

Edward A. Hach  
729 Central Ave  
Apr 1-99

# The Public

First Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1898.

Number 29.

**LOUIS F. POST, Editor.**

Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post-office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last column of last page.

The United States circuit court, sitting at Cleveland, issues an injunction against the strikers there, forbidding their holding meetings upon the highway near the property of the wire and steel trust. They are striking in resistance to a reduction of wages. The injunction is granted lest they may at these meetings commit a breach of the peace. That is the substance of the decision. Thus this United States court at once interferes with freedom of assembly, and assumes the police function of preserving the local peace. Is there anything else the trusts would like United States courts to do?

Conflicting reports come across the water as to the intention of the United States regarding the debt for which Spain has mortgaged Cuba. On the one hand it is asserted that the American commissioners peremptorily refuse to make any agreement that would impose this debt upon either Cuba or the United States. But on the other, and this is more significant than unauthoritative assertions, it is reported that the Cuban bonds in question have risen in price on the Paris market. And not that alone. The best purchasers of these bonds are Spaniards and Americans. That fact is regarded in Paris as highly suggestive. So it is.

President McKinley exhibits a confused state of mind regarding the relation of the approaching elections to the Spanish war. In his speeches, which became bolder and bolder in favor of imperial colonization, as he progressed on his tour, he implied to-

ward the last that in his opinion the people heartily approved his policy. Yet he makes no secret of his anxiety as to the result of the elections, fearing that a democratic victory would be taken as a rebuke. But if the president is confident that the people approve his policy why has he any anxiety about the elections? Perhaps he is not so well satisfied as he professes to be that the shouting of his partisans when he appears really expresses the popular will.

No doubt it would be better for the country if the democratic party were to triumph at the elections. A rebuke of the imperial colonization policy of the administration would be a good thing. But it is doubtful if their triumph would be better for the democrats themselves. The people are destined to go through unpleasant experiences within the next two years, some of the aftermath of McKinleyism, for which the democrats would be held responsible should the elections go in their favor. For instance: The times are bad now, though the president says they are very prosperous. Suppose they should continue bad after a democratic victory. How easy it would then be for the president and his clique to change their tune, and, admitting the hard times, insinuate that they had come as the result of the democratic victory at the polls.

The efforts of the plutocratic press to make out the Virden riot to have been a race conflict, is humbug. It was not a race fight at all, but a labor fight. It would have happened just the same if the imported workers had been white instead of black. The fact is noticeable that trades unions, instead of being controlled by race prejudice against negroes, harbor very little of that prejudice. The anti-

negro spirit must be looked for higher up.

Goaded by the attack of Richard Harding Davis in Scribner's Magazine, Gen. Shafter has broken silence. He goes no further, however, than to denounce Davis personally, and to assert that any general who had landed his troops at Aguadores, where Davis suggested that they should have been landed, ought to be shot for incompetency. Gen. Shafter lays great stress upon his having treated Davis the same as other reporters, implying that Davis is now seeking revenge for Shafter's refusal to accord him peculiar advantages. It is altogether probable that Davis felt resentful at such treatment, for he is one of the men who suffer from expansion of the head; but, despite Davis's faults, we should be slow in attributing to him any inclination to be malicious. That, however, is of little importance to the public, for George Kennan, the man who exposed the atrocities of the Russian government, and who is telling in the Outlook of his observations and investigations at Santiago, is much more severe upon Gen. Shafter than Davis was, and Mr. Kennan has a reputation for fairness which Gen. Shafter cannot "cuss" down.

Dun's trade review has dropped a discordant note into its weekly song of prosperity. In last week's issue it observed that "while it cannot be said that business is in any sense falling off, yet many are complaining because the amount realized as profit is smaller than was formerly realized in good times." This is in harmony with the explanation of the Iron Trade Review, that "the prosperity of the future will consist rather in having much to do, than in having large profits or high wages." It

seems, then, that the prosperity which the McKinley-Dingley combination have given us, is like that of the apple woman who sold her fruit at a loss, and depended upon large sales for her profits.

Bob Ingersoll, whose politics is of much the same order as his religion, infers prosperity in the most extraordinary way. "The banks are full, the treasury is full," he says, "so I think President McKinley is justified when he says that the country is prosperous." This is weak, very weak. There is no more familiar fact, perhaps, than that it is in hard times, not in prosperous ones, that the banks are fullest, for then the banks take all they can and keep all they get. And as to a full treasury, why is the treasury full? Because it has just borrowed \$200,000,000 that the country didn't need, and is being fed daily besides with the revenues from a war tax. The treasury is fat because it has plucked the people. And Bob Ingersoll points to that as proof of prosperity! If his arguments against the Christian religion are as flabby, it is no wonder the preachers smile when he "reasons."

