

# The Public

First Year.

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As a rule, *The Public*, though dated Saturdays, goes to press on the preceding Thursdays; but this week, in order to accommodate the work of publication to Thanksgiving day, the paper is sent to press on Wednesday.

A rich countess has come to Chicago on her yacht, to provide for the poor. She proposes to turn her yacht into a coffee kitchen where the hungry may be fed, and to build a factory where the unemployed may find work at low wages. We have no intention of reflecting upon the good feeling and good faith of this woman, who thus devotes her unearned wealth to the relief of wealth earners. But we cannot avoid recalling in this connection Tolstoi's words, when he said that the rich are willing to do anything for the poor except get off their backs.

Boycotters may now count among their number some of the crowned heads of Europe. The queen of Belgium has invited the other royal women of her set to enter into a boycotting conspiracy against machine made lace. She argues, in true trade union style, that the machine made fabric threatens the extinction of hand made lace, and calls attention to the fact that the advent of lace machinery has displaced in France and Belgium some 40,000 lacemakers. It is reported that her appeal has met a ready response, and that the royal boycott is already a fact. With this precedent to cite, American boycotters ought to be able hereafter to secure the hearty cooperation of all

American snobs. Even boycotting can be sanctified by royal patronage.

Dr. Conner, one of the committee appointed to investigate the mismanagement of the war, a member who early let the public into the more or less open secret that he was engaged in a whitewashing job and intended to do it well, has been driven by the accumulation of unlooked for and unwished for testimony, to cast doubt upon his ability to give a verdict according to the intentions of the war department. When Gen. Miles's chief surgeon, Dr. Greenleaf, was testifying to the delay of medical supplies at Siboney, explaining that they had been lying in the harbor for two weeks when he unloaded them in 36 hours, Dr. Connor asked for information as to the persons responsible for the delay. Dr. Greenleaf could not tell him, and then Dr. Conner exclaimed: "There is no doubt that somebody was dreadfully at fault. Can't you help us to find out who it was?" Somebody was dreadfully at fault! That is an exclamation which it will be well to remember against the time when the whitewashing committee makes its report.

One of the most important witnesses who has yet appeared before the war investigating committee is Col. Roosevelt, the governor-elect of New York. His testimony, though guarded, shows as bad a state of demoralization as has been charged. At Tampa "nobody seemed to know anything, and no arrangements were evident as to what transports were to be used;" but being only a lieutenant colonel, he explains, he could not learn whose the fault was. The food at Tampa was ample, he proceeded, but the canned roast beef was very bad. At Baiquiri there was great

scarcity of material for landing men, horses and supplies. As to rations before Santiago, in the heat of a tropical July, they were of the regulation northern sort—"salt pork, hardtack, coffee and sugar." But the men needed vegetables, and Col. Roosevelt tried to get some for his men. Here is what he says on that point:

I took 40 men with the officers' horses to Siboney and tried to buy vegetables. The department refused to sell me beans and tomatoes unless I could certify that they were for officers' consumption. I stretched my conscience as far as I could, and then boarded a transport and purchased 500 pounds of beans. The change did the men good. It was too hot to eat nothing but the regular rations.

So it appears, thanks to Col. Roosevelt's wealth and generosity, to say nothing of his slack conscience in the matter of official oaths, that his men got a taste of wholesome food. How then must those soldiers have fared whose superior officers didn't know how to stretch their consciences, or knowing how to do that hadn't inherited a rich ground rent claim in New York to draw upon?

It is probable that the rumor that Spain has broken off the peace negotiations at Paris is wholly without foundation, and that before this page meets the reader's eye a treaty involving the cession of the Philippines to the United States will have been virtually agreed to. So much the worse. The best thing Spain could do, for herself, for the Filipinos, and for us, would be to refuse the grasping demands of the United States and unresistingly to leave our government to do its worst.

Were Spain to withdraw from the peace conference, having surrendered Cuba and Puerto Rico, nothing would remain for our government but to abandon the Philippines, or to renew the war. And in what position, un-

der those circumstances, would our renewal of the war place us? It would place us in the position of prosecuting in cold blood, for real estate, a war of conquest. All the purposes of the war with Spain would have been accomplished in the withdrawal of Spain from western waters. If we then continued the war it would be for the purpose of seizing and appropriating land in another hemisphere, the sovereignty over which was in no wise involved in the questions which alone justified our war at its beginning.

And if in order to conquer the Philippines we renewed the war, whom should we be fighting? Not so much the Spanish as the Filipinos, who are struggling for independence. That indeed will be so whether we buy the Philippines of Spain or conquer them from her. We shall in either case have the Filipinos to subdue. And wouldn't we then be a spectacle for gods and men? Behold a nation founded upon the principle of government of the people, by the people and for the people—behold that nation taking over from an autocratic nation the bloody work of subduing a people who are fighting for liberty, fighting for their God given right to govern themselves! When the United States engages in putting down the Philippine rebellion, either for Spain, or as Spain's assignee or conqueror, we may fitly celebrate the event by striking out the second letter from "Old Glory's" second name.

It makes one's blood tingle with satisfaction, at a crisis like this, to hear the inspiring words of Senator Hoar. He is a republican, but his republicanism is impregnated with the democratic spirit of the anti-slavery conflict, and in an interview this week he said, answering a question as to whether he favored giving the Philippines back to Spain:

I think we should set the people on their feet, and let them govern themselves. My opinion is that if the United States acquires the Philippine islands to govern them as a subject or vassal state, the destruction of the American

republic will date from the administration of William McKinley.

Those words are prophetic. When subject colonies become part of the American system of government, then Lincoln's conception of government of the people, by the people and for the people will have perished, if not from the earth, at any rate from so much of the earth as rests under the shadow of the American flag. England may have vassal colonies and yet become freer than before, for England has never advanced in democracy to the point of resting her government upon the doctrine of equal rights. But for us to establish vassal colonies is to turn back. There is no comparison between the two countries in this respect. With nations as with men, what they do is to be tested not by the thing in itself but by its relation to them. The sot who had reduced his daily tippie to a dram would be improving; the teetotaler who increased his to a dram would be backsliding.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the cable rumor is true that Spain intends to repudiate her Cuban debt, leaving the bondholders to look for reimbursement directly to such government as may acquire sovereignty over Cuba. Possibly this rumor has been started merely to make a bear raid upon the bonds, in expectation of their being cared for in the end. Nevertheless, the repudiation is not improbable; and if it occurs it will be one of the most wholesome events in modern history. Ever since England stepped into Egypt in the interest of European bondholders, the whole world has been drifting toward a system of government of the people by bondholders and for bondholders. National bonds have come to be regarded in the realms of "high finance" as most secure investments; and a little sharp experience with repudiation might be a salutary warning to "high financiers" and the mob of investors who furnish them with "money to loan."

In commenting upon the usurpation, and the massacre of blacks, at Wilmington, N. C., just after the election, the Outlook plays with dubious skill in a role with which it is not altogether unfamiliar, that of Mr. Facing-both-ways. Starting out to give a southern view of the matter, meaning a southern white view, it shows beyond controversy, as it could not help but do, that the whites deliberately conspired to kill the negroes if they outvoted the whites. That should be enough to condemn the whites; but the Outlook goes on to express what it has the hardihood to call a "moral judgment," which is this, that the "primal cause" of the massacre was not the determination of the whites to ride rough-shod over the golden rule and to abolish the declaration of independence, but "the unstatesmanlike endeavor made at the close of the civil war, to establish universal suffrage in the south, without respect to either intelligence or character." That is, the denial to the negroes, by threats of murder, of all right to a voice in the government by which they were to be governed, was caused by the law which invested them with that right! This is very much as if one should say in defense of a robber who while under arrest should shoot the sheriff, that the "primal cause" of the shooting was the unstatesmanlike law against larceny.

It will be seen that the Outlook goes to the core of the question. It doesn't believe in universal suffrage, but believes that some of the governed have the right, law or no law, to govern the rest; and it carries this undemocratic, not to say un-Christian, doctrine to its logical conclusion. If the law giving suffrage be defied by the "respectable" and "intelligent," who incidentally commit murder, then so much the worse for the law. It is due to the Outlook to say, however, that it denounces the acts of the whites as criminal. But its reason for the denunciation is unique. Those acts were criminal not because

they were lawless, but because they were needless! The voice of the negro in politics could have been silenced without them.

It is not only with reference to suffrage in the south that the Outlook denies the doctrine that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. That periodical is also opposed to woman suffrage. It would subject negroes to arbitrary government because as a race they lack intelligence and character, and it would do the same to women out of compassion for the sex—because men have no right to impose upon women the arduous duty of voting! In this view of the principles of government the Outlook is not without supporters among women. There are anti-suffrage associations of women in some places; and Chicago, like New York, has one of them. The fundamental doctrine of these associations is that “the sphere of woman is the home.” It does not appear to occur to the good people who belong to anti-suffrage associations, that their doctrine is not at all inconsistent with woman suffrage, unless they push it to the point of claiming that woman must stay at home all the time.

In any rational interpretation of the doctrine that the sphere of woman is the home, woman may remain in her sphere and yet go to church or to the theater, go to a summer resort or go traveling. She may even go shopping, or spend long hours waiting behind counters upon those who shop. She may act upon the stage, serve in the Salvation Army, work in somebody else's home, or upon occasion go to war as a Red Cross nurse, without unsexing herself. At any rate she does these things, and no anti-suffrage woman hints that in doing them she goes out of her sphere. Why, then, may she not go to the polls once or twice a year and vote upon questions that affect the home, as all political questions do? Those who object to her doing so

are at bottom not democrats. They do not believe in government by the governed, but in government of classes by classes. They believe, in other words, in the principle upon which all aristocracy is founded and to which all tyranny appeals.

