to intemperance? Do you think that intemperance will ever entirely cease?

Why is not the use of alcoholic drinks as common with women as with men? Is the evil of alcoholic drinks greater among the Northern nations than among the Southern? Is it greater in this climate than elsewhere? What injurious customs do you see "in society" which tend to intemperance? what customs in business? What good can you discover in the alcoholic drinks sufficient to warrant their use? How would you answer this question if you regarded merely your own advantage? how, if you regarded the best good of society? What is your idea of true temperance? What can you do to bring it about? See address upon Temperance by Dr. Channing.

2. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

What is monogamy? Do you think that it is taught in the Bible? What has the experience of mankind proved about it? Where is polygamy still in vogue? What excuse, if any, was there for it in barbarous times? Whom does it most harm, men, or women? Did our German ancestors practise monogamy?

What legal forms are required in respect to marriage? Why ought the state to make rules about marriage? How does property depend upon the marriage laws? How do the interests of children depend on such laws? What other interests depend upon them? What evils are caused when marriage laws are lax? What has religion to do with marriage?

Who are Mormons? What barbarous custom do they retain? What is their reason for it? Have the people of the United States a right to interfere with their opinions? with their conduct? In what way?

What is divorce? Who think that it ought never to be granted? or for only one reason? Why do they think so? What evils are there when the laws grant no divorce? Ought unfaithfulness in a wife to be considered a better reason for divorce than unfaithfulness on the part of the husband? Why is the law on this point one-sided? Do you think that there are other sufficient reasons for divorce besides unfaithfulness? Is drunkenness a reason? Is crime? Is cruelty? Is desertion, or neglect to support one's family? Do you respect it, or not, in a woman that she holds by her husband in spite of such things? Did you ever know of cases where this was wise, or did good? Was such conduct a duty? What is "incompatibility of temper"? Is it a sufficient cause for divorce? Give reasons. Is it cause for divorce that husband and wife are tired of each other? What harm is done by granting divorce on such ground? Is any good done? What can you advise which would be better than divorce?

In case of divorce can people marry again? Do you think that a guilty person, or one whose faults had made a marriage wretched, ought to be permitted to marry again? Can you see any wrong in refusing such permission? Would there be fewer divorces if the guilty or faulty person could not marry again?

In case of divorce, what becomes of the children? Can the guilty or faulty parent be ever morally relieved of his duty to them? Who, in your State, grants divorces? On what grounds are they allowed? What reasons are there why physicians ought to be upon the board which grants divorce? In what State is no divorce allowed? In what States do you think divorces are too easy? What harm comes from the fact that different States have different laws? How could this be remedied? What is even more necessary than wise laws?

PART IV.

INTERNATIONAL DUTIES; OR, THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONS.

XVII.

INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND HOW IT GREW.

Ancient Warfare. — In early times war was the common condition in which people lived. It was thought right to do as much harm as possible to a foreign country. A weak nation was regarded as fair prey for a stronger nation. Quarrels were always breaking out between neighboring peoples. Prisoners taken in war, if not butchered, were held as slaves. Private property was the booty of the victors. On the sea, men were even more inhumane than on the land. Ships driven on shore or wrecked were, even to a quite recent period, the plunder of the people of the country on whose shores they were driven. The foreign sailors who escaped the storm were liable to be killed if they went on shore.

International Jealousy. — War was not the only evil which kept neighboring nations apart. Men used also to be very jealous and suspicious of foreigners, as well as of their customs and religion; they did not welcome foreign immigration. It was thought necessary to put heavy and costly restrictions on foreign trade. It was believed that money ought not, under any circumstances, to be sent out of the country. It used to be thought desirable to have other countries poor.

The Dawn of International Rights. — There were a few circum-

stances which mitigated the horrors of ancient war. It was early held that the persons of heralds or ambassadors were sacred. Though the dead were liable to be stripped of their clothing and ornaments, their burial was generally permitted. Sometimes a truce was agreed upon for this purpose. The oppression of stronger tribes or nations led the weaker to combine in confederations and alliances. These alliances were celebrated by solemn religious oaths. The Greeks, for instance, united against the Persians, and for a while almost stopped fighting among themselves. The vast empires of the Assyrians and the Persians compelled a degree of peace between the subject nations; and increasing travel and commerce brought about the acquaintance of people of different languages. It was found to be more profitable to the conquerors to spare the conquered than to destroy them. Thus the power of Rome was built up by a wise system of tolerating the customs and the religion of her subjects.

