

party. Let's see; I'd appoint Mark Hanna, Postmaster Payne and Theodore. You would look my crowd over, and you'd say:

"You are two men short, Sam; you have left off Taffy the Welshman, and Ali Baba, captain of the forty thieves."

I'd say: "Confound you! Are you a reflectin' on my committee?"

You'd say: "Reflect nothin'; but there ain't a-goin' to be any core!"

"What do you mean?" I'd say.

"Why, Sam," you'd say, "ain't that the same gang of benevolent assimilators that stole the Filipino Republic? Take 'em severally—would Uncle Mark Hanna do the George Washington, and say: 'I can tell a lie, but not such a whopper as that; the boundary line is and always was the middle thread of the lakes.' No, Uncle Mark might say: 'The line runs through Hudson's bay, I carried the chain for Hudson when I was a boy; and we'll let well enough alone.' Postmaster Payne would just laugh; and Theodore—there are things Theodore will not take, and that's flags. No, Sam, Canada West is yours if you say so, but I won't play with no loaded commission and pretend I don't know it."

And right you'd be, John. They are bright boys, and I suppose I ought to be proud of 'em; but sometimes they make the old man a little ashamed. I yum! I'd rather you had 'em.

I dropped the question into my poetry machine last week, whether a President should accept gifts; but the blamed thing missed the pint, it seems to me,—and turned out two stanzas that ain't mates:

NAY, NAY, NAY!

I cannot take your flag, little girl, little girl;

I cannot take your flag, charming daughter.

I cannot take your flag, though a mighty pretty rag;

I am President, indeed I hadn't oughter.

"SUCCESS."

The strenuous life he follered

With might and main;

Strained at a flag, and swallered—

A railway train.

UNCLE SAM.

THE SOCIAL PRICE.

The following article from the pen of Ethelbert Stewart, published in a recent issue of *The Outlook*, illustrates so lucidly certain conditions in our Social System that it should be carefully studied by every reader of *The Public*; and the author goes so forcibly and straight to the point that the article is given in full, as extracts would fail to do him justice.

G. W. FLINT.

If the price paid by the individual consumer of a commodity was the full and only price attaching to it, society

could strike a balance-sheet each night like a bank. Unfortunately, too much of our production and commerce adds to the output an intangible social expense not carried to the price lists nor paid by the consumer. Years, and sometimes generations, may pass before this running account against the Social Whole is presented for payment in a tangible form. Even then it comes through a collection agency so remote from the source of the original expense that society is likely to forget all about it, grudgingly pay the bill it does not believe it owes, and charge it up to incidentals.

Most of our taxes go to pay the social price of commodities individually consumed long since by those who may or may not now be taxpayers. This was palpable when, under the poor laws of England, the wages of laborers were deliberately reduced by manufacturers and farmers alike, so that general taxation might be compelled to pay in poor rates a part of the cost of production of all commodities. Social price is very apparent when congress pays the sugar producers two cents a pound bounty out of the federal treasury, leaving the individual consumer to pay a first installment and take the goods. It is just as real, though not so apparent, when child labor and old age limits to employment throw upon society droves of morally and physically mal-developed adults, and still greater droves of practically blacklisted persons charged with the new crime of having gray hairs.

"Squeeze the lemon and throw away the skin," was said to be the motto of the railroad wreckers of the Erie school. When the famous engine 999 of the Empire State express was made a switch engine after six years of record-breaking service, the general surprise called out an interview with an American railroad manager. He said that while English and German roads coddled and repaired their engines, keeping them in service sometimes for forty years, and as "switchers" for twenty more, the American plan is to "hammer the road life out of an engine in five or six years, use it as a switcher for five or ten more, and then scrap-iron the whole engine at once. We believe it pays better."

At a recent milk dairymen's convention the policy of milking cows to death in the shortest possible time was discussed from a purely business point of view. It was claimed that by means of milk-producing foods the quantity could be trebled. To the objection that such milk-forcing shortened the life of

the cow, it was replied: "It does not pay to look to long life for a milker. If the life energies of a cow represent 100 units of milk, and these can be marketed in five years under high pressure feeding, why should the cow be kept ten years? If the milking possibilities of a cow can be gotten out of her in three years, it does not pay to keep her five."