We are told that the intelligent and respectable ought to govern. Now Andrew Carnegie would probably pass as both intelligent and respectable. Yet upon his own confession he is utterly unfit for even so slight an exercise of governmental functions as those which are vested in a common juror in a criminal case. Being examined last week as to his qualifications for jury duty he was asked if the fact that a prisoner on trial for crime was a woman would influence his decision, and this was his reply: “I am sorry to say that it would. I should be more severe on a woman than a man on trial. A woman on trial falls from a much higher state than a man.” Could the most ignorant and least respectable negro of the Carolina coast have given a more stupid answer? Could the most frivolous woman of Murray Hill or the most degraded woman of the slums, have exhibited poorer qualifications for passing upon the life or liberty of a fellow creature? A woman on trial—not a criminal woman, but one only charged with crime—falls thereby from a state so much higher than a man, that Andrew Carnegie as a juror could not be as fair to her as to a man in determining the question of guilt or innocence! If the suffrage were limited to the intelligent and respectable, Carnegie could not claim more than half a vote. His respectability might give him that.

Where suffrage is limited, as it is with us, the limitation cannot remain fixed at one point. Either the limitation will give way and the suffrage extend, or the limitation will contract and the suffrage be taken even from many of those that have it. The denial of suffrage to any

class is a menace to the weakest class that exercises the suffrage right. And already the signs are unmistakable of an agitation for further restrictions. This agitation finds voice in the Outlook when it intimates that intelligence and character are the true basis of suffrage, as if any possible tribunal could fairly pass upon such a test; but a preacher in Baltimore, the Rev. Anthony Bilkovsky, of a Universalist church, is outspoken. As the Baltimore Sun of November 14 reports him, he would confine the suffrage to men of mind, morals and money.

Mr. Bilkovsky makes grand sport of the declaration of independence. Its assertion that all men are created equal he holds to be a palpable absurdity because men differ in stature, strength, memory, reason and moral power. This eminent clerical gentleman appears to be utterly oblivious to what every intelligent schoolboy knows, that the principle of equality in politics refers not to physical or mental differences but to rights before the law. Where would the Rev. Bilkovsky come in if one of the tests for the suffrage were mind?

We say that this Bilkovsky, who is himself so unintelligent that he cannot read the simplest clause in the declaration of independence understandingly, is outspoken against manhood suffrage. Here are his words:

Suffrage on the basis of man has come. Will its stay be permanent? We think not. What other basis is there? One other, and that the right one—that of individual worth, personal political capacity and social usefulness. These three, as expressed in ‘mind, money and morals, are the threefold supports of all permanent government; of all substantial political institutions. Negro domination in the south and the power of the unfit white vote in the north is the domination of rapacity, ignorance and incapacity: It means nothing else. Against the negro as an individual we have not the slightest prejudice; against the ignorant, incapable white man as an individual, be he north or south, east or west, we have not the slightest prejudice. We would

treat them all alike. Each and every one is a menace to our political safety.

Those are the words of an obscure man, it is true; but that obscure man gives voice to a sentiment which is fast gaining ground in plutocratic circles. And unless the suffrage be extended, we may be sure that this sentiment will soon be able further to limit it. Let there be no mistake. Here is a real menace to the working classes. What the working negroes are to the whites at the south, so the working whites at the north are to be to the rich. The disfranchisement of the one class will be followed by an attempt to disfranchise the other.

One word further about the suffrage may be useful here. The ballot is not a privilege; it is a substitute for the bullet. When any class is denied a voice in government, that class has a right to rebel against governmental authority, and in doing so to shoot and to kill. This is a natural right. Nihilism is justifiable in Russia, because in the absence of the ballot there it is only through violence that the people can express themselves. But nihilism is justifiable in no country where the people have the ballot, because they may there express their wishes through the ballot. The ballot is not a gift of power; it is a substitute of one kind of power for another—of peaceable power for violent power. To refuse it, therefore, to any class is to leave that class in the state of nature in which, like wild animals, they have the right to defend themselves with violence. To take the ballot away from any class, is to relegate that class back to the state of nature where they too have the right to defend themselves in the natural way. Such is the theory of the ballot. It rests upon no other. It is simply a more or less imperfect improvement upon and substitute for physical weapons, an improvement in the interests of domestic peace. These poor fools who talk so glibly about restricting the ballot to the intelligent, the moral and the wealthy, don't dream of the disasters

they are inviting. A disfranchised class is a dangerous class; the larger it was the more menacing it would be.

What this country needs is not the disfranchisement of the uneducated, the un-moral and the poor, but the restoration to all of their morally inalienable right to an equal share in the natural, social and industrial opportunities for development of which landlordism divests them. Plutocracy should know that it can neither cure nor escape the evils of the poverty which it creates and intensifies, by merely disfranchising the poor. In justice alone is peace to be found.

The career of Chris Magee, the republican boss of Pittsburgh, should be told to every poor boy, to prove to him that even the poorest may in this country rise not only to greatness, but to wealth. Nothing but prudence and industry is needed. Chris Magee, starting poor, and now, less than 50 years of age, is a millionaire many times told. What made him rich is a long story, but one incident in his career is significant. A wealthy widow asked him once about the advisability of her making a present to the city of a tract of 500 acres of her land, for the purposes of a park. Magee advised favorably, but suggested secrecy until he could talk the matter over with other leading citizens. This illustrated his prudence. Then he got options on all the neighboring lots that were for sale. This required indefatigable work, which indicated the industry of the man. After that Magee industriously promoted the park scheme, and as it attracted people to the neighborhood, the lots around the park increased in value and added enormously to his hard-earned hoard.

Mr. Magee has other ways of making money. Besides owning much land, which increases upon his hands with the mere growth of the city, he owns street railroads which suffer nothing from the fact that he is all-powerful in politics, and a newspaper which conserves all his inter-

ests. Everybody can do what Chris Magee has done. It's "as easy as lying."

Alongside of Chris Magee's prosperity it may be well to place the accounts of pauperism in New York—not of poverty, for that would be much greater, but only of pauperism. The number of persons who received charitable relief in the state of New York last year is officially reported to have been 2,551,455—a larger number of people than the entire population of Chicago. And this number is said to be a minimum estimate. If accurate returns could be obtained, so it is stated, the number would be increased by another million and a quarter. May it not be possible that there is some relation of effect and cause between the enormous population of the impoverished which these figures indicate, and those enormous fortunes, of the origin and magnitude of which Chris Magee's is an illustration?

A congressional committee is now in session at Chicago, charged with the investigation of the postal deficit. If one of its members is to be believed, the deficit cannot be much reduced by any curtailment of expenditures; the only remedy is to increase receipts. This member is E. T. Loud, a representative in congress of the Southern Pacific railway, and from sympathy, of all the other monopoly railway interests of the country. He comes from California. In an interview in the Chicago Record on the 21st, Mr. Loud said:

My proposition is to cut off sample copies of publications, advertising sheets and serial stories, from the privilege of second-class matter. This would relieve the department of an enormous amount of work and would reduce expenses accordingly. I do not think it would in any way interfere with the business of legitimate newspapers.

The soundness of Mr. Loud's idea of a legitimate newspaper may be questioned. The kind of newspapers that expose the iniquities of

monopoly would be injured by total denial of second-class privileges for sample copies. It is by the judicious distribution of sample copies that they make themselves known to people who wish to support such papers, and thereby secure permanent patronage. To deprive these papers of second-class privileges, though it might not much injure those that already exist, would prevent the establishment of new ones. And that is what Mr. Loud, in the interest not of the people, but of the railway companies, aims at. What he calls "legitimate" papers may be depended upon to serve monopolies as faithfully as he does; but "illegitimate" newspapers may spring up to make trouble.

The attempt, however, to hamper the establishment of new papers, by adding to the expense of such enterprises, is a minor matter in comparison with the direct pecuniary interests of the railroads which Mr. Loud would serve. He is the leading spirit in the movement to increase postal receipts, as he calls it; and his manifest object is to save to the railroads certain rich plunder which they now enjoy. Part of this plunder comes in the shape of exorbitant rentals for postal cars. These cars are owned by the companies, which received as rent for them in 1887, according to the report of that year of Postmaster-General Vilas, the sum of \$1,881,580—more by \$200,000 for the rent of the cars than their cost. And that was for cars alone. It was wholly apart from the sums paid the companies for hauling the cars and carrying the mail. This system still continues, and Mr. Loud has no intention of allowing it to be stopped.

Nor is that all. A responsible expert in railroad matters, James L. Cowles, author of "A General Freight and Passenger Post," charges the postal deficits directly to the extortionate postal contracts of the railroads. Whereas, he says, "express companies carry all sorts of parcels from the domicile in New York to

the station, thence by rail a thousand miles to Chicago, and deliver at the domicile in that city at a rate of three dollars a hundred pounds," the "railways tax the government eight cents a pound, eight dollars a hundred, one hundred and sixty dollars a ton, for the transportation of its mail bags for an average haul of not over 442 miles." There is the milk in Mr. Loud's postal reform cocoon. He proposes to lessen postal accommodations so as to enable the railroad rings to continue to appropriate postal plunder without creating a deficit to draw attention to the extortion.