Christianity. — When Christianity was established there was a new bond among different nations; for everywhere there were Christians pledged to befriend each other. Christianity, however, in spite of its benevolent principles, did not succeed in making nations live together peaceably. On the contrary, some of the most terrible wars came about between Christian nations and over religious quarrels.

Popular Government. — At last in certain countries, and especially in England, the people came to have political power. While before, war had been carried on merely for the benefit of the rulers, or at least of the soldiers, now the rulers were obliged to have some form of consent from the people.

Popular Intelligence. — Meanwhile, the people, having learned to read and to think, had become more intelligent, and therefore averse to war. They had also become better acquainted with the people of other nations, and had found out their good qualities. They discovered that they were richer by trading than by fighting. Moreover, the fact that war had become very expensive and terribly destructive worked to abate its horrors, since even bad rulers feared to ask their people to pay its cost or run the risk of failing in it. The growing humanity of our modern

times also insisted that respect should be paid, in case of war, to the property, as well as to the lives, of non-combatants and private people.

Reciprocity of Interests. — People are also slowly learning that it is for their own advantage that their foreign customers should be prosperous, and therefore able to buy more goods and to pay their debts. As it is desirable to have one's fellow-citizens well off, so it is desirable to have all the different families of nations prosper together.

Thus religion and self-interest, as well as the general humanizing influence of travel and commerce, have slowly tended to bring nations to a more friendly feeling towards each other, and even when war arises, to preserve some measure of respect and sympathy towards foes, in place of the ancient hate and cruelty.

The New Sentiment. — The change which has come to pass in the relation of states to each other may be briefly expressed as follows: Once different peoples regarded each other as enemies, and the prosperity of one was thought to be the injury of another. Now they regard each other as neighbors, and the harm of one nation is believed to be a loss to all the others.

International Law. — There have gradually been established, partly through treaties, partly by the precedents of usage, certain rules or laws governing the behavior of nations towards each other, exactly as the laws of a state regulate the behavior of citizens. International law is the working out of the principle of the Golden Rule among neighboring nations.

QUESTIONS.

XVII.

What was the common relation between nations in ancient times? Describe an ancient war as it is narrated in the Bible or Homer. What did ancient religion say about enemies? Deut. xxiii. 6; Matt. v. 43. How do you account for the inhumanity to foreigners in early times? Where do men still live in a state of war?

What is international jealousy? Give illustrations. What excuse, if any, is there ever for it?

What is a herald? What was a truce? For what purpose was a truce sometimes given? For what other purposes? How did ancient people regard an oath? What was the common relation to each other of the cities of ancient Greece? What occasions brought these cities together?

What good resulted from the great conquering empires? How did Christianity tend to make men more humane towards foreigners? How do you account for the fact that some of the worst wars have been among Christians? Can you tell of any such wars?

Are democratic and republican governments more, or less, averse to war than despotic and aristocratic governments? Give reasons. How do travel and commerce tend to prevent war? How is modern more expensive than ancient war? Do you think that it is more, or less, destructive? Why? Do people dread it more, or less? How have Christian missionaries helped to bring about friendly relations with savage people? When war comes, how does modern sympathy check its evils? Give some account of the Society of the Red Cross.

Did it ever do any good to keep nations apart? Does it ever do good now? Show why it is well to have other nations rich. Why it does no harm to send money out of the country. Is it for the interest of the people of the United States that the harvests should fail in Russia? That there should be a war in Europe? If not, why? What good do foreign immigrants do our country?

The inhabitants of Africa are now extremely poor and ignorant. How would educating and civilizing them benefit the people of the United States? England is now the greatest rival, in commerce and manufactures, to the United States. Would the destruction of English commerce and manufacturing do us good, or harm? We believe that it is best for a country to have every part of it prosperous. Why is it also best for the world to have every nation in it prosperous? How far does the Golden Rule apply to nations? What is international law?