"What the country needs is more markets," says the presidential phrase-maker. But if that be true, what becomes of McKinley's old campaign cry for a "home market?" Is the home market so full of goods that we must needs take in new territory in order to make more markets? Let the Virden miners answer. Their market is not yet over-supplied; and they are but types of millions of unsatisfied men who want to buy goods, but cannot because they are shut out from natural opportunities.

It would be funny if the subject were not so serious, the way in which the false prophets of prosperity brag about the increasing excess of exports over imports. It is like a man's bragging about an increase in the excess of his expenditures over his income. For many years we have been sending more wealth out of the country than

we have got back; yet the prosperity prophets clap their hands and shout themselves hoarse, because the excess is growing!

To illustrate the absurdity of any enthusiasm about increasing exports, let us consider some official figures. For the past four years the excess of exports over imports was as follows, for merchandise:

1895 .....	\$ 23,190,789
1896 .....	324,257,685
1897 .....	357,113,816
1898 (to Aug. 31).....	351,722,129

Total excess of merchandise exports over merchandise imports.....\$1,056,284,419

Now, the stereotyped argument of the prosperity prophets is that all this enormous excess of exports, \$1,056,284,419, will come back to us in silver and gold. But the treasury reports as to the precious metals lend no color of truth to that argument. The net exports and imports of silver and gold during the four years referred to above foot up as follows:

Excess of exports (silver)...	\$103,661,564
Excess of imports (gold)...	68,058,488

Total excess of precious metal exports .....\$ 35,603,076

So it appears (and all these figures are from the Monthly Summary of the treasury department, for August, 1898, as corrected to September 29, pages 466-67-68) that from January 1, 1895, to August 31, 1898, the net imports of gold and silver were not enough even to begin to pay for the net exports of merchandise. In fact, there were no net imports of gold and silver. The exports of these metals exceeded the imports, and so added to the net exports of merchandise the sum of \$35,603,076, for net exports of the precious metals.

Taking the excess during that period, of all exports—gold, silver and merchandise—and we find that from January 1, 1895, to August 31, 1898, this country shipped abroad more wealth than it received back, by the enormous sum of \$1,091,887,495. Has anyone, even the prosperity

prophets, any expectation of our getting that sum back in silver and gold? Why, it is millions more than the total imports of silver for 60 years; it is almost as much as the total imports of gold for 60 years; it is considerably more than the net imports of both gold and silver for 60 years. To pay off in gold the excess of our merchandise exports since January 1, 1895—as it appeared upon striking a balance on the 31st of last August—it would be necessary to import \$18,181,458, in gold, every month for five years, without exporting any gold at all. When it is considered that the present extraordinary gold movement in our direction has aggregated less than this amount since August 2d, a period of 10 weeks—or at the rate of only \$7,200,000 a month—what reasonable expectation can there possibly be that the enormous indebtedness of other countries to ours, on merchandise account, contracted since January 1, 1895, will ever be paid? None at all.

If we go back of 1895, we find the indebtedness still larger. Since 1873 our exports have exceeded our imports every year but four; and during the same period, instead of getting our pay back in gold and silver, we exported more of each of those metals than we imported. Let any one who doubts, take the Monthly Summary and figure out the result for himself. He will discover that the aggregate value of the merchandise and precious metals that have been sent out of this country since 1873 is very much in excess of the aggregate value of the merchandise and precious metals that during the same period have been received into this country. In other words, we have as a people been bankrupting ourselves during all these years, with excessive exports; and now the prosperity fakirs make merry because the excess of exports is becoming still more excessive, and public bankruptcy in consequence still more overwhelming. If a merchant's books showed such a state of affairs, he would expect his business to fall

into the hands of a receiver; and if he went about bragging of his prosperity he would be sent to a lunatic asylum.

But it may be asked, What becomes of these vast exports of American goods if they are never paid for with other goods nor with gold and silver? The question is easily answered. To some extent they pay the expenses of Americans traveling abroad. To a still greater extent they pay the interest on American public debts abroad. To a greater extent yet they pay the interest and principal of private debts owed by Americans to foreign creditors. Then there are dividends on the stock of American railroads and street car companies held by foreign stockholders. But most of all, are the ground rents of American lands owned by non-resident landlords. These latter include mines and city lots as well as farming land. The interest on debts is repayment, of course, for something the foreigners who receive it have done to improve this country; but ground rents and the dividends on account of railroad franchises and mining royalties are simple tribute. They are in no sense repayment for any improvement or other benefit. To this extent our exports would do the country as a whole as much good if they were dumped into the sea. Yet we are asked to regard every excess of exports over imports as evidence of prosperity!

