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A Nation of Villagers

-By G. Bernard Shaw

By G. Bernard Shaw.

The trusts have suddenly shown the world the danger of the political impositive of the American nation. That world the danger of the political imbecility of the American nation. That on; everybody will know what I mean. Some years ago I suggested as a remimbecility has been concealed for a edy that the American cities should be managed from Europe by commitwhole century from Europe, and is still concealed from America itself, by tees of capable Europeans trained in the personal braininess and hustle of municipal affairs in London, Berlin, the American man of business, who Paris, etc. San Francisco rejected my advice and tried an earthquake inindeed hustles so energetically that he never has time to get the simplest thing done in less than three months.

But earthquakes, the much cheaper But now that the social evolution of the United States has reached the point at which bright selfishness be-comes a nuisance, and all Americans But earthquakes, tho much cheaper and less disastrous than municipal imbecility and corruption, are too un-certain and unpopular to come into regular use.

American state legislation has the must reform and enrich America, and enable America to reform and enrich

qualities of its faults; that is, it is fantastic and experimental. No sane the world, before they can reform or enrich themselves, their childish in-capacity for any such task is becomfartastic and experimental. No sane person who had ever been touched with the conception of political science as distinguished from electioneering and lobbying, would do the things that the states' legislatures do quite light-heartedly. And the very craziest of all their escapades is their present attempt to make the operations of a trust criminal. It is about half a century since Macaulay, when everybody was admiring the smartness, the cutness, the inventiveness, the independent spirit of Sam Slick, said, Wait. Wait until English conditions are reproduc-ed there—until America becomes pri-

present attempt to make the operations of a trust criminal.

Eighteen years ago the London Fabian Society, in a book entitled "Fabian Essays," called attention to the trust development in American industry and explained its significance. The writer of the essay directed to this point the late William Clarke, had not the delivered over to the approved the supercy of the estate of the estate of the control of vate property and white labor becomes as cheap as it is with us. Then we shall see. Well, that time has come; and we see America unequal to the and we see America unequal to the occasion. The trusts (representing integrated capitalism as distinguished from disintegrated competitive capitalism) have beaten it hollow.

This is not surprising; for America point, the late William Clarke, had no idea that there was anything recondite in the industrial phenomenon he dealt with, or that the existence and has never been successful in politics. It was made independent largely in operations of the Standard Oil trust were a terrible discovery of his own. spite of its own teeth by a declara-tion of sentiments which it did not The facts were not new to me, nor to any of the writers with whom I was share and principles which it barely grasped the narrow end of. Even to-day neither its ordinary security nor its liberty is up to the monarchical standard of Central Europe. The famous constitution survives only because share and principles which it barely whenever any corner of it gets into the way of the accumulating dollar ables them to remain simple New England villagers in the complicated hustle of New York and Chicago, never re-vising their ideas, never enlarging it is pettishly knocked off and thrown away. Every social development, how-ever beneficial and inevitable from the their consciousness, never losing their interest in the ideals of the Pilgrim public point of view, is met, not by an intelligent adaptation of the social structure to its novelties, but by a panic and a cry of Go Back. An unfortunate president struggling to get things looked at from the point of view of the collective interest of the view of the collective interest in the ideals of the Pigrim Fathers. A year or two ago, however, it suddenly occurred to them that the village shopkeeper was in difficulties. To their sympathetic enquiries he replied that "the trust" was to blame. And so the simple villagers said: "How view of the view of the village shopkeeper was in difficulties. public point of view, is met, not by an United States, which is so huge a thing that it must be co-ordinated with the nited States, which is so huge a thing at it must be co-ordinated with the liective interest of all civilization if is to be made workable, finds himler appreciated solely as the hero of dime novel—"Teddy the Rough ider"—and would enhance his population. collective interest of all civilization if it is to be made workable, finds him-

Rider"—and would enhance his popularity by punching a prizefighter's er to get. head as surely as he would lose it by telling the American people what he must think of their political capacity.