XVIII.

THE GOLDEN RULE AMONG NATIONS; THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS.

The Three Purposes of International Law. — We learned that there were three purposes of government, — protection from enemies abroad, protection from the injustice of fellow-citizens, and public convenience. International law follows three similar purposes.

In the first place it unites different nations against common enemies. Thus it aims to suppress piracy and the slave-trade. It has rules for the giving up to justice of dangerous criminals.

In the second place, international law aims to secure fair dealing among neighboring nations. There are certain important mutual rights and duties between nations which international law aims to define. Thus treaties and usage fix and preserve the sacredness of boundary lines, upon which no foreign nation has a right to trespass.

Thirdly, international law aims at the general convenience. There are thus certain objects — for example, a universal postal service — which many governments unite to secure. Treaties and usage also serve to protect travellers and foreign residents, as well as the goods of foreign merchants, in all civilized countries. Lighthouses and coast surveys are maintained for the interest of the commerce of the world.

The Diplomatic Service. — Ambassadors, consuls, and other public agents, with certain powers and privileges attached to their office, are recognized by foreign governments as representing the rights and interests of their countrymen.

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS.

Domestic Affairs. — Every nation has a right to manage its affairs without dictation from other nations. If France, for example, wants a president, rather than a king, England and Germany have no right to interfere. Likewise, in the American Civil War, it was the right of our government that we should settle our difficulties without interference from other countries. This is the same kind of right which belongs to every household to make its own rules without dictation from outside.

Foreign Commerce and Intercourse. — On the same principle, every nation has a right, if it is judged to be best, and no treaty forbids, to exclude the people or the products of another country. China has thus the right to forbid Europeans from residing in her territory, or to shut out British opium. When we say that the Chinese have a right to exclude foreigners, we do not decide whether such action is wise or righteous. We mean that the Chinese have the right, in their own country, not to be molested by other nations. So, likewise, if the safety of our institutions could be proved to require it, we should have the right to limit foreign immigration.

The Custom House. — A nation has also a right to require taxes or custom-dues upon the importation of foreign goods, and to make its own rules to govern foreign trade. Thus nearly everything which comes into our country has to pay a high duty; partly to raise the revenue for our national expenses, and partly because a majority of those who make our laws believe that it is for the interests of our people to make foreign cloth, books, iron, etc., so costly that our people will be obliged to buy the products of our own industries. This "protection," as it is called, diminishes trade with foreign nations; but they have no right, because their trade is injured, or because they think our laws foolish, to compel us to admit their goods free.

Maritime Rights. — It is the right of every nation, while at peace, that her ships should sail the seas without molestation. That is to say, the ocean is recognized as the great common highway,

free to all. The fisheries also, except close to shore, are common international property. The right to the seas is limited, however, by certain conditions of international law. A ship has no right, for instance, to be engaged in the slave-trade, or to carry material of war to belligerent nations. As soon as a ship leaves the open sea and comes to land or into a harbor, she must regard the rules of the country.

Rights of Travel and of Foreign Residence. — It is the right of every nation that her citizens, so far as they are allowed to travel or to reside in other countries, should have as ample protection of life and property as is afforded to the citizens of those countries. If an American resides in Germany or Japan, he is entitled, like a guest in a house, to the same care which the German or Japanese government gives any of its own people.

Authors' and Inventors' Rights. — It is generally held that writers and inventors are entitled to some compensation for their work from the public, which they instruct, entertain, or profit. This compensation is given in the form of copyrights upon books or patents upon inventions. If such compensation is justly due from the country in which the author or inventor lives, there is no reason why it should not also be due from any other country which uses the inventions or reads the books. The proposed system of international patents and copyrights has its rise in this principle.

QUESTIONS.

XVIII.

Recall the purposes of government. What are the purposes of international law? What enemies have all nations in common? Why should any nation give up a fugitive forger or murderer to justice? Ought our country to give up a Russian Nihilist? If not, why?

How is the boundary between neighboring countries fixed? Give an example from the history of the United States. Give

examples how international treaties secure the general convenience.