Congressman Loud has been beaten once in his efforts to serve railroad interests by reducing the facilities of postal service, but your railroad congressman never tires. Mr. Loud announces that he expects yet to carry his measure through. And he will succeed unless the people organize to oppose him. An opportunity for doing this is offered by the American Postal League, now being formed, of which R. W. Wilson is acting secretary. He may be addressed at box 2361, Boston, Mass. Among the patrons of this league are John Wanamaker, Ginn & Co. and Lee & Shepard, well-known publishing houses; Mayor Quincy, of Boston, George Fred Williams, Edward Everett Hale, Little, Brown & Co., Mayor Jones of Toledo, Thomas G. Shearman and Louis Prang. The league sets out to collect information upon postal matters throughout the world for the purpose among other things of getting rid of the idea that the post office is an appropriate engine of taxation; of realizing Postmaster-General Wanamaker's idea of "a one cent letter rate, three-cent telephones, and ten-cent telegrams; of establishing a parcels post with low uniform rates based on cost of service, and of securing the extension of free collection and delivery systems. Persons interested in opposing such monopoly measures as Loud's will find no better means of making their

opposition effective than through this league.

One of the prominent lawyers of Chicago, Clarence S. Darrow, who recently won a verdict for the Woodworkers' union against the sash and door trust at Oshkosh, delivered a speech before the Federation of Labor on the 20th at Chicago, in which he made this characterization of the judiciary:

It is no exaggeration to say that nine-tenths of the laws are made nowadays by the judges, and that they are made in the interests of the rich and powerful and to destroy the poor; and the sooner the laboring man understands this the better for his liberty and his life, for his life is really at stake. The judge is the most powerful official in the machinery of modern civilization, for he can override statutes and even the constitution whenever necessary. Legislatures are notoriously corrupt and work in the interest and pay of corporations. When they do pass any laws in the interest of the poorer classes the judges are at hand to declare them unconstitutional.

That is a terrific indictment, but a true one. No part of the whole machinery of American government is at once so powerful and so completely at the service of plutocracy as the judiciary. This is especially true of the federal judiciary. Appointive judges win their way to the bench in the service of monopoly corporations. Though they be not corrupt men, their whole professional experience schools them to look upon life from the plutocratic point of view, and when they go upon the bench their mental vision is blind to any other. Not that alone. While on the bench their associations are with plutocrats. When a judge who is about to pass upon a question between a powerful corporation and a trade union, dines at the social club at which the officers and stockholders of the corporation and their lawyers and cronies rendezvous, accepting the hospitality of these very lawyers and cronies, how can he regard the trade union with sympathy? He is called to decide between his own class and another, on a class question. This

would be noted quickly enough, if instead of being a crony of corporation lawyers, he were a crony of trades unionists; if instead of dining at the plutocratic club as a guest of plutocrats, he dined at a restaurant as the guest of trades unionists; and if instead of then deciding for the corporation he decided for the workingmen.

Moreover is it not a fact that when a judge does show the slightest hostility to plutocracy he is hounded by the whole plutocratic press as unfit for his place? How was it with Judge Harlan, of the supreme court, who in his dissenting opinion in the income tax case pointed out the danger of overriding the precedents of a century to shift burdens of taxation from the rich? He was denounced for his anarchistic tendencies from one end of the country to another.

With a judiciary constituted as ours is coming to be, of corporation lawyers, and having the power to nullify laws, a judiciary which is appointed for life and which does not lack the disposition that Thomas Jefferson remarked, of taking to itself little by little more and more authority, the outcome of popular government in America is not difficult to foresee. It will be absorbed by a centralized federal judiciary.

A unique pamphlet which may or may not be a contribution to the literature of wit, but which, if it is, should take high rank, has been forwarded to us by James Love, of 627 Market street, Camden, N. J., of whom inquiries regarding it may be made. This pamphlet purports to summarize a voluminous report upon the subject of European political economy, submitted to the Japanese government by Tentearo Makalo, a commissioner of Japan to make the investigation. It is an exceedingly intelligent and caustic review of the European economists from Adam Smith down to Maffeo Pantaleoni; and aside from its other good quali-

ties, it is a comprehensive reference book not only to economic literature, but to the history and literature of social inequality. The pamphlet is just such a report as a well-educated, industrious, observant, acute and honest Japanese investigator of our economic conditions and literature could be depended upon to make. As a taste of the work, the following incisive criticism of Walker on the wage question must serve:

This book was neither pleasant reading, nor easy. Dogmatic in its tone, unenlivened by illustration, no enthusiasm is felt and no indignation, except towards writers less pessimistic than himself, apostles of a new political economy and a regenerated humanity, who question his premises or logic. In the opening paragraph he writes: "All wealth has, of course, to be produced in the first place; and, moreover, it is produced to be consumed, and for this end alone," and yet he proceeds to treat land as wealth!

Another book worthy of special mention which has floated into our book rack, is the collection of fables, published by Neeley, of London and New York, and entitled "Even as You and I." These fables are from the pen of Bolton Hall, who has achieved a fame for himself which makes it no longer necessary to identify him to the public by calling attention to the fact that he is a son of the late Rev. Dr. John Hall. The fables are all short, as fables should be; they are right to the point as fables must be; and they are interesting, a quality which not even a fable can afford to dispense with. The volume containing Hall's fables also contains, with an introductory sketch by Ernest Howard Crosby, an account of Tolstoi's philosophy, taken mainly from his work, "Of Life."

And still the cry comes up from Wall street that times are prosperous. The holders of watered stocks refuse to let go; confidence in the future is firm; through the strengthening of monopolies by the late elections, worthless paper is being converted into valuable shares. This is prosperity! And over against it we

hear of two clerks being required to do the work of three, with little or no increase in wages; of railroad engineers and firemen with slight additions to their force of brakemen and none to their wages, being obliged to pull twice the loads they formerly pulled; of farmers who have been able to turn over most of their crops to mortgagees; of farm hands taking to the road as tramps at the close of the farming season; of applications by the dozen, at stores and factories, for jobs that are not to be had, and of failures in business by hundreds weekly. That too is prosperity!

In a society in which monopolies are a recognized institution, there can be no such thing as general prosperity. If the people prosper, monopolies must languish; if monopolies prosper, the people must be depressed. The question is as simple as that of the rising and falling of the opposite ends of a beam balanced on a fulcrum. The kind of prosperity we now have is monopoly prosperity. Watered stocks rest upon the upper end of the beam; legitimate business is crushed beneath the other end.

The only complete election returns that have yet reached us from the state of Washington, indicate that the attack which the republicans there made upon the single tax measure had little if any effect in determining the result. We refer to the returns from Thurston county, in which Olympia, the capital of the state, is situated.

In that county the republican candidates for congress and for members of the legislature received majorities ranging from 31 to 203, in a total vote of about 2,000. On the other hand, populist candidates for sheriff, county clerk, auditor, treasurer and assessor, received majorities ranging from 4 to 143, also in a total vote of about 2,000. These figures are very significant of trading. They indicate that some of the populist candidates for county offices swapped

votes with republican candidates for congress and the legislature, and therefore that the republican congressmen carried the county for other reasons than on account of prejudice against the single tax.

This view is confirmed by the vote on the tax amendment which was so bitterly denounced by the republicans as a single tax amendment. In the same Washington county, Thurston, hardly 1,400 votes were cast upon that amendment—something like 600 less than for the congressional and county candidates; and of these 1,400, 631 were in the affirmative, leaving a majority against the amendment of only 127 in a total vote of 1,389. When it is considered that this amendment was attacked most vigorously and with the greatest amount of misrepresentation, to which there was hardly any reply, the result as to the amendment itself should be very gratifying to single tax men; and in view of the small vote on the amendment as compared with the vote for candidates, and the small adverse majority in that small vote, it is certain that the single tax question could have had but little if any effect in Thurston county in defeating the populist candidates for congress and the legislature. An examination of the returns from the whole state may very likely exhibit a similar condition throughout. Republican success in Washington was doubtless due to other things than republican misrepresentation of Henry George's proposed method of taxation.

It is not improbable either that it was for other reasons than his single tax proclivities that Judge Maguire lost the state of California. Among the things that told against Maguire was religious prejudice. Catholics were inspired to vote against him because he had "left the church of his mother," while anti-Catholics voted against him because he was born a Catholic. Thus extremes of religious bigotry joined hands to serve the mo-

nopoly interests of the Southern Pacific railroad.

#### THE THANKSGIVING TABLE.

What do we mean by thanksgiving?

As a simple way of finding out, let us turn to that threadbare but suggestive illustration of the loving father and his dependent children. The father spreads for his children a bountiful table, and unless they belittle devils they are grateful. Being grateful, how will their gratitude naturally express itself?

They might thank their father in words. That would be natural enough in a superficial way. But their words, though fervent, could hardly be acceptable to him if, turning from his loving gift of food, they solemnly fasted.

Or they might eat the food gluttonously. But neither could this satisfy the yearnings of the father's love, even though the eating were accompanied with verbal thanks. Such an expression of gratitude he could get from the pigs in his sty. They, too, would grunt their acknowledgements as they filled their bellies.

But suppose the children ate their father's food in a spirit of rational and unselfish enjoyment. That would vivify every word of thanks they might utter. And not only for that reason but in itself, it would be the highest possible expression of thanksgiving. In the genuine, rational and unselfish enjoyment of his children his love would find satisfaction.

This illustration suggests the whole philosophy of the thanksgiving season. Gratitude to God for his material gifts consists not in fasting, nor in prayers of the empty sort, but primarily in partaking of God's gifts with genuine enjoyment—rational and unselfish.

The enjoyment must be unselfish. If some of the children in our illustration were to drive the rest from their father's table, their gratitude, no matter how expressed, would be an offense to their father. Grateful words from them would be hateful to him, and their enjoyment of the food revolting. Must it not be even so with the common Father of all?