Altho in no country in the world are private affairs more prudishly medded with by state law, lynch law condended with by state law, lynch law der the heads of anarchism and free love. He feels that he must take steps love. American political naivete would be private affairs more prudishly med-died with by state law, lynch law and muinicipal bylaw, America sacrifilove. He feels that he must take steps ces her women to her profligacy and her children to her greed more impudently than any European tyranny does. Free love, in the most licentious sense, has been pushed to such an extent in America side by side with the resolute enslavement of marriage and parentage, that when a cry of "race suicide" gives the alarm, the only response is a clamor for the suppression of divorce and for the protection of organized commercial prostitution from extigated commercial prostitution from extigated and prostitution from extigated commercial proflect the trust magnates were tentification that they down these two heresies. Accordingly he asks everybody who wants to come to America the two questions: Are you an anarchist? Are that they are at all wickeder relative-to that they are at all wickeder relative-to the trust magnates were tentification.

If the trust magnates were tentification the two deshould be shopkeepers—and there is no evidence that they are at all wickeder relative-to the two questions: Are you an anarchist? Are they are at all wickeder relative-to the trust magnates were to the proposition of the two deshould be shopkeepers—and there is no evidence that they are at all wickeder relative-to the trust magnates were tentified the proposition of the trust magnates and the times who conditions and the trust magnates and the ces her women to her profilgacy and her to put down these two heresies. Acized commercial prostitution from exposure. The worst horrors of the child slavery which disgraced Lancashire a hundred years ago are present facts in the effect of this infantile precaution is, not to exclude anarchists and free lovers, but to make sure that they shall be liars as well. You exclude Martin Luther, who defended polyin the Carolinian cotton mills and the gamy on principle; and you exclude Pennsylvanian colleries, altho the remedy discovered by England is as well and is none the less a valuable asset known to civilization as chloroform or to England and a serious loss to his

limited liability. Law is represented, own country. You admit the profligate not by the regulation of industry, the nobleman with his steam yacht carryenforcement of statutes and the main-terance of political rights, but partly by a lynching mob countenanced by respectable people, who, tho they abhor its hypocrisy and cruelty, support it because they have lost faith in the as easily as I can buy a typeheresty and efficiency of the regular writer; whilst as for anarchism, courts; partly by the retainers of the great capitalists organized by the late eminent condottiero Pinkerton, the American Colleoi; and partly by municipal employes armed with bludgeons

and pistols, who will not allow the rip. If you point out these facts to state laws and local bylaws to be broken (if they can help it) unless they are bought off, and who maintain jects, and then thanks heaven that are bought off, and who maintain this advantageous position by regulating traffic, violently suppressing casually obnoxious persons, and doing homage to purity (which in America is purified and protected from all such old-world filth by those two straight questions to all comers: Are you an anarchist? Are you a polyis a quaint conspiracy to convict creation of indecency) by confiscating the

tion of indecency) by confiscating the property and incarcerating the persons of those whom Mr. Anthony Comsicek the celebrated purity witch steck, the celebrated purity witch doctor, points out to them as betraythe anti-Monroe Doctrine, now clearly necessary to the world's welfare, that all Americans, must be entirely dis-franchised and declared incapable of Thus, for example, they lately com-pelled a newspaper to obliterate the lower half of a photograph in which public employment or office, and their country taken over, regulated and goverred by us? Such a measure would, Vassar students were shown dressed in male court costume for the pervassar students were shown dressed in male court costume for the performance of a play. It is very doubtful whether Mr. Comstock could get a millionaire murderer hanged except by lynching him; but he has no difficulty in getting Mr. Moses Harman, a blameless gentleman of seventy, impursoned for a year and deliberately a blameless gentleman of seventy, imprisoned for a year, and deliberately exposed in prison to infection with the avowed purpose of killing him, solely because he persists in calling attention to the constitution of the consti their enemies in he Philippines; but let me be just and admit that they ness of married people which is the despair of every earnest and