With lemon peels and engines society need not concern itself, nor will we sentimentalize over the application of humane ideas to milch cows, but when the economic doctrine embodied in these three illustrations is applied to men, society has much to do with human engines sent to an early scrap pile. The "age limit to employment" is now practically universal, and ranges from 25 to 35 years. Most concerns prefer to employ youths of 20 years when taking on new help. "Old men cannot stand the pace," says the employer, but neglects to add that a pace in any industry which a man of 40 is too old to stand is one that puts a large element of social price in the product. Where the "premium plan" of increasing the pace has been adopted, it too frequently, though happily not always, happens that workmen who do not earn premiums are discharged. In reducing the number of employes, those who do not earn premiums or bonuses are always the first to go. A convention of bankers, ministers and university presidents is called for Chicago to discuss the opposition to piece work in the Machinists' International union. Piece work is the lemon-squeezer of most approved pattern. It is believed to be the quickest way to "hammer the life out of" a human engine and scrap-iron it all at once. It is the foundation of sweatshopism.

Taking the ages of gangs of men employed at street cleaning and park labor in various cities recently, it was found that only three per cent were young enough or physically strong enough to obtain employment in private establishments. Most of these men would have to be supported out of the public funds directly if they were not employed by the public on public work. If half their wages represents charity disguised, it is in reality the social price of commodities produced by them years ago "at a pace old men cannot stand." After all, is it charity to the old men that we are giving in our street departments and old people's homes, or is it subsidies to the "cheap commodities and high profits" mania with which we are fool-

ing ourselves? The shoplifting which as "bargain hunting" "lifts" only the social price, proudly paying the "marked down" one, is, unconsciously perhaps, second cousin to the shoplifting which takes all. Public or private contracts let to the "lowest bidder" merely postpone to a future day to be paid as social price the difference between the lowest and the fairest bidder. Especially is it disastrous when articles of export are endowed with a large element of social price.

The glass bottle manufacturers appeared before the Illinois legislature in opposition to a child labor bill with the statement that "glass bottles can not be manufactured and sold on the market without child labor." Possibly the social price of glass bottles exceeds the net price to consumers. Silk from silk mills "utilizing the labor" of the children in the anthracite fields, and sold by child clerks in department stores where "cash girls" run for change and bundles, may accumulate a social price on the way that might render boycotts moral. Reform schools, houses of rescue, penitentiaries, are some of the large ways in which we pay the social price; night schools, social settlements, fresh air funds, indicate some of the smaller ways. As intimated above, the circumlocution of the collection agency frequently obscures the origin of the debt. Half of our drunkenness, most of our social vice, much of the insanity, and all the general letting down of social status in mining and manufacturing centers, will be charged to social price when the tangles in our bookkeeping are straightened out. The Federal pension-roll convinces even political economists that we are still paying for the war of a generation ago; but their blindness to pension rolls, growing out of their pet economic fetish of competitive industry and commerce, is hopeless. If profit and price could be net and actual in each transaction, society could afford to wait until these Killenny cats were gone and the last echo of their expiring yells had died away. But what profit cannot unload upon price, or price snatch away from profit, is by both dumped upon society and forms the social price. Before the days of political economy the Hanseatic league was obliged to include the cost of its navy in the selling price of its goods.

Old age workmen's pensions, a plan to which every commercial country must come in some form, are, in any form, a subsidy to non-self-supporting industries and the commerce

growing out of such. In countries where old age pension laws have been boldly and openly passed as such, they serve to show in bold relief the element of social price attaching to our system. But we in America will probably keep on doing things by indirection, put our old men on street-cleaning gangs, and growl at the cost of public work. It serves to disguise the real cause of the trouble, and, as a Chinaman would say, it "saves our face."

"Papa, what is Charity?"

"Charity, my son, is giving away what you don't want."

"What is Scientific Charity?"

"Scientific Charity is giving away what you don't want to some one who does not want it."

"What is Organized Charity?"

"Organized Charity, my son, is giving away something that you don't want to some Society which will give it away to some one who does not want it."

"Then, what is Love, papa?"

"Love? Oh, Love is only giving something that you want to some one who wants it—but that will pauperize the poor."—Bolton Hall, in Life.