In the infinitude of his love, God has spread for all his children a boun-

tiful table. It is supplied without stint or measure. Nor is the supply spiritual alone. Our Father's table is abundantly provided also with the good things of material existence, things which God obviously intended us to enjoy.

In normal conditions we should best express our gratitude for these material bounties in the manner already indicated—by enjoying them, rationally and unselfishly; but conditions are unfortunately abnormal. Millions of God's children are driven from God's table. They are disinherited of their natural place and portion. And while this is so, God's bounties cannot be enjoyed unselfishly by any of us. We may partake with gratitude, but we cannot enjoy without selfishness.

Yet there is a much neglected way in which we can be truly, deeply, unselfishly thankful.

Human law drives God's children from his bountiful table. But in our country, human law is subject to our own control. Injustice in the law, therefore, is the fault of all. No one can wash his hands of the guilt while the wrong remains. So long as the law drives any of God's children from God's table, none of us can, in spirit and in truth, thank God for his loving material gifts, either by prayers of thanksgiving and hymns of praise or by entering fully into the enjoyment of the gifts. Prayers are in those circumstances empty mutterings, hymns discordant jangles, and enjoyment selfish and swinish. What we can do, however, is to change the law and make it just. We can vote unselfishly.

In that way, and only in that way while human law drives our brethren from their place and portion at God's common table, can we be truly thankful for his splendid material bounties.

We have fallen upon times when to vote is to pray. Let us see to it, then, that with our votes we pray for the establishment of God's kingdom of love and justice upon earth—for the alteration of all human law that either forces or enables some of God's children to drive their brothers and sisters from the bountiful table he has spread for all. That is the lesson of the thanksgiving season.

### RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE.

Few words are more often used; few are so often abused. If a man be merely a mossback, he is regarded as a type of conservatism; he may so regard himself. If a man be a mere blatant demagogue, we are apt to call him a radical, and he may rejoice in the epithet.

Referring to these two words, the San Francisco Star makes this distinction, that a radical "is a man who seeks the right, and having convinced himself, is consequently outspoken in doing what he believes is right, though all the world beside were against him;" whereas, a conservative "is a pusillanimous creature, afraid of his own shadow, never outspoken or candid." This distinction does not seem to us to be satisfactory.

A radical is one who seeks the root of things, who tries to bring political conditions into harmony with fundamental principles; while a conservative is one who adheres to the existing order. Upon reflection, we shall learn that both are necessary to human progress.

True progress is doubtless toward adaptation to fundamental principles. The radical, therefore, would be progressive, if he were not human and liable to err. But he is human, and he does err. Often what seem to the radical to be first principles, are no principles at all. All unconsciously, instead of being progressive, he is retrogressive.

It is this fact that makes the conservative mind as important a factor in progress as the radical. Clinging to the existing order, the conservative does in truth obstruct progress, but he also and most effectively obstructs retrogression.

Like the pawl to the ratchet wheel, conservatism secures the advances that radicalism makes.

The radical mind constantly seeks changes. It is the discontented mind. In physics, it invents new machines and methods. In politics it urges on to better social conditions. Though radicals may in their ignorance drift far away from true radicalism, they never become mossbacks. They always want change, are always restless, are always in

search of the holy grail of first principles. Left to itself, this restless type of mind might as well carry the world backward as forward. Deceived by appearances, it might turn in its tracks and imperil the very advances it had made. But the conservative mind prevents that.

There is more power in truth than in falsehood. Consequently, when radical tendencies are backward, conservatism, resistance to change, is apt to be effective; but when radical tendencies are forward, conservatism, though it makes much friction, much difficulty, is ultimately ineffective. Radical energy, turned by the inertia of conservatism in the right direction, is in the long run irresistible.

These two forces operating in the great mind of human society, like the centrifugal and centripetal forces in physical nature, establish equilibrium and promote permanent progress.

Where conservatism is most stubborn, radicalism is most hardy. For an example of the more wholesome radicalism we shall turn not to France, where conservatism is weak, but to England, where it is strong.

## NEWS

A startling rumor has been current, to the effect that the peace negotiations between Spain and the United States have been broken off by Spain.

The joint peace commission was to have resumed its sessions on the 19th, as we reported last week; but at the request of the American commissioners the meeting was postponed until the 21st. The object of the postponement was to enable the Americans to perfect their reply to the argument submitted last week by the Spanish in opposition to the American proposition for the cession to the United States of the Philippine archipelago. Upon the assembling of the joint commission on the 21st the American reply was presented. It declared that the United States must have the entire archipelago; offering, however, to pay Spain therefor the sum of \$20,000,000 and pledging equal rights to the world's commerce—the "open door," as it is called. The proposition Spain had made to arbitrate the Phil-

ippine clause in the protocol was positively declined, and November 28 was fixed as the date on which the American commissioners would expect a definite response to its propositions. Along with the report of this meeting came a positive statement from the Associated Press that Senor Montero Rios, the president of the Spanish commission, had refused to continue the negotiations.

But the statement that Rios had withdrawn was afterwards denounced by the Paris correspondent of the Associated Press as a stock jobbing trick. He said he had sent no such statement, and that Senor Rios declared the statement to be untrue. It is now believed that the Spanish will not wait until the 28th to make their reply; but that they will make it on the 23d, and that it will be an acceptance of the American conditions. They applied to the American commissioners on the 22d for a further elucidation of the American conditions. One of their requests was to know whether, if the Philippines be ceded, America will take them free of subsisting obligations. Other requests related to the "open door" policy, the release of political prisoners, and the revival of previous treaties. The final request was to know whether the American suggestion that conferences on other points will follow if Spain finally and definitely accepts the American conditions, means that if the conditions be not accepted conferences will not follow.

While the peace commissioners negotiate regarding the Philippines, the American authorities are extending their occupation from Manila, on Luzon island, to other islands in the group. Admiral Dewey telegraphed on the 18th that the entire island of Panay was in possession of the insurgents, except the town of Iloilo, which was defended by 800 Spanish troops, and that the island of Negros had declared independence and asked for an American protectorate. Since then it has been reported from Manila and denied from Madrid that the insurgents have captured Iloilo. In response to Dewey's telegram, the president, after conferring with the cabinet, instructed Gen. Otis to send enough American troops to the islands of Panay and Negros to protect life and property and to subdue the insurgents. The president at the same time instructed Admiral Dewey to send part of his fleet to those islands



and notify the insurgents that the United States intends to manage the affairs of the Philippines without interference on their part.

The purpose of the United States to take possession of the Philippines as conquered territory, not only against the claims of Spain, but also against the protests of the native inhabitants as represented by the insurgent government, a purpose which is now manifest, has begun to arouse a hostile feeling among the insurgents. Their representatives continue to express confidence in the American president, but it is evident that they are inclined to resist American conquest. As some of these leaders phrase it, they do not propose to be sold by Spain to the United States or to any other power.

Organized opposition to the conquest of the Philippines is also beginning to appear in the United States. A meeting was held at Boston on the 19th, over which Edward Atkinson presided. At this meeting a constitution was adopted, officers were elected, and an address to the people of the United States was issued. The address urged prompt cooperation in getting signatures to a protest against the annexation of the Philippines. In response to this call a meeting was held on the 21st at Chattanooga, which was almost unanimous in its opposition to the Philippine conquest.

The opposition to American occupation which Filipino leaders express, is also expressed by Gen. Garcia for the Cubans. Gen. Garcia, who sailed from Havana on the 17th, arrived in New York on the 21st. He is at the head of a commission appointed by the Cuban congress which recently met at Santa Cruz del Sur. Two commissions were appointed by that congress, one to constitute a provisional government for the maintenance of order, and the other, of which Gen. Garcia is at the head, to visit the United States for the purpose of advising with the president and congress regarding the future of Cuba. While protesting that the Cubans desire a temporary occupation by the Americans, and would in no way attempt to dictate terms, Gen. Garcia declared their opposition to annexation. He said:

We do not want annexation and we do not believe there will be necessity for arguing that point with President Mc-

Kinley or anyone else. We consider that settled. McKinley's word is good enough for us. We do believe, however, that it is necessary for American troops to occupy the islands for the present and we will do all we can to cooperate with them. From one end of the island to the other there is a sense of gratitude to the United States for the service she has rendered to us in our struggle for liberty that can never be forgotten. We are willing and anxious to be ruled by Americans for the present, but not forever.

Later news from the elections, perhaps the most important of all the election news, though the daily news gatherers give it but scant attention, tells of the adoption by the people of South Dakota, not only of the woman suffrage amendment, but also of an amendment embodying a system of direct legislation. This is the longest stride in the direction of popular government in this country since the adoption of the declaration of independence. Under the South Dakota system, no legislation to which 5 per cent. of the voters object can become effective without indorsement by popular vote; and any legislation which 5 per cent. of the voters desire, must be submitted to popular vote and become law if adopted by a majority. The people of South Dakota can no longer be governed against their will by a corrupt, ignorant or indifferent legislature.

The details of the South Dakota system of direct legislation are simple. Whenever 5 per cent. of the qualified voters of the state petition for the enactment of a measure, the legislature is required by the new constitution to submit that measure to the people at the next general election, when, if approved by a majority, it becomes the law of the state. On the other hand, any act of the legislature may be objected to by the petition of 5 per cent. of the qualified voters of the state, and being so objected to it must be submitted to the people at the next general election, when if not approved by a majority, it fails to become a law.