do not scalp them-at least not yet. But as Europe is not yet prepared to take America in hand, hoping, perpaps, that Japan will save it trouble, there is nothing to be done at present but look on at the tragiat present but look on at, the tragicomedy of the virtuous villager and the bold bad trust, and to try neither codespair of humanity nor to laugh. After all, America is not submitting to the trusts without a struggle. The first steps have already been taken by the village constable. He is no doubt preparing a new question for emigrants: "Do you approve of trusts?" But pending this supreme measure of national defence he has declared in several states that trusts will certainly be put in the stocks and whipped. It is to be hoped for his own sake that he will not be as silly as his word, because as the village shopkeeper has already either put up the shutters and become an employe of the trust of the to a "field house" completely dependent on it, the constable, if he succeeds in stocking the trust, will presently be reduced to eating his own

country has to be newly cleared and settled by casual ambitious colonists without any common industrial tradi-tior or body of custom, and society is in the village stage, the anarchical plan of letting every man mind his own business and do the best he can for himself is the only practicable one. The guarantee, such as it is, against cheating, adulteration and overcharge in the above letting. in the shops, is the competition of the shopkeepers for custom; and to maintain this guarantee as against the in-evitable final tendency of the shop-keepers to conspire against the cus-temer instead of competing for his custom, attempts are soon made to set lage farmer, a flatly contradictory po-litical theory is also set up that the

Fortunately, the anarchical part of the mixture will not work. Anarchy never does work. If the village shopkeeper can handle only one factor, or fragment of a factor, in wholesale buying and retail selling; and brains, offer the consumer better quality and service; so that the consumer, whilst giving his moral support to the competitive villager, will buy his groceries from intergratory brains and capital, alias "the trust." In vain does the

tion delivered over to the anarcy of

competitive villager plead that he is a hard-working, God-fearing, poor man struggling to bring up a family respectably, and that the trust is a brigand, a tyrant, an octopus, a hydra, a Bluebeard. If you come to that, the village shopkeeper often enough finds his biography ready written for him in Bunyan's "Tife and Death of Maria Bunyan's "Tife and Death of Bunyan's "Tife and Death of Bunyan's "Tife and Death of Bunyan's "Tife and Bunyan's "Ti in Bunyan's "Life and Death of Mr. Badman." Besides, the moral com-parison is not to the point. Louis XI. was not so amiable a person as Louis XVI., or President Garfield; but he was enormously more beneficent politically han either of them. My deceased colleague, William Clarke, pointed out in the very essay I have referred to, that the thrones of capable scoundrels are built on the rock, and those of silly philanthropists and amiable nincompoops on the sand.

If the trust magnates were

-ir fact they do-make railway traveling in America more dangerous than war; but the village shopkeeper can-not provide you with railways, a wagon once a week to the nearest Your alternatives are: 1 to give up railway traveling and be content

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the shutters and become an employed of the trust, or converted his shop into a "tied house" completely dependent on it, the constable, if he succeeds in stocking the trust, will present a "tied house" ceeds in stocking the trust, will present a many stippled drawings from actual life, and which will tell you all about your

Never before has a remedy for rheumatism been so highly endorsed as this. Among the eminent people who have endorsed it are for the property to explain the matter in an American magazine. The only result would be a discussion on the utterly irrelevant and trivial question whether I am serious, without a word as to the vitally important question where

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railway companies as in England; or, 4, nationalize your railways as most

Christmas giving.

sovernment, but highly capable administrative departments of permanent of the ministrative department of the ministrative department

The press is no help, because the villagers are too simple-minded to run an ewspaper, and must take those which the trusts provide them. They can, however, ask the village postmistress to open and read all the printed matter which passes thru her hands, and not deliver anything that is wrong—another of those humanity—staggering precautions which convulse furnee with laughter and convulse furnee with laughter and convulse furnee with laughter and convulse virtually appoint the village postmistics. Here is an unthinkable impropriety intelligent Americans with helpless rage and shame. For, as the trusts virtually appoint the village postmistics are constitutional and she discriminates in favor of the pressure of the purchase money 20 days thereafter, and 40 per cent. of the balance of the purchase money 20 days thereafter, and the balance can remain on mortgage of the purchase money 20 days thereafter, and the balance can remain on mortgage at 5½ per cent. Both properties will be paid down at the time of the sale sample to the King Palmetto Company, Bridgeburg, Ont.