What are some of the officers called who look after international affairs? What good do they do? What special privileges do foreign ministers enjoy? Why? What is diplomacy? Is truthfulness a duty in diplomacy?

Why ought each nation to manage its own affairs? What harm would come of breaking this principle? Give examples to show that meddling in the affairs of other nations is mischievous; that non-interference is wise. Can you imagine a case where interference would be right? Why ought a nation not to be interfered with if it manages its affairs foolishly? Can you tell what the Monroe doctrine is? Why had Great Britain no right to interfere with the United States when our government permitted slavery?

What right has a nation to tax goods coming from other countries? What unwise laws have nations ever made to restrict trade or intercourse with foreign countries? Do we ever make such unwise laws? Do you think there is ever good reason to restrict immigration? or the importation of foreign goods? If so, how? What is a "reciprocity treaty"? Give examples.

What rights have all nations on the ocean? How are these rights limited? What claim of the British led to the War of 1812? Was it a just claim? In the American Civil War, one of our cruisers stopped a foreign vessel at sea, and took from it as prisoners two Confederate envoys who were on their way to Europe. Why did our government have to set the men free? What right had we, in the same war, to capture English blockade-runners? Tell some of the rules which a foreign ship has to observe upon entering one of our harbors. What privileges have ships of war which private vessels do not have?

What protection has an American or an Englishman, when travelling in Turkey, the right to expect? What has the traveller's government a right to demand if any harm comes to him? If he makes bad debts in his trade with Japan or Egypt, is he entitled to the help of his government to secure his money? Had the British any right to go to war in

Egypt because the Egyptian government owed money to British citizens? What justification had England for war in Egypt? Ought foreign residents to pay taxes? Have they a right to vote? State the reasons why there ought to be an international law of copyright and patents. What countries give such rights now?

XIX.

THE GOLDEN RULE AMONG NATIONS: THE DUTIES OF NATIONS.

Obvious or Recognized Duties. — There are certain obvious duties which nations owe each other, such as keeping treaties and observing the usages and forms which, like good manners among neighbors, promote convenience and friendly feeling. It follows that each government ought to forbid its people to do harm to the persons or property of another nation. Thus in our Civil War it was the duty of the British government to forbid shipbuilders to fit out privateers, like the "Alabama," to prey on our commerce.

Duties of Honor. — Besides duties already recognized by treaty and custom, there are further duties, which grow out of the principle that all nations are neighbors. The barbarous way was to make laws against foreigners as enemies. A nation did right, therefore, it was thought, to rob them if it could, through its laws and taxes, of their share in trade. On the contrary, the laws of a nation ought not only to secure the rights of its own citizens, but also to regard the interests of foreigners.

As laws ought not to be designed to interfere to give any class or individual more than a fair share, so they ought not to be designed to interfere with the natural working of the law of supply and demand, in order to give a nation more than its share as compared with its neighbors. This is not only justice, it is for the interest of a nation to deal fairly with its neighbors; for, as we have seen, the wealth of one nation is not gained out of the losses of its neighbors, but out of their wealth. It is therefore desirable, so far as laws and taxes can be so arranged, to increase the prosperity of neighboring nations rather than to diminish it.

The Duties of Nations towards their Colonies. — Certain races, as the Greeks in old times, and the Anglo-Saxons in modern

times, have spread over the world by planting colonies. Thus the United States were first settled by colonists; and our Western Territories to-day may be considered as colonies from the older parts of the country. It is the duty of a nation to protect its colonists from foreign enemies and savages, and to establish as rapidly as possible settled government. It should be the aim of the parent state to raise the colony to self-support and self-government. If the colony, when established, remains a part of the older nation, it is entitled to fair representation in the general government. It ought then to meet its proportionate share of the general expense.

The Duties of Civilized Nations to the Less Civilized. — The duties of nations to each other are complicated by the fact that large parts of the world are still possessed by barbarous or half-civilized people. Such nations either do not recognize international obligations at all, or could not be depended upon to keep them.