The heat of the election campaign of 1898 having cooled, preparations for the campaign of 1900 have begun. We have already noted the plan for raising a free coinage campaign fund by popular contribution, which Harvey, of "Coin's Financial School," is managing under the authority of democratic leaders. In New York another movement has been started.

It looks to the same end, the retention of the free coinage plank in the national democratic platform and the exclusion from places of power in the party of politicians who represent nothing but their own personal interests or aspirations. At the head of this movement is John Brisben Walker, of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Mr. Walker was a member of the democratic state committee of New York. He resigned rather than support Richard Croker in the late campaign, and he now seeks to organize the anti-Croker democratic forces. Meanwhile Mr. Croker is not idle. He recently visited Chicago, where he conferred with Mayor Harrison, and on the 6th of next month, a meeting of democratic politicians opposed to the Chicago platform is to be held at New York, under his auspices, for the purpose of planning for control of the national convention in 1900. Among the democratic leaders of national reputation who are invited to Mr. Croker's conference are Mayor Harrison of Chicago and ex-Gov. Stone of Missouri, neither of whom is regarded by the silver men as faithful to the Chicago platform. Democrats who are regarded as loyal to silver and Bryan have not been invited.

In the republican party also trouble is brewing. It has first begun to show itself in Michigan. Gov. Pingree is opposing the return of Senator Burrows, of Michigan, to his seat in the national senate, while Mr. Hanna and Mr. McKinley are supporting Burrows, with the aid of federal patronage. Pingree has long been restive under interference from Washington, and now he declares himself without reservation. He has given notice that if federal office holders continue to interfere in the state politics of Michigan, he will consider that the administration invites his enmity; and that if the administration wishes to fight him, he is willing to fight the administration. It is reported from Detroit that if the governor is further annoyed from Washington, the delegation from Michigan to the next republican convention will cast 28 votes against McKinley's re-nomination.

The labor trouble in the coal region of central Illinois has broken out afresh. The settlement of the lock-out at the Virden mines, reported last week, did not involve the difficulty at the Pana mines, about 30 miles to the

cast of Virden, in the southeastern corner of Christian county. This difficulty resembled that at Virden in most particulars. The operators refused to pay the miners the scale of wages which had been agreed upon by a joint convention of operators and miners. They also refused to pay a much lower scale which the miners offered to accept, and as at Virden they closed down the mines. Then they imported colored miners from Alabama. The first consignment of these men, upon learning the facts, said they had been deceived, and most of them refused to go to work. But the importations continued, and the local miners being prevented by armed private detectives from communicating with the negroes, armed themselves; ever since—this was in August—the town of Pana has been in a chronic state of mild riot, with the militia on guard. At times shooting has occurred on the part both of the negroes and of the local miners, but without bringing on a general conflict until the 17th, when an open battle was fought.

The labor battle at Pana on the 17th was between local white miners and negro miners from Alabama. A negro began it by firing at an unarmed white miner, who ran to his home and securing a rifle fired at the negro. He was quickly joined by other white miners who were also armed, and the mob chased the negro into a cornfield, firing at but not killing him. The fugitive negro made his way to the mining stockade, and then a body of negroes came out and with rifles attacked the whites, who replied in kind. Fully 500 shots were exchanged, but no one appears to have been hurt.

The town was terrorized, however, and two days later a delegation of citizens of Pana called upon Gov. Tanner to ask his aid in restoring peace and order. They complained that thus far the protection accorded both by the sheriff and by the militia was not to the town but to the operators and imported miners alone. Gov. Tanner responded by placing Pana and its suburbs under martial law.

The proclamation of Gov. Tanner which declared Pana under martial law was issued on the 21st. After reciting the circumstances and the governor's authority, the proclamation forbids the carrying of arms within

the martial district, by any person whatever. It commands all persons who bear arms to surrender them within 48 hours to the national guard, and declares that all persons with arms in their hands after the time fixed will be arrested by the military authorities as if they intended a disturbance of the public peace.

Other labor news of the week comprises the annual convention of the Knights of Labor at Chicago. This convention adopted resolutions condemning President McKinley and other politicians for conspiring with Mr. Powderly to break up the order; and they opposed the McCleary currency bill and the retirement of the greenbacks. Steps were taken also toward securing legislation against government by injunction, against the employment of children in factories, against watering stocks, and in favor of government telegraph lines and postal savings banks.

The movement among the printers for a 9½-hour day has fairly set in. Much the larger proportion of employers in the printing trade in Chicago began with the shorter work day on the 20th. About half adopted the 9-hour day with the 9-hour scale of wages, while the remainder tried the 9½-hour day with the old 10-hour scale. There was but little friction. But in Columbus and some other places the movement has produced strikes, and in Minneapolis it has caused a general lockout.

European news this week is of little importance and less interest. The most important event is the conclusion between France and Italy of a commercial treaty; and this would not be specially important but for the fact that relations between France and Italy have been strained heretofore by tariff restrictions, which the new treaty modifies.

The Hungarian diet, assembled at Budapest, was closed on the 21st in great disorder. The minister of national defense had imputed lack of honor to the national party. This excited indignant demands for an apology, in which the minister was charged with having no sense of honor. The sitting was suspended, but so violent was the disorder that five attempts to resume were ineffectual, and at last the president declared the

session finally closed. On the following day quiet was restored by mutual apologies. But the tumultuous scenes of the day before were soon renewed, as the result of denunciations by opposition members of the manner in which they had been treated by the police. In the streets also there was great disorder. The students at the polytechnic were most exasperating to the police, who dispersed a crowd of them while they were singing the Kossuth-hymn. The trouble is indirectly more the outgrowth of democratic agitation and autocratic repression than appears upon the face of the dispatches.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The price of refined sugar has been raised again.

—Gen. Don Carlos Buell, a prominent figure in both the Mexican and the civil war, died on the 19th at his home near Rockport, Ky.

—The Emperor of Germany arrived at Messina, Sicily, on the 19th, and resumed his voyage on the imperial yacht on the 20th.

—A Catholic mission at Kwie-fu, in the upper Yang-tse-kiang valley, has been burned by Chinese rebels, but no details are obtainable.

—The Royal Institute of British architects is about to admit a woman to membership. She has passed all the examinations with high honor.

—President Timothy Dwight, of Yale College, resigned on the 17th, he having reached the age of 70, which he had fixed as the limit of his service.

—The National Single Taxer, which has not been published since September, will resume publication on the 1st of December, as a monthly, under the management of Geo. P. Hampton.

—Five hundred residents at Warsaw, Kieff and Vienna, in Russia, have been arrested, charged with socialism. Eighty have been exiled to Siberia, 30 of the latter having been condemned to perpetual banishment.

—The president of Costa Rica, Rafael Inglesias, arrived at New York on the 22d, where he was met by Assistant Adj. Gen. Carter, the personal representative for that purpose of President McKinley.

—A revolt in Salvador against the new Central American republic is reported as likely to involve all the five Central American states in rebellion; but the news is indefinite and not altogether trustworthy.

—A lengthy session of the Anglo-American commission to adjust differences with Canada was held on the 17th, at which the north Atlantic fisheries, and the question of reciprocity were

considered. The session was held in Washington.

—At the football match between Harvard and Yale on the 19th, Harvard won by 17 to 0. One Harvard man hurt his knee and another sustained general injuries; one Yale man hurt his knee, and another had a rib and a shoulder broken.

—Gen. Longstreet, the federal commissioner of railroads, in his annual report just made public, recommends the construction and operation by the general government, of a first class double track railway from Kansas City, Mo., to San Diego, Cal.

—A dispatch of the 23d from Vienna states that England has leased to the United States, for a naval coaling station, the island of Sokotra, off the Gulf of Aden. The United States is to erect two lighthouses on the island, but is not to sell coal there, nor to fortify.

—The lower house of the Georgia legislature has passed a bill authorizing the issue of state bank notes, and requiring the state to defend any bank against the 10 per cent. federal tax on state bank circulation, upon the ground that a tax for prohibition and not for revenue is unconstitutional.

—The grand jury at Philadelphia returned five indictments on the 21st against Senator Quay, his son, and ex-State Treasurer Haywood, charging them with conspiracy with the late cashier of the People's bank for the use of bank funds in the purchase of stocks, and also with conspiracy for the misappropriation of state funds on deposit in the People's bank. The cashier committed suicide last March.

—John Ernst Wornell Keeley, the inventor of the "Keeley motor," died on the 18th at Philadelphia. The "Keeley motor" has been under public notice for over 25 years, and it is estimated that \$500,000 has been expended in perfecting it; but no practical results have yet been accomplished. It was expected to supersede every other form of propulsion. Keeley never divulged the secret of his invention, but he has left a full account of it in manuscript with his widow.

—A prize fight took place at New York on the 22d between Thomas Sharkey and James J. Corbett. It was conducted under the patronage of the Lenox Athletic club, and in accordance with the law of the state. During the fight, Corbett struck a foul blow, and when Sharkey protested, Corbett's second jumped into the ring, in defiance of prize fighting rules. The referee thereupon awarded the victory to Sharkey, on the ground of the foul blow by Corbett and the act of his second, but in making the award he declared all bets off. This declaration is regarded as confirming a suspicion that Corbett or his second or both were in a conspiracy to lose the fight in the interest of the

bettors against him. The betting had been 100 to 80 in favor of Corbett.

## MISCELLANY

### THE SENTRY'S PRAYER.

(A True Incident of the Civil War.)  
For the Public.

'Twas in the war-time; grim, serene,  
Midnight brooded, full of gloom,  
Darkness curtained o'er the scene  
Like the shadow-form of doom.

