

rooms, social settlement classes, nor free fresh air homes.

If we provided a good home for every foundling we need not give the waifs a Thanksgiving dinner.

If we had an equal standard of chastity for men and women we would not need to spend money on refuges for deserted, erring women.

If England had not taxed India to the starving point the whole Christian world would not now need to send their gold to purchase the food in English storehouses to feed the perishing millions.

If women had the ballot they could afford to pick up their own pocket handkerchiefs.

Give justice rather than charity.—Catharine Waugh McCullough, in Chicago Tribune.

#### THE MENACE OF PLUTOCRACY.

An extract from an address delivered by the late Thomas G. Shearman at Portland, Ore., June 17, 1889. This address, just as it was taken down by the stenographer at the time, was reproduced in the September (1900) number of "Why?", an excellent little periodical published by Frank Vierth at Cedar Rapids, Ia. As the editor of "Why?" says: "The lapse of nearly 12 years gives the speech added interest and significance."

Some cause has been at work during the last 25 or 30 years, which has resulted in a tremendous widening of the social chasm between the rich and poor. Some cause has, within the recollection probably of the majority of those who are present, entirely transformed the face of American society. Our old equality is gone. So far from being the most equal people on the face of the earth, as we once boasted that we were, ours is the most unequal of civilized nations. You talk about wealth of the British aristocracy, and about the poverty of the British poor. There is not in the whole of Great Britain and Ireland so striking a contrast, so wide a chasm between the rich and the poor, as there is in these United States of America. There is no man in the whole of Great Britain and Ireland who is as wealthy as one of some half a dozen gentlemen who could be named in this country; and there are few there who are poorer than some who could be found in this country. It is true, I think, even yet, that there is a larger number of the extremely poor in Great Britain and Ireland than there is in this country. How long that will remain true it is difficult to say; but it is unquestionably not true that there is any greater mass of riches concentrated in a few hands in any country than in this.

Whereas, 40 years ago a man worth

\$100,000 was, even in our great city of New York, an object of remark and envy, such a man is now utterly obscure and unnoticed, and is considered to have laid merely the beginnings of a very moderate part of the capital which would be necessary for him to make a living.

Whereas, 40 years ago, there was but one man in the United States who was supposed to be worth more than \$5,000,000, there are several Astors now, each of whom is generally reputed to be worth at least \$50,000,000. There are probably ten times as many men to-day who are worth \$20,000,000 as there were 40 years ago who were worth \$1,000,000; and there are now several men who are worth over \$100,000,000 each.

This state of things is developing more and more rapidly. In every corner are men and women buried in obscurity, until we learn by some accident that they are worth their \$10,000,000 or \$20,000,000. A single member of a banking firm in the city of Philadelphia lately died, leaving more than \$21,000,000. There are at least four surviving partners in that firm having equal shares with the deceased. Two Philadelphians, of no public fame, recently died, having \$22,000,000 each. One lady in my own city of Brooklyn is worth certainly not less than \$30,000,000. We see evidences of this enormous accumulation on every side. And it can be demonstrated with great ease by statistics which are undisputed, that at the present day less than 100,000 persons, constituting as a matter of fact only about one two-hundredth part of our working force, are possessed of incomes which enable them to save about three-fifths of all the wealth that is annually saved in this country. And as wealth is substantially all reproduced within less than 30 years, this means that within 30 years 100,000 persons are destined to own three-fifths of the entire wealth of the United States; land, houses, improvements, goods, chattels, personal property of every kind.

Everybody knows that this state of things is undesirable. This enormous amount of wealth concentrated in a few hands brings to them no particular pleasure, no additional comforts, certainly does not bring to them anything like proportionate happiness.

Those of you who are in tolerably good circumstances, who can see your way to earn your living comfortably and peaceably through life without special anxiety, may well thank God that you are not so rich as these rich men. For, with a somewhat extended

experience among them, I have yet to find the first man who was one particle happier—I make no reference to his being better, but who was one particle happier—for being in possession of more than or even as much as \$1,000,000.

But what is the result of this state of things upon the community at large? You all know that there is widespread discontent among the poor who are deprived of the pleasures which they see the rich enjoy. You all know that, while it is easy to cast reproaches upon those who call attention to these facts, by accusing them of exciting popular discontent, the public discontent is already excited—is already universal. You have seen for 15 years at least a continual seething tide of discontent rise and dash itself against the barriers on every side; sometimes shown by the granger movements; sometimes by the farmers, by the miners, by the manufacturing workmen, by the laboring classes generally. In one form or another this surging roar of discontent is continually heard. I am no such alarmist as are many gentlemen whom I have heard, distinguished in public affairs, whose names I would not venture to use. I have heard in every quarter, and from wealthy men, from men who do not believe in popular government, the gravest expression of alarm, and the gravest fears for the future, expressed in every direction. In all parts of the country rich men are putting their heads together and whispering: "What are we to do about popular suffrage? What will become of our property if we allow universal suffrage to go on? Can this government last under such an arrangement?" And they whisper to each other: "It cannot."