Among so-called civilized nations, moreover, conduct is still often dictated by jealousy or enmity of other nations. There is thus a vast difference of level between the ideas, the customs, and the prosperity of different nations. It is therefore claimed by some that certain temporary guards and defences may have to be put up by the laws of a country against the operation of bad laws and customs elsewhere. Thus ignorant foreign immigrants, it is said, might come to this country in such numbers as to endanger our institutions, and might therefore require to be restricted. Or the cheap labor of underpaid foreign workmen, it is claimed, might threaten to lower the wages and prosperity of our working people. So, too, the serious misgovernment or anarchy of a half-civilized state, some think, may call for intervention from outside, not only for the interests of foreign residents, but also for the sake of the oppressed native people.

The Duties of Nations towards Tribes of Savages. — Most of the great nations of the world have, either in their own territory or among their colonies, various barbarous tribes. Such tribes cannot justly be said to own the land over which they only

roam and hunt. They have no right, therefore, to prevent settlers who will use the land from coming to it. On the other hand, the savages have certain rights which deserve consideration. The proper treatment of these rights is one of the most difficult problems.

It is the duty of a nation to give the same treatment to the savages within its borders as it gives to other men. It is a duty to protect them in the rights which they have in common with all men; as, for instance, in ownership of the lands which they actually occupy or cultivate. It is a duty to afford suitable education to the youth of the savage people, that they may adapt themselves to the change of life which civilization brings with it. The savages ought to be allowed to acquire independent property, exactly as others do; and upon proper qualification they ought to be given a share in the government. On the contrary, it is not a duty to recognize savage tribes as sovereign nations. It is wrong to give them rations and presents, which degrade and pauperize them.

QUESTIONS.

XIX.

What duties does one nation owe to another? Ought a nation to keep a treaty which was made a hundred years ago? a treaty made when the opposite political party was in power? Give reasons in each case. Why is a treaty as sacred when made with a weaker nation as if it had been made with a stronger? Why was the British Government bound to pay for the vessels which the "Alabama" destroyed? How can friends of Ireland in the United States assist the Irish people? Why can they not be allowed to equip an army?

How can we injure foreign people without breaking treaties with them? Why ought our laws and taxes to aim at justice for foreigners? Why is such justice for our interest? Does our government recognize this? Who really pay the duties on foreign goods, the foreigners, or we? If Germany makes laws

against American products, ought we to retaliate? Ought a nation ever to give privileges to the people of another nation before they will extend the same privileges in return? How is it between neighboring individuals? Ought we ever to do to foreign nations what we should not like to have them do to us?

What are colonies? What countries have been settled by colonists? What races are most remarkable for their colonies? What duties does a nation owe its colonists? What failure in these duties led to the war of American Independence? What are the principal British colonies? What does the British Government do for them? What good do they do in return? What representation does a Territory have in Congress? What moral right have we to enforce laws against polygamy in Utah?

What is a civilized nation? a half-civilized nation? Give examples. What right, if any, had Commodore Perry to compel the Japanese to open trade with our country? Would he have had any right to compel Germans? Should we have any right to interfere in case of an oppressive government in Mexico? If so, on what ground? Ought the British Government to keep control in India or in Egypt? If so, why? What was the "opium war" which Great Britain engaged in with China? What do you think of it?

Could any harm come to a country from letting as many foreign emigrants come in as might choose to come? Would it do any harm for our country to have more Chinese people than people of the European stock? to have more colored people in a State than white? If it were undesirable to have large Chinese emigration, would it be morally right to check it? Would it be right for any other people, — for the Chinese, for example, — to insist upon coming?

How is it possible for differences of race, or of habits of living, or government, to lessen the advantage of perfectly free trade or intercourse among nations? Are there any reasons why trade should not be as free between the United States and Cuba or Great Britain, as between Massachusetts and Louisiana?

Do you think that a more civilized people ever need laws to protect them from the competition of a less civilized people? that a less civilized people ever need protection against their more civilized neighbors? that well-paid workmen need laws to protect them from underpaid foreign workmen? Do you think that, in the present condition of the world, free trade would tend to level the wages of American workmen up or down? Would it tend to elevate or depress their standard of living? Would perfectly free trade improve the condition of foreign workmen? Would it be a duty to sacrifice the prosperity of our own country if we could thus make the world at large richer? Would this do the world any good, if we were obliged to lower the standard of living among our people? Is it a disadvantage to the world at large that certain countries maintain a higher level of prosperity than the average? Give reasons. How is such a higher level maintained? Do you think that it is at the expense of other nations?