Face to face in vale and wood,  
Ambushed the two armies lay,  
Thirsting for each other's blood  
In to-morrow's deadly fray.

At a far-out sentry post,  
'Neath a gnarled and ghostly tree,  
Stood a weary soldier, lost  
In a troubled reverie.

Thoughts of death oppressed his mind,  
For he felt vague danger near,  
And each whisper of the wind  
Brought a creeping chill of fear.

Brave was he and bronzed of face,  
Yet a helpless child he felt  
As when in the old home-place  
At his mother's knee he knelt.

Then, as from that sacred past,  
Out of memories, sweet and dim,  
Rose amid that silence vast  
From his lips the olden hymn:

"All my trust in Thee is stayed,  
All my help from Thee I bring;  
Cover my defenseless head  
With the shadow of Thy wing!"

Wierdly rose the tremulous strain  
In the silent midnight hour,  
Full of pathos, tears and pain,  
Full of tenderness and power.

"Cover my defenseless head,"  
Came the simple words, and low,  
Then a smothered whisper said:  
"Ground your rifles, boys, and go!"

And a scouting party near,  
Glad that whisper to obey,  
From their ambush disappear,  
Creeping silently away.

And the sentry's fears are fled;  
Mother's God has heard him sing,  
"Cover my defenseless head  
With the shadow of Thy wing!"  
J. W. BENGOUGH.

### SOUND VIEWS.

(For The Public.)

When I read the arguments on the retention of the Philippine islands in the papers, and hear people argue in favor of retaining them; when I see how this formerly prosperous nation is unnecessarily aping after European manners and customs, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and regardless of the Monroe doctrine, is trying to incorporate a tropical country, on the other side of the earth, with over 9,000,000 negrettos, who only in the last century emerged from cannibalism, then I feel like a sane man confined in a vast lunatic asylum, where all the other inmates, including the adminis-

tration and attendants, are more or less insane. The only humane, practical, honorable and just settlement of this Philippine trouble would be, for the United States to reorganize the Philippine government with Aguinaldo as president or dictator, then sell them some ironclad vessels and a million dollars' worth of guns and ammunition, and advance them a million in cash to hire European or American gunners, machinists and sailors; and the Philippines will have a chance for independence, regardless of Spain or any other power.

To make the job permanent, the Philippine archipelago must be made a single-tax country pure and simple; then no governments or land speculators would want the islands; and the whole world would share in the blessings of the new and just order of things. Then the late war will be considered by future historians a war for humanity indeed, and no humbug about it.

G. VOGELSANG.

### SOCIAL INDIVIDUALISM.

Man is a social individual. Some things which are his to use belong in equal right to every other—to society. He and the collectivity should be equally jealous to conserve society's rights—"equal rights to all, special privileges to none." Therefore the people are beginning to demand the ownership and control of all things which, placed in individual hands, become monopolies and destructive of equality.

But there are other things a multitude of them, which are as sacredly man's individual own; his from the foundations of the world; his as truly as if he were the only man in all the earth; things which are his because the Great Giver of all things gave them into his hands in perpetuity, and which even the Giver Himself may not take away. Among these are the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," rights complete and absolute so long as he trespasses not upon "the equal rights of any other," and which no form of society may justly abridge by a hair's breadth. Therefore, reason says to the centrifugal socialist: Apply the law of compensation to your movement, put on the brakes of centripetency, socialize those things which are society's, leave with the individual those things which belong to the individual, and the world will be reformed so far as that result may be accomplished through economic justice.

Let us learn this lesson: Life is spherical—one unending circle. Logic, to be true, therefore, cannot be a straight line. No course in nature is followed in a straight line. Again, duality runs

through every form of nature, and he who does not consider man's dual nature—his social individualism — does not understand even the half he sees, and cannot, therefore, prescribe the proper remedy for his ills.—Farmers' Voice, of Chicago.

#### JAPAN IS WORKING UP A LAND QUESTION.

In one respect I have great fear for the future of Japan; a very undesirable change has come over the life of her working people. The factory chimney, ominous harbinger of the industrial revolution, rises gaunt and bare from the hideous brick building which seems to be the necessary accompaniment of wealth-production on a large scale. Truly the orient is being occidentalized. The worst evils of the factory system are creeping in everywhere; the rush for wealth is taking possession of the people; the Limited Liability company is already in the field; fortunes are being made by a few, but pauperism is on the increase. A native writer says: "Land is being rapidly changed from the ownership of small proprietors to the hands of richer men." The number of those who possess the franchise, paying 15 yen in taxes, is decreasing; wages, it is true, have gone up 44 per cent., but the cost of living has increased 64 per cent. Langland's dream of a "field full of folk," was once a reality in Japan; but the peasant is leaving the country for the town, in the hope of bettering his position, which is at all times somewhat hard. When there, he can at the most earn only a bare subsistence, with no prospect in time of old age or sickness. The small tenant farmer, who pays his rent in rice, pays the same number of koku whatever be the season. The system of land valuation, on the contrary, is of great benefit to his rich landlord, whose taxes were originally fixed by the price of rice. Rice, of course, is now five times higher than the ratio upon which that valuation was based. Under the heavy strain of these great changes the temper of the people is gradually deteriorating. Courtesy and gentle manners are yielding to hard and stereotyped western ways; intense competition is developing selfishness and cruelty.—Percy Alden, in *The Outlook*.

#### IMPROVING OUR CITIZENSHIP.

The greatest good we are to find through municipal ownership will be found in the improved quality of our citizenship. Not, however, because, as it is popularly proclaimed, a man's value to the state is measured by his property possessions, but because of the family feeling and truly patriotic

sentiment, the love of country, which is love of our fellow-men, that will be awakened in the man's breast by the contemplation of the fact that he is a member of a family who own their own streets, who own their own bridges, who own their own water-works, who own their own electric lighting plant, who own their own telephone and express and messenger service; a member of a family who owns and does everything for the family that can, by any possibility, be better done by collective than by private effort. And whenever the feeling is once awakened that this is our city, that this is our country, then a man becomes, in the best sense of the word, a citizen who loves his country. This feeling will be wonderfully enhanced as the city goes forward in the work of municipal ownership. The people will learn that they can serve themselves better without profit than a corporation can serve them with profit as an incentive for their effort.

In the parks and public playgrounds in Glasgow I saw neat porcelain signs with the inscription: "Citizens, protect your property," and when my eyes first fell upon that inscription I confess to such a feeling of delight as I never before experienced through looking at a dumb signboard. It was in such striking contrast to the boss idea expressed in the order: "Keep Off the Grass," a thing that never should be used except by the man who hangs upon his premises that other iniquity: "Beware of the Dog." The policeman's "Move on" is another atrocity I would like to see linked to the two I have just mentioned and the hideous trio consigned to eternal oblivion.—Hon. S. M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, O.

#### THE BETTER WAY.

For the Public.

Rev. Christian Method went as a missionary to the Malays, and to such an extent were his efforts blessed that, no ships having come near his island home for over a year, he succeeded in making the chief promise to abandon piracy in general and wrecking in particular. So complete was the transformation wrought upon these savages by the Gospel, that the theory of moral sentiments became the staple of conversation, and every child on the island attended the annual Sunday school picnic.

One afternoon, however, a fine brig was driven in toward the coast by a storm, and the islanders watched her with great and natural interest. As

night drew on, it became evident that she was sinking fast, and that, although the wind had subsided, if she did not shortly make the harbor, she would be lost.

It was, therefore, with feelings of keen distress that the reverend man observed his parishioners preparing to kindle false lights, according to the ancient custom of that land. When he remonstrated with the chief, that economist explained that the unaided vessel would sink in any case, and that the lights were intended only to run her on the rocks, so that, as in civilized countries, the people might profit by the misfortune of other men. The islanders were poor, and the winter coming on, and "men must live."

In vain the reverend father pointed out the wrongfulness of such a course; the chief replied that it was their country, and that they were entitled to shape its policy for their own benefit, though this involved distress to foreigners. At the word "our country," a thought flashed on the clergyman. He said:

"This is indeed your island, is it not?"

"Of course," replied the chief.

"Then," said the holy man, "let me advise: Pollute it not with murder or with robbery. If you sink the ship, not only will much of the goods be lost, but the lives of the sailors, too. Kindle true lights, give aid to the ship, show them how to beach her safely on the sand inside the bar, and then—"

"What?" cried the chief.

"Why," replied the saint, "charge them all they have as rent for living on your land."

BOLTON HALL.

Istlp, N. Y.

#### THE ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA.

The vera causa of Chinese mental and moral stagnation is ancestor-worship, the most completely organized system of Animism the world has ever known. As all wisdom and knowledge attained, according to the Chinese theory, their perfection in the remote ages of the past, one must look back to that past for intellectual and moral guidance. Under the influence of such a belief, a really moral life is all but impossible, for morality degenerates into slavish submission to a rule imposed from without rather than a free acceptance of a law of conduct within. The "arrested development" of China means, in fact,

that the Chinese, in spite of their ancient classics and fine codes, are a people without any active principle of morality.

This does not mean that they steal or murder in any unusual degree, or that they work injustice; for in the green villages of the interior much happiness, prosperity and good social order are said to exist. But mankind cannot live on the harvests of the past, it needs renewal of life day by day on pain of moral and spiritual starvation.

The deepest source of Chinese stagnation is that the people, as a people, are spiritually dead; they need awakening to a new and real moral life, which means emancipation from the dead hand of the past.