Now I have a different opinion; and still, my opinion is not very much more favorable upon the whole to the future, than theirs. I do not believe they will ever abolish popular suffrage; but this I do predict, without fear that the future will falsify it, that if this state of things continues unchanged for 30 years, or at the most, 50 years more, while you will retain the form and shell of popular government, you will in reality be subject to an absolute plutocracy. There will be possibly 20,000,000 or 25,000,000 votes cast; and so long as a plutocracy can manage that of the 25,000,000 votes cast, 12,600,000 shall be cast on their side, they will count the remaining 12,400,000; but the moment there is a change, and the men who control, as they will control at that time, from two-thirds to

three-fourths of all the wealth of the country, find that 12,600,000 are going to vote against them, the last 200,000 somehow or other, will not be counted. You have seen this before your eyes. You make a great ado about that condition in the south, and are devising measures to cure it; and it is proposed to put an act through congress which will put your elections, as well as the elections of South Carolina, under the rule of a dominant central officer. I do not discuss the question upon its merits at all; I only say that, you see this difficulty right there, and you see how the men of wealth, the owners of property, have solved it there. They have solved it by putting the majority under their feet; they have done it openly, and you could not prevent them. You had the whole force of the army and navy on the side of the poor and propertyless; but you could not keep them on top; and you cannot do it. If you intend to maintain the republic you have got to keep the majority of the wealth of the country in the hands of the majority of its people. Now, as things are going on, you are not going to do that, and all admit this. Republicans, democrats, greenbackers, anti-monopolists and monopolists, railroad men and anti-railroad men, capitalists and anti-capitalists, all agree upon this. The fact is indisputable that this country is progressing at a more rapid rate toward the centralization of wealth than any other country under the face of the sun.

#### HOW WE RUN THE SCHOOLS IN OUR COLONY OF PUERTO RICO.

Extracts from an article on the "Ruin of Puerto Rico," by G. Clinton Hanna, published in the Chicago Chronicle of September 23.

When the American army invaded Puerto Rico the people were unprepared for resistance; its coming was not expected; the sentinel was not on duty; the keeper of the powder magazine was not at his post, and when he was summoned it was found that the key to the magazine was lost. So the stars and stripes floated over Morro castle and San Cristobal practically without resistance. In fact, the whole island passed peacefully into the hands of the United States army with but little opposition.

The people almost universally welcomed the army, saluted the flag and rejoiced at the prospect of becoming citizens of the great republic of the United States. They believed in the American people and when Gens. Brooke and Miles promised Puerto Rico territorial government and citi-

zenship under the constitution, with all the blessings that go with our constitution and flag, the people of Puerto Rico believed and were happy.

To-day the people of Puerto Rico, excepting the few that hold office, would be just as glad to see the American flag come down. To them it is a symbol of broken promises and unkept pledges. They have lost faith in the government of the United States and confidence in her people. Eighteen months of military government and six months of so-called civil government, full of blunders and frauds, have reduced the island and her people to despair.

Under Spanish autonomy Puerto Rico had a representation of three senators and 16 representatives in Spain's legislative body; under the Foraker bill No. 2 she has one silent delegate to congress.

In all her domestic legislation the Spanish autonomy gave to Puerto Rico very liberal powers, while the Foraker bill No. 2 restricts all legislation of the assembly by an executive council, the majority of whom are Americans who are in no way in sympathy with Puerto Rico and her people, and further by several veto powers reaching from the governor to congress and the president of the United States. In legislative power Puerto Rico has lost much of her freedom by an exchange of governments. This loss of confidence in the United States government and its officials has been greatly increased by irregularities in almost every department of insular government.

The most evident irregularity has been in the conduct of the public schools. On February 9, 1899, the public school department of the military government of Puerto Rico was established by the appointment of Gen. Eaton as director general of public instruction. Gen. Eaton immediately proclaimed his educational scheme—a scheme so vast, so ideal, so visionary that even Massachusetts, with her century of public school development, is not yet ready to adopt it—a scheme requiring such an outlay of money that Chicago, with all her wealth, could not adopt it with the consent of the taxpayers. Gen. Eaton's plan involved a complete chain of free kindergartens, free primary, grammar and high schools, free Sloyd departments in all schools, free schools of stenography, typewriting and pharmacy. Why he did not include law, medicine and theology is not known.

As less than one-fourth of the people of Puerto Rico can either read or write, and as all speak the Spanish language, Gen. Eaton must have been preparing for the education of the people of the twenty-fifth century. After ordering 10,000 English reading books for distribution among the Spanish pupils in schools that did not yet exist, Gen. Eaton retired from Puerto Rico.

What those Spanish-speaking children were to do with these 10,000 English readers has never been told, nor is it known what ever was done with them.

Gen. Eaton's successor was a Victor S. Clark, commonly known as Dr. Clark. Nearly all teachers in Puerto Rico assume the title of "doctor" as soon as they land on the island. Mr. Clark, called by the natives "the calamity of Puerto Rico," began his reign by ordering more English textbooks—a safe estimate placing the value at about \$60,000. The strange spectacle now presented itself of a superintendent of public instruction buying and selling books, school supplies, furniture and apparatus. Books and supplies were sold to individuals, private schools and municipalities. Mr. Clark bought his books by wholesale and sold them at retail—also acting as agent for an American school furniture and supply company.

The school buildings owned by the Spanish government were transferred to the United States government and all the schools that had existed were closed and the buildings used for other purposes. This left the island without a schoolhouse, and to-day there is not a public schoolhouse in all Puerto Rico, republican orators to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Instituto with its fine coordinate branches, a splendid preparatory school for boys, which had for many years prepared the young men for the universities of Europe and the United States, was closed, as was also the Madres, a similar institution for girls. The curriculum of the institute and its branches embraced higher mathematics, literature, rhetoric, the sciences, Latin, Greek, German, French and English. It was splendidly equipped with modern apparatus and appliances for the higher teaching. Nothing has as yet been substituted for this school.

In September, 1899, Mr. Clark opened what he called the model training school for English pupils only, in the post office building. This school was transferred to the new model and