When prosperity does come, no statistics of exports will be necessary to prove it. Everybody will know the fact without figures. Meantime, keep your eye on real estate speculation. That is the true test of coming or going prosperity. When times are good, the real estate market is lively. When times are bad, the real estate market is dull. At present the real estate market is dull. And so are the times. The only prosperity is that which monopolists enjoy.

The republican governor of Michigan, Mr. Pingree, is in nowise self-deceived by his partisanship as to the true character of the relation of Mr.

McKinley to Mr. Hanna. He has explained to a reporter that "the president is Hanna, and Hanna is McKinley, and if you said he wasn't, Hanna would be awfully offended." It is refreshing to find one republican of prominence who is proof against the blandishments of the sanctimonious member of Mr. Hanna's political firm.

At least one of the prominent antagonists of Bryan in 1896 has at last discovered that the silver issue is superficial—only a surface manifestation of widespread and deep-seated hostility to things as they are. This man-head-of-his-crowd is Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin. In a recent article in *Self Culture* he says that though the silver agitation were to die out, the underlying cause would find some other form of activity. The underlying cause is opposition to legalized privilege, though Laughlin does not so distinguish it in terms; and of course that is just as reprehensible in his estimation as the silver agitation; for is he not a professor in Rockefeller's university at Chicago? and could he remain there if he were in any degree opposed to the perpetuation of legalized privilege? True, Prof. Laughlin deplors the corruption under existing conditions, which he thinks is directly traceable to a few arrogant corporations, but he is offended only by surface corruption. We do not mean to imply by this that he would approve corruption merely because it succeeded in hiding itself. He is by no means so crude as that. Prof. Laughlin would doubtless condemn as unsparingly, corruption that remained hidden if he believed there were any such, as that which is exposed. But he does not realize that corruption is corrupt when its methods are conventionally decent. He has no conception of corruption at the core. Institutional robbery is to him not robbery at all. Hence his anxiety. For if arrogant corporations continue their display of legislative corruption it is indeed certain, as he says, that the masses will not discriminate. They

will strike as hard at vested interests as at those of recent unsavory origin—as hard, for instance, at respectable robbery through landlordism as at the less respectable sort through legislative bribery. Even Rockefeller's sanctified plundering might feel the stress of the storm. If only the masses would confine their hostility to the creation of new opportunities for plunder, and especially to legislative corruption, leaving the beneficiaries of hoary wrongs to the enjoyment of their "swag" in peace, Prof. Laughlin would be content. But, shrewder than some of his associates, he sees not only that the great underlying cause of the silver agitation, but also the underlying cause of every other variety of social agitation, is inveterate hostility to legalized privilege. So he sounds the alarm.

A correspondent asks us to explain from what source wealth is derived. It depends upon what he means by "wealth." If he means land, machinery, money, bonds, dry goods, houses, grain, slaves, book accounts, railroad franchises, cattle, and so on—that is, if he means all the various things that we have in mind when we say of an individual that he is wealthy—then wealth is derived from various sources. Land, for instance, is derived from nature, grain from land, slaves from the great body of men, book accounts from trading transactions, money from government, and franchises from legislatures. But if by "wealth" our correspondent means not the things that make individuals wealthy by impoverishing other individuals, but, as we suppose him to mean, only those things that add to the sum total of wealth, the things that lessen that amount when destroyed and increase it when produced—then the source is the material universe which constitutes human environment—the land. The power which produces wealth from this source is human energy—labor. This definition of wealth properly excludes land, money, bonds, slaves,

bank accounts and franchises. Franchises and bonds are mere powers—whether good or bad is foreign to the point—whereby the owners are able to command the labor of others. They do not add to wealth in general, but merely transfer ownership. So of book accounts and money, convenient as they are they could be destroyed without diminishing the aggregate of wealth. Being mere evidences of title, what the owners lost others would retain. Slaves, of course, are not wealth in this sense. And as to land, its value is no addition to the sum total of wealth, for that value stands for nothing but the power of the owner under the law to take wealth from others. What he gains they lose, and when they are considered together as a whole, there is neither gain nor loss. Wealth, considered as a social quantity, can be produced only by labor, and its sole source is land. Anything not so produced from that source is not social wealth. It may enrich individuals, and so be individual wealth; but inasmuch as the impoverishment of other individuals is to the same extent involved, it cannot be considered as wealth in general.

A St. Louis woman told the Household Economic association, at its Omaha meeting, that more can be done toward solving labor problems, "by woman making the home attractive and elevating its morals than by all the labor organizations, and anarchist and socialist societies put together." This St. Louis woman must be a reincarnation of the French princess who, when the populace cried for bread, asked why they didn't eat cake.

Four years ago the Pullman Palace Car company