Whether the young emperor fully perceives this it would be hard to say, but obviously the reactionary party saw it; and they saw that what appear to be external, and even trifling reforms, like that regarding calligraphy, are really based on a conception of life wholly different from that of China.

When it is remembered, moreover, that upon the Chinese ancestor-worship rests the whole fabric, not only of social life, but of the Chinese state, it will be seen at once that the reactionaries beheld before them a complete revolution for which, they may have honestly thought, China was not ready. For in China, as in the pre-Christian world of antiquity, the religious system and the state are indissoluble. In the state alone the individual finds his whole moral life, such as it is, while in the world of Christianity the emancipation of the spirit from the absolute domain of secular order has been achieved for all.

If the emperor of China dimly perceives this great gulf which separates his nation from the western world, he becomes an even more pathetic figure; for while, on that assumption, his imagination has overleaped the bounds of his environment, he cannot be expected to work out in his mind any idea of a safe bridge over that wide gulf. He stands, in fact, as the poet says, "between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born." Harder lot has fallen to few among the sons of men.—The London Spectator.

#### MONKEYS AND MEN.

Go to the monkey, thou voter! Consider his ways and be wise.

Do the monkeys pay ground rent to the descendants of the first old ape who discovered the valley where the monkeys live?

Do they hire the trees from the chimpanzee who first found the forest?

Do they buy the coconuts from the

great-great-grandchildren of the gorilla who invented a way to crack them?

Do they allow two or three monkeys to form a corporation and obtain control of all the paths that lead through the woods?

Do they permit some smart young monkey, with superior business ability, to claim all the springs of water in the forest as his own, because of some alleged bargain made by his ancestors 500 years ago?

Do they allow a small gang of monkey lawyers to so tangle up their conceptions of ownership that a few will obtain possession of everything?

Do they appoint a few monkeys to govern them and then allow those appointed monkeys to rob the tribe and mismanage all its affairs?

Do they build up a monkey city and then hand over the land, and the paths, and the trees, and the spring, and the fruits to a few monkeys who sat on a log and chattered while all the work was going on?

No, my friend, monkeys have a wiser system of municipal government than that.

Although Kipling speaks of them in his jungle book as "the people who have no law," yet they have laws enough to prevent the private ownership of public franchises.

If Prof. Garner, who claims to have learned 40 words of the monkey language, were to escort some reflective chimpanzee around one of our cities, the professor would find it rather difficult to explain some of the manners and customs of a civilized nation.

The chimpanzee would be amazed to see a \$500,000 house, with 40 rooms, contain only a millionaire and his wife and ten servants, while a \$10,000 tenement, with 20 rooms, contained 40 people and no servants.

He would be still further astounded to see the warehouse district, where an abundance of everything was stored, close to the slum district, where the people lacked the barest necessities of life.

He would be shocked to see an entire street railway system, with hundreds of miles of tracks, thousands of cars and employes, and carrying millions of passengers every year, absolutely owned and controlled by three or four men who never built a car or drove a spike.

But when the professor would explain to him that nine-tenths of the people in the city were quite content to endure such evils, and, in fact, grew angry with anyone who proposed to remove them, the chimpanzee would say: "Take me

back to the forest, and may the Good Spirit deliver us from civilization!"—The Coming Nation.

#### ON WITH THE FIGHT!

The result of the late election in California shows the tremendous power of corporate influences in the politics of our state. Never before were those influences so boldly, openly and notoriously used. There was no concealment about it, and it was perfectly understood by every intelligent man.

It was just such a fight as I have long wished for, believing that the people, if given the opportunity, would strongly support the principle of equal rights and rebuke the persistent and corrupt interference of corporate monopolies in our politics. So strongly was I fixed in this opinion that I refused to enter upon any discussion of collateral questions, even when falsely assailed personally by the agents and other representatives of the common enemy, lest such collateral discussion should obscure the main issue. Those who shared this opinion with me were all mistaken as to the extent of the public sentiment which we represented. A majority of the people believe in the expediency of continuing unchecked and unlimited the present monopoly dominion over our industrial and commercial systems and even over our political institutions.

It is idle to talk about "contributing causes," however much they may have affected the result, because no such incidental causes could have operated effectively if the people had properly appreciated the importance of the main issue.

All this is disappointing, but it must not discourage us. More than 100,000 of our people have shown right spirit and right judgment. Let them go on recruiting the ranks of truth from the hosts of error, and soon they will constitute a mighty majority, against which corruption and bigotry and folly will bribe and lie and rail in vain, and which will stand immovably for more radical and more enduring reforms than those for which we stood in the last campaign.

Let us remember that the new democracy is very young, although its principles are very old. Let us remember that it has been an organized force for only two years and that in the ranks of its nominal supporters have been thousands of Tories who dread its principles and who hope that by repeated reverses the party may be driven back to opportunism, to that long maintained compromise with monopoly under which the privileged interests will

contribute to the campaign funds of both parties and be satisfied with the success of either. These men did not vote our ticket. They remained with us nominally for the mere purpose of occupying a position of advantage in the hour of expected reaction. That hour, in my opinion, will never come.

In the fight for principle, victories and defeats are but incidents. After the first defeat, in 1896, we advanced instead of retreating and we shall do so again. As the reactionists leave us we may expect the real friends of liberty and justice—the real disciples of Abraham Lincoln—to come to us from the other side. Movements such as ours never go backward and they never fail of ultimate success.

Let us go on, undismayed by the power of corruption, and undaunted by defeat and we shall live to see "to-day's little vict'ry of Error, foiled by to-morrow's great triumph of Right."—James G. Maguire, in the San Francisco Star.

#### AN IMPEACHMENT OF MODERN ITALY.

An extract from an article with the above title, by "Ouida," published in The Review of Reviews for November.

"Il fallait vraiment avoir du talent pour faire mourir de faim un peuple qui se contente d'un morceau de pain noir!" ("It really takes talent to starve a people who can satisfy themselves with a morsel of black bread!") a charming woman said with great sarcasm to me the other day. . . . The epigram is one as true as it is shrewd. It has required the most ingenious tyranny, the most oppressive and grinding taxation, the most unrelieved succession of years of barren and useless, callous and chafing government to rouse the populace.

But the recent violent manifestations of hostility to the constitution must not be too exclusively ascribed to hunger. As a matter of fact, in some places there was no question of hunger at all, or even of poverty.

Nothing can be more culpable or more unwise than to tax plain foods at an enormous rate; but in the ever-increasing irritation of Italy there are many other reasons at work than those connected with either food or famine. The causes of rebellion lie deeper than the roots of the corn, and although "a full belly makes a civil tongue," many persons who have never been hungry are as dissatisfied, if not as violent, as those who never know what it is to have hunger fully appeased. The foreign observer of course sees the raging mobs demanding bread, and does not see the more educated classes who are patient and apparently qui-

escent. But the latter are not the less indignant because breeding and education, fear of the uncertainty of any change and long habitual submission to authority keep them mute. The small gentry are almost entirely throughout the peninsula ruined through taxation and the forced sale of their lands by the fiscal authorities.

Not a day passes that there is not some territorial property forcibly sold, and sold for probably a tithe of its real value, at some local tribunal, because the local or imperial imposts have not been met. The government and the municipalities are devouring locusts stripping bare every bough on the family tree. A small house or a single farm will be seized because a few francs are owing to the fiscal authorities; the fees of lawyers and notaries and the costs of the court soon count up to and exceed its worth. It is lost forever to its owners.

There is now a project to restore some of the smallest of these places to those from whom they were taken; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred to do so will be impossible, since the poor defrauded owners are in exile or utterly beggared or dead.

It is so extremely easy to reduce poverty to misery; it is so extremely difficult to raise misery to comfort—so difficult, indeed, that the latter is never attempted. A poor wretch, living by carting sand, who is forced by the state to pay income tax and a further tax for keeping his famished old ass, may be pardoned if rash imprecations on authority escape him as he drags pence from his pocket to pay in addition a gate duty for his donkey's bundle of tares.

The owner of a reed-thatched hut in the Veneto, or of a stone cabin in the Puglia, or of a wattle hut in the Maremma marshes, may be pardoned if he curses all the powers above him when the stamped paper, headed by the royal name, summons him to meet some fine for some infringed-by-law or some imperial impost, and when he does not, because he cannot, pay, receives more stamped paper and finds himself deprived of his little home, which is worth scarcely more than a phragmite's nest in the bulrushes, yet is his all, as its nest is to the phragmite.

Such cases are of daily occurrence throughout the peninsula and in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. The statistics of the forced sales of small homes and holdings in the latter island are appalling to read.

Such a system cannot end in anything except universal ruin; yet to ex-

pose and struggle against it is treated as a treason and a crime! How can a people be expected to esteem and honor "institutions" which they only know and feel as the usurer who beggars them?

It is not possible to continue year after year to ruin and render homeless tens of thousands of harmless persons without creating in those persons the raw material from which the petroleum fires of a commune are lighted. It is not possible to harass and bleed tens of thousands of families which merely ask to be allowed to earn their bread in peace, without changing those quiet and peaceful people into angry agitators and restless sufferers from a regime which has beggared them. In tens of thousands of cases the head of the household is carried off to prison because he cannot pay some fine for some imaginary crime, some contravention of some paltry rule, some hasty word considered insult to authority; the sentence, the law, the prison expenses eat up the small economies of those who belong to him; when he comes out he finds want, abject want, awaiting him on the threshold.

Narrow is the line which divides the "just enough" from the "never enough," and over this line, into the bottomless pit which lies beyond it, the people are pushed by the brutality of the police and the wicked folly of the ruling classes.