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SMITCH Solicitors for the Vendors, and the balance can remain on mortgage at 5½ per cent. Both properties will be paid down at the time of the balance can remain on mortgage at 5½ per cent. Both properties will be paid down at the time of the sale sample to the King Palmetto Company, Bridgeburg, Ont.

Solid and guaranteed by well be sample to the King Palmetto Company, Bridgeburg, Ont.

Solid and guaranteed to well be sample to the King Palmetto Company, Bridgeburg, Ont.

Soli and she discriminates in favor of the trusts and against all freedom of thought and writing, which are the only powers that can prevail against the tendency of trusts to abuse their president would have down his own flar and hoist the true American flag.

a European power; and which, when the natural law of economic rent begins to operate on a huge scale, cannot form a government strong enough to socialize it. must fall helplessly in-

national organism, sovereign over all at 3 p.m

with the wagon (facing the incidental famine and depopulation and financial crisis): 2, insure against accidents if you can afford it, and grin and bear it if you can't; 3. impose conditions of public safety and convenience on the public safety and convenience on the railway companies as in Findlend. anti-social powers within its own fron- AUCTION SALE OF VALUABLE cause a man must assume that things can be bettered, or else lie down and 4, nationalize your railways as most European countries do. 1 is ridiculous; 3 requires a stronger government man a democracy of villagers who are all anarchists at heart can produce; 4 requires not only a powerful government, but highly capable administrative departments of permanent civil servants. So you accept 2 as Hobson's choice. It is the same with the other industries, more or less. It is indeed the way of the world. If you want a thing done in your own interests you must either be strong

It should be a white flag, black on the other side.-In Everybody's Maga

Rosedale Presbyterian Church.

Freehold Premises, Being Numbers 116 Mutual Street and 11 Amelia Street, Toronto.

have received instructions from the Inspector of Prisons and Asylums and Public Charities, to offer for sale by public auction at the auction rooms of C. J. Townsend & Company, 68 King-street East, on Saturday, the 14th day of December, 1907, at the hour of twelve o'clock noon, the following premises commonly known as street number 111 Ameliastreet, which said premises are more particularly described as follows, that is to say:

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smallest ones are not less than \$2 The opening services in connection each. They may be seen in the win-with the new congregation in Rosedale dow of the Karn Drug Store. When each. They may be seen in the winto socialize it. must fall helplessly into the hands of its exploiters and bosses, and outface its disgrace by tall talk as best it may.

President Roosevelt cannot realize his dream of making America a real national organism, sovereign over all at 2 nm.

With the new congregation in Rosedale with the Rosedale Public School at 11 a.m. to-day. Rev. Dr. Wou buy fancy or toilet articles, buy them at Karn's, where you get good goods at bargain prices and a vote, too. The voting place is at the "green front" drug store of the F. E. Karn Sunday at 11 a.m. and Sabbath school Victoria-street. Victoria-street

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Deceased, who was associated with his father in the wholesale produce business, was widely known and held in high esteem. As a testimony of this the floral offerings numbered over 60. Father Hand conducted the funeral There is. I fear, nothing to be done. A nation of \$0,000,000 villagers which is in apable of developing beyond the village stage, or even making as good a job of that as a handful of Russians would with their Mir traditions; which har a morbidly democratic constitution because it mistrusts its government even more than it mistrusts its people; which is too big to be conquered to the condition of the condition o

Bloor-street Presbyterian Church of Thursday, Dec. 5, at 8 p.m. Mr. E. J. Pull, the organizt and choirmaster has been hard at work with his chold for some time, and those who hear the last service given in April will un doubtedly make a point of being ther rext Thursday, as the items sung are of excellent standard.

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