It is growing more peaceful in Wall street. You hear only the noise of the wringer up in Mr. Morgan's laundry squeezing water out of stocks, and the sounds made by a noted philanthropist in skinning a few flints for dinner down in the basement.—Brooklyn Eagle.

BOOKS

THE MONARCH BILLIONAIRE.

What promises at the opening to be a good satirical story, "The Monarch Billionaire" (New York: J. S. Ogilvie, 57 Rose St.), is soon spoiled by the futile attempt of its author, Morrison I. Swift, to turn it into a series of essays in support of socialism.

It is not the purpose of the essays, the inculcation of socialism, that is destructive, but the fact that they are essays. They are as distinct from the story into which they are mortised by crude joinerwork, as if they were in another book.

Until the essays appear the story holds the reader because it presents just such an exaggeration of persons and conditions as to make them roughly and impressively typify the present social and industrial state. Mr. Swift's plutocratic trust-promoter has no counterpart in real life, yet he and his career are typical of all plutocratic trust-promotion. There is just enough exaggeration in the right places to make him stand out as a suggestive caricature. So with the blooded aristocrat, the college men, the working people. Not only are these characters without counterparts in real life, but they do not appear to be imbued with human life at all. Yet they do seem to live. They are not unlike Peter Newell's pictures of men, women

and dogs, which, whether intended for caricatures or not, always make you think of wooden images mechanically vitalized.

This is not an objection to Mr. Swift's story, considered as a caricature of types or a satire upon conditions. On the contrary his work is all the better for it. The trouble seems to be that he has tried to weave into one performance a novel, a satire and a series of essays. The essays are good in themselves, the point of view once conceded; the story makes an excellent setting for the caricatures and the satire; the satire sounds a true note; and the caricatures excellently serve the purpose of bringing out into interesting relief your self-made men, your patrician society, and your scholastic cults. But the satire dies away, the caricatures lose their vitality and the story ceases to interest, this side of the 100th page.

PERIODICALS.

An interesting historical and personal account of the Electoral Commission, which gave the presidential election of 1876 to Hayes instead of Tilden is told in Pearson's for November, by David S. Barry, who was a page in the Senate at the time.

In the International Journal of Ethics for October, appears a valuable paper by John A. Ryan, of St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn., on the question of the communistic teachings of the Church Fathers. The writer concludes that the Fathers were not communists, but that their declarations which apparently condemn private property are in reality condemnations of its abuses and exaggerations. The reasonable inference from this paper, though the writer is at some pains to slur it over, is that the Fathers distinguished between what may be property rightfully and what not, and that their distinction was about the same as the one Henry George makes.

Mr. Eugene G. Hay writes, in the October number of the Review of Reviews, in favor of reciprocity with Canada. "The freedom of trade," writes Mr. Hay, "between the States and the vast territory over which our commerce extends without restriction or hindrance, has been the most potent factor in our prosperity; to increase that territory by adding contiguous States, peopled by the same class of people maintaining the same civilization, with similar political institutions, would, therefore, increase that prosperity." Mr. Hay's objection to extending free trade to peoples not of the "same civilization" is based on his belief that the tariff upholds the American wage standard. J. H. D.

A writer in the October number of Hammer and Pen, the organ of the Church Association in the Interest of Labor, says that "to-day the employment of children of tender years, at hard, continuous and wearisome labor in factories, stores, and in the streets as vendors of or carriers of newspapers, shoe-laces, ice, and the like, goes on, and must continue to go on till the public conscience, which at present is barely pricked, is thoroughly awakened to the magnitude of the evil and the fearful consequences to the community which are its natural result." This is not enough, as the good people who are looking after laws against child-labor and the enforcement of such laws as we have, are beginning to find out. The only way to prevent a widespread evil of this kind, is to seek radically for the cause, and begin reform there. Mere prohibition, by law, will not succeed. If all the saviors of society who are now so earnestly engaged in preventing child-labor would as earnestly ask themselves, why, why it should be that in this land so full of blessings of nature little children are set to toil, they would start their mission on a surer road to success. J. H. D.

The Springfield Republican quotes from the Johannesburg Times, a paper which used to abuse Kruger, the following passage, which discloses an increasing lack of appreciation for the benevolent effects of imperialism in that part of the world: "We have changed our tyrant," says the Times, "from Kruger to the English