In the Revue de Paris of June M. Mabileau does not appear to understand that those who pay but a franc or two of direct taxation, or who, by chance, or favor, or extremity of poverty, pay no imperial tax at all, suffer none the less from the taxation weighing on all supplies and necessities, from the gate tax which is levied on all who have even a bundle of grass for sale, and from the communal fines which injure the poor far more cruelly than any imperial tax. Take, for instance, an ambulatory seller of oranges or of any other portable article in the cities; although he is licensed to sell, he must not sell standing still or offer for sale more than a moment in one place. As a matter of course his sales are hurried and spoiled, and the fines which he incurs devour all his small profits. Take, again, the tax on salt and on matches. Both these are necessities to the very poor; the enormous tax placed upon them makes them dear to every one; many cannot afford salt at all, and its scarcity is considered to cause the prevalence of that terrible skin disease, the pellagra. All along the sea-coasts of the peninsula and of the islands, if anyone takes some sea water

and sets it in shallow pans to evaporate in the sun, to obtain a little pinch of untaxed salt, the offender is heavily fined for such a simple action, while a posse of guards patrol every seashore to prevent anyone from taking even a bottle of water.

The Italian people are perpetually tormented by such interference; by exaction, by eviction, by both imperial and local spoliation, by the tyrannies and insolence of a brutal police, by the multitudinous irritations of a torturing administration which apes in infinitesimal things the tyrannies and oppressions of the greater government.

#### HOW WOULD IT WORK IN YOUR TOWN?

This story relates to the pleasant little town of Prettyfair. Where is that town situated? Oh, well, that doesn't much matter—say in South Australia. There are many towns like it all over Anglo-Saxondom.

Municipal matters were in a bad way in Prettyfair. It was the same old story; the same old complaints were made that we have all heard so often: Too much poor material in the town council; hard to get the best men—the able men—to run; general politics introduced into municipal matters; the hail-fellow-well-met style of ward politician gets the big pull always; councillors spend more time in wrangling and jawing one another than in attending to town business in a business-like way. Result, slipshod methods and general inefficiency.

One day a few of the leading men of the town met in an informal way to talk the matter over, in view of a coming municipal election, and to try and find a remedy. The first proposition was the one that most of us are familiar with; namely: "Let us make a determined effort to get good men in the council irrespective of party." Said one citizen: "Now, here is our friend, Mr. Backbone; he would make a splendid councilman. Will you run in your ward, Mr. Backbone?"

"Not if I know it," replied Backbone. "That fellow Windgasser would be sure to run against me. He has got the pull with the Starry Knights and the Sons of the Morning, and has made himself solid in the ward generally. I am not going to put myself in the position of being the beaten opponent of a man like Windgasser."

"Oh, well," said another, "but a man of your standing in the town could beat him if you made an active canvass."

"Possibly so," answered Backbone, "but I cannot spare the time or the energy from my business; and even if I could, I would not feel inclined to. If

the people of Prettyfair want me to do work for them gratis, they will have to elect me without my going round begging and canvassing for permission to serve them."

"Well," suggested another of the party, "here is Mr. Tippleknot. He is a good executive man of high standing in the town, and would have the temperance vote on his side. Why not run in your ward, Mr. Tippleknot?"

Tippleknot shook his head. "What good would the temperance vote do me there?" said he. "If I could get a fair proportion of the temperance vote of the whole town, it would be all right; but the temperance vote in my own ward is not enough. You know that Crookarm, who is in the council now, has the whole liquor interest with him. Besides, he is on the other side of politics, and it would be made a political matter, and his side has a majority in our ward. No, it won't work."

Mr. Clearcut, Mr. Square, Mr. Footdown and Mr. Goodhead, were successively appealed to, with a like result. None of them would become candidates.

"It seems to me," remarked Clearcut, "that no immediate remedy is possible. The root of the difficulty is in the ward system, along with our plan of election, which gives every facility for the introduction of party politics where they are only mischievous. You all know that it is not the better class of party men who introduce party politics. Some narrow-minded partisans nominate candidates of one political stripe all along the line, and then the other side follow suit in self-defense; or, perhaps each side nominates to head off the other side."

Square looked at him thoughtfully. "The ward system is a very poor one; but can you get anything better in its place? If you had voting at large all over the town, it would mean that the party which had even a narrow majority would put in all the councillors. They have tried that plan in the United States."

Goodhead now joined in the discussion. "You are right, Square; but voting at large is not the only way. We have about 1,200 voters in the town—at least, that is the average number who vote—and we return 12 councillors. Divide one by the other, and you get a hundred votes to each councillor. Now, suppose you had a system by which any hundred voters in any part of the town could elect a councilman to represent them; how would that work? Say, Backbone, couldn't you be dead sure of a hundred votes if you

were running, and had the whole town to draw from?"

"He could get double that number without canvassing a single elector," broke in Footdown, with emphasis.

"And you, Tippleknot," pursued Goodhead, "couldn't you get considerably over a hundred votes, if you were not pinned down to one ward for your temperance supporters?"

"No doubt of that," answered Tippleknot. "The idea looks good. But wouldn't you waste a great many votes? How could you fix it so that only about the hundred votes would be cast for your man, or at any rate, only enough more to make sure of his election?"

"Oh, that is easy enough. Arrange it so that when the votes were counted only enough to elect a man would be credited to him, and the remainder transferred to some other candidate indicated by the electors themselves each on his own ballot."

Another of the party here remarked that there were too many councilmen anyhow; that nine would do the business better than 12.

"I quite agree with you," replied Goodhead. "The experience of some cities that have lessened the number of wards goes that way. The abolition of our six wards would make it easy to reduce the number of councillors to nine. Then it would be well to change the nomination system so that a candidate must be nominated in writing before a certain date by, say, 12 electors. By thus making the whole town one large constituency, electing nine councillors, and electing them by a good plan of proportional representation, any candidate who was a good enough man to command one-ninth of the votes of the whole electorate would be elected. The better element of the community scattered over the whole town, could unite freely to return really good men, in exact proportion to their voting strength. Men like our friends Backbone and Tippleknot would then be willing to run, because their election could be made reasonably certain."

"But," objected Mr. Gosloe, "is not the ward system necessary to prevent injustice being done to some section of the town, in the matter of sidewalks or other public accommodations, by reason of its not being represented?"

Clearcut answered him: "Proportional representation of the whole town effects that very object better than the ward system does; because if a sectional matter became very important, the people of that section could get a candidate specially to represent their interests, if they were strong enough

in numbers; they would not be confined to any hard and fast ward boundaries; and they might draw scattering votes from sympathizers all over town."

After an animated discussion of details, there appeared to be a general agreement with the ideas of Clearcut and Goodhead.—Citizen and Country, Toronto, Ont.

#### ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW.

Robert Fitzsimmons feels aggrieved at the remarks of Chauncey M. Depew in an interview published recently, wherein Dr. Depew held up the rough riders as examples of moral courage and intimated that pugilists lacked valor because none of them volunteered to serve his country in the recent war.

"I am surprised at the doctor," said the champion last evening. "I called upon him at his home and found him a nice man, but he is off his base when he says pugilists are shy on moral or any other old kind of courage. Why, nine out of ten soldiers who went to the war would take to the woods if they were placed in a 24-foot ring along with a good man.

"It don't take much courage for a fellow to stand up with a lot of others and take a long chance of being hit by a bullet, but it does take sand to stand up to a man who is your physical equal and get half a dozen good belts in the eye. When you get hit by a bullet your light goes out before you know what struck you, but when your eye begins to swell it hurts, and it's painful to your feelings as well to realize that you are going to get the other one closed, too.

"I don't want to insinuate that Chauncey is shy on courage, but if he has a record as a warrior I have never heard of it. As an actual fact, I know personally of over 25 prize fighters who went to the war. Does Chauncey know of as many railroad magnates?"

"Why, yes, Bob was just crazy to go to the war, and offered to lead a company of pugilists," said Mrs. Fitzsimmons, who had been an interested listener to the conversation.—Chicago Tribune.

#### POVERTY IS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH VICE.

The theaters of the Nineteenth ward are not so bad as they are painted and not so vicious in many instances as the plays put on at the theaters in the heart of the city. They rely for their effects and attractions usually on the blowing up of a steamboat, of a raid of red Indians or some similar situation. They do not, as is often the case in the play on the downtown stage, turn upon some case of domestic trouble.—Miss

Jane Addams before the Methodist Ministers of Chicago.

#### THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN. (A Spanish View.)

He's free to live in a tenement gay,  
If he's money to pay the rent;  
He's free to work for a dollar a day  
"Till all his bones are bent.  
He's free to sing "God save the ring,"  
(That rules his life like fate);  
And he's free to yell "We've got no king,"  
While brigands loot the state.  
—Translated from El Pais, Madrid.

None recognized more fully than Henry George himself that he was far from being the first to call attention to the right of each nation to the land of its own country; nor was he the first to recommend a single tax upon the value of land, as the only proper method of taxation. His peculiar glory, and that which will secure to him lasting fame, is that he was the first to show the intimate connection between these two great truths, and to call the attention of the world to the fact that the problems of land and taxation were really one and the same, and that the abolition of every form of unjust taxation and the collection of public revenue from one tax, and one alone, was the sole and sufficient remedy for the private misappropriation of land.—Thomas G. Shearman, in Self-Culture.

Irascible Lieutenant (down engine-room tube)—"Is there a blithering idiot at the end of this tube?" Voice from

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the engine-room—"Not at this end, sir."  
—Punch.

The fact that we can't take our money with us when we die is a great consolation to the legal profession.—Puck.

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