What is a neighbor? What is a neighboring nation? Do you think it desirable that neighbors should compete to get ahead of each other? What principle, besides competition, would secure enterprise and prosperity? What is your ideal of the relation which ought to hold in trade between neighboring countries?

What is the difference, if any, between a tribe of savages and a nation? Who owns the land where a tribe of Indians roam? Who owns the land of an Indian village? Can the chiefs have a right to sell it or give it away? Is it kindness to the Indians to pay them money and give them blankets? If not, why? If government has made foolish promises to the Indians, must these promises still be kept? What if government has promised what is harmful to the Indians? What duties does the nation owe to the Indians? Can you give any account of the history of the Indians in this country? Have they been better treated in British America? What was William Penn's treatment of the Indians? Why do some people say that the Indians ought to be exterminated? Can Indians be educated to be intelligent citizens?

XX.

WAR AND ARBITRATION.

War Establishments. — In barbarous countries every free man is supposed to be a soldier; in civilized nations there is a standing army even in times of peace. In several countries the army is numbered by hundreds of thousands of men. Besides the enormous cost of supporting armies and their equipments, most nations also maintain expensive fortifications and ships of war. Hardly a year passes in which, in some part of the world, there is not a war. The preparation for war is thought to be one of the chief duties of a government in time of peace.

The Reason for War. — When one man injures another, or a difference arises between them, there are courts, which will give justice. When, however, a difference arises between nations, or one nation injures another, there are no courts, and the injured nation must suffer, unless it is strong enough to enforce its rights. There are also no police among nations to prevent one people from attacking another. The necessity of war, therefore, grows out of the fact that a nation cannot call upon any higher power to protect it, but must defend itself. Thus nations have to deal with their quarrels and disputes as individuals used to do before there were courts or police.

Just and Unjust War. — A just war is one in which a nation defends itself, or protects the rights of its people or of its allies. A just war must be for necessity, liberty, or principle. It was a just war when England beat off the great Spanish Armada in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. An unjust war is one in which a nation engages for plunder, or to increase its territory, or for national glory, or for any other reason than necessity, liberty, or principle.

The Laws of War. — As a man, if obliged to defend himself against a quarrelsome neighbor, is not justified in doing unnecessary injury to life or property, or in showing malice and rancor, so when nations are drawn into war, it is not only cruel to do needless violence to the lives and property of the people, but it is also for the interest of the nations at war that nothing shall be done to prevent friendly intercourse from being resumed as soon as possible. Policy and humanity, therefore, alike forbid malevolent or needlessly destructive methods of war. The international laws of war, sanctioned partly by usage and partly by treaties, and still imperfect, may be considered an attempt to restrain the evils of war by the Golden Rule. These laws, for example, forbid the use of poison against an enemy, or of assassination, or of banditti, or of guerillas, or of savage allies. They forbid prisoners to be put to death, and require care for the wounded. They respect private property and the persons of non-combatants, as well as public buildings, libraries, and works of art. They forbid the wanton destruction of towns. So on the seas, international law respects the rights of neutral vessels, except when carrying "contraband of war." Certain nations already have agreed among themselves to abolish privateering. There is a strong feeling also against the injustice of annexing foreign territory in war without the consent of the inhabitants. Thus while in old times it used to be thought right to do the utmost possible harm to an enemy, modern warfare aims to do the least harm compatible with securing a just and permanent peace.

Arbitration. — Ignorant or barbarous people fight; intelligent people settle their differences peaceably. Thus neighbors often agree to settle a dispute by reference to a committee of their friends. So nations, instead of going to war, sometimes agree to leave a question to the decision of umpires. Thus the question of the Alabama Claims was amicably settled between Great Britain and the United States.

An International Court of Appeal. — There is no reason why all questions between civilized nations should not be settled without the barbarous method of war. There might be a

permanent international court of appeal, to which all differences among nations should be referred. All civilized governments would bind themselves to abide by the decision of this court, as civilized men are now bound by the laws of the land. The power of all nations would be pledged, if necessary, to enforce international law. The great war establishments would be mostly abolished, and nations would adopt the Christian law of treating each other as neighbors.

QUESTIONS.

XX.

What is a standing army? Why is an army maintained in times of peace? Is a nation more, or less, likely to engage in war for having an army and a navy? Give your reasons. How many men in Germany are soldiers? In France? In Russia? In England? In the United States? Do you think that the army of the United States is large enough? The navy? Give your reasons. Why do we need an army?

Who enforces the rights of a nation? What do you think would become of a nation which refused ever to fight? Who says that a nation ought never to fight? What do you think? How far does the Golden Rule apply to this question? What do you call a just war? Give instances. Is it just to fight for a weaker or an oppressed people? Give instances, if possible.

What causes lead nations into unjust wars? Is it ever just to conquer and rule a weaker people? If so, give instances. Does good ever come of it? If so, would this be a sufficient reason? What was the cause of the Franco-German War? Was it a just war? Was the war between the United States and Mexico, in 1845, just, or unjust? What good, or evil, has come of it? Give historical instances of unjust wars.

Ought an individual ever to fight? If so, under what circumstances? How much harm is he justified in inflicting upon an assailant? Why does public policy, as well as humanity,

forbid cruel or needlessly destructive methods of war? What difference of principle is there between killing an enemy by gunpowder and killing him by poison? Is assassination ever justifiable in war? Is the use of dynamite permissible in war? Why does international law discountenance the use of savage allies? Can you recall a war in which such allies have been used? What are "guerillas"? If captured in war, how are they liable to be treated? What did it mean when in our civil war the Southern troops were recognized as "belligerents"?

How were prisoners of war treated in former times? What is "loot"? Why is it not allowable in modern warfare? When the British, in the war of 1812, destroyed the public buildings at Washington, was this act justifiable? Did it help their cause? If not, why? Is it fair for a victorious power to carry away monuments and paintings? What is it to "make reprisal"? Give examples. What good might reprisals sometimes do? Would international law permit the destruction of a city? If so, under what circumstances? What is a blockade? Is it permissible to a belligerent permanently to obstruct or to destroy a harbor? Is it fair in war to levy contributions upon the people of the enemy's country? When has this been done? Is an enemy expected to pay for private property which it is necessary to take for military purposes? Is it right to use fraud against an enemy? To use spies? Why is it dishonorable to fire upon a flag of truce? What methods of war ought a civilized nation to use when fighting with savages?

Is private property of an enemy on the sea liable to capture? What is contraband of war? Why is it fair to permit its capture, although upon neutral vessels? What are privateers? What difference is there between privateers at sea and guerillas on land? What nations have given up privateering among themselves? What course does the United States take about privateering? Why? Which course do you think is right? What reasons can you see for capturing the private property of an enemy on the sea, while private property on the land is respected? What territory in the Franco-German war was annexed to Germany? Was the consent of the inhabitants

obtained? Was this action of Germany fair? Why is it bad policy to do injustice even in war? Is it possible to obey the Golden Rule in war? How? What is the difference of aim between ancient and modern warfare?

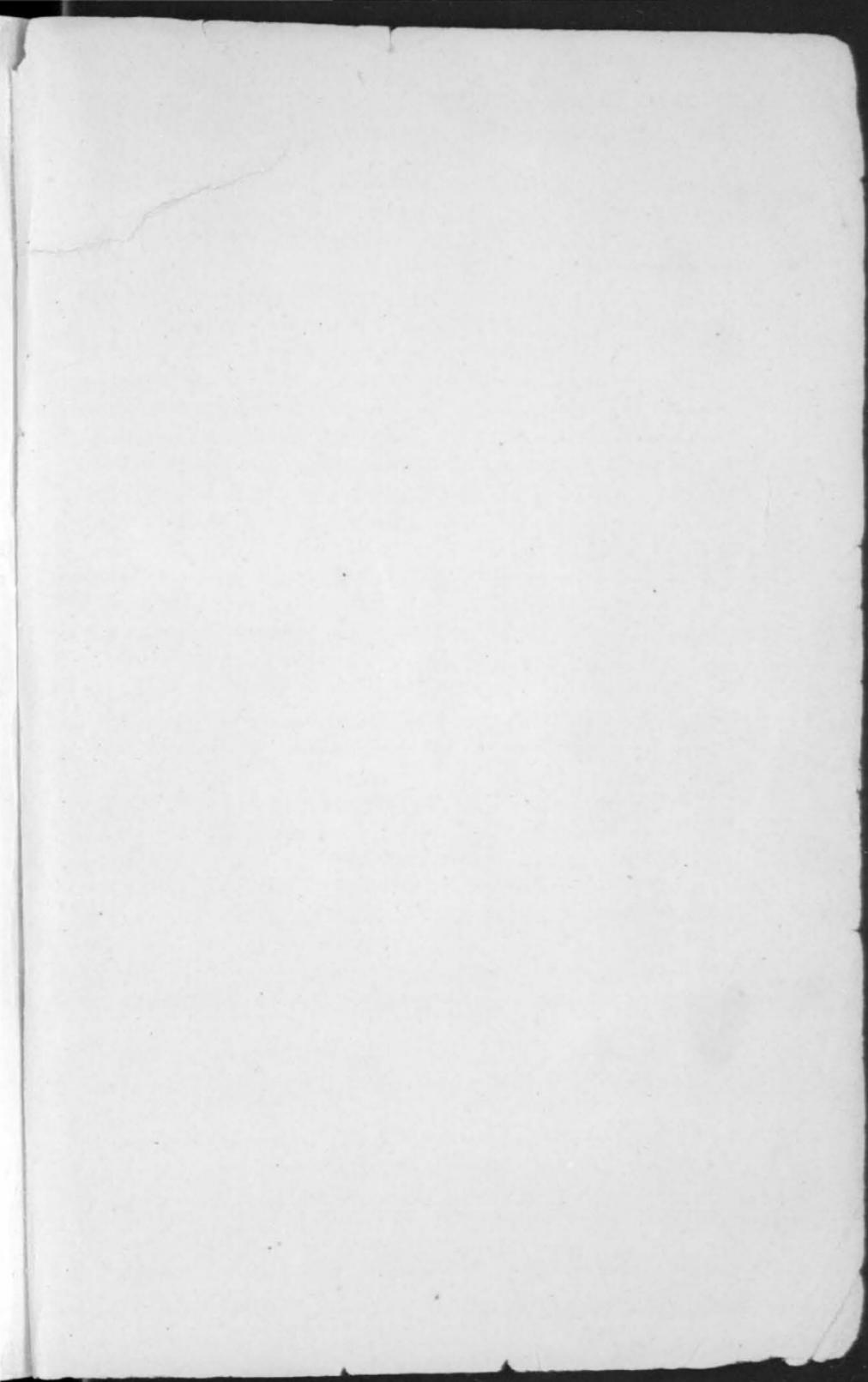
Ought an individual sometimes to bear with an injury rather than resent it? Ought a nation ever to bear with injury or insult? Give reasons. Ought people ever to fight in behalf of religion? If so, under what circumstances? Ought our government to insist upon the protection of Christian missionaries in Turkey or China? To go to war for their protection? If the English government had recognized the Southern Confederacy, would this have been a sufficient reason for declaring war against Great Britain? How far does the Golden Rule apply to these questions?

State the cost of some of the great European armies. What is the average annual cost of the German army to each one of the population? State the cost of some recent wars. State the debt of Great Britain, and how it was incurred. What would the soldiers do if armies were disbanded? What would be the effect upon the industry of a country? Upon the wealth? What moral harm comes from war? Does any moral good come from it?

What is arbitration? Give instances. Is it a new method of settling quarrels? Why is it not oftener followed? Give reasons why nations should settle their disputes peacefully, rather than by fighting. Is there any reason why all international disputes should not be settled by arbitration?

How can you imagine an international court of appeal to be constituted? How could its decrees be enforced? What society has for its object the prevention of wars? What means does it use?

Do you think it desirable to bring about universal peace? Is it practicable? What promise of it do you see? What idea have you of the future progress of mankind? Why do you believe in progress? What rule, if followed by each individual, will secure progress? How do you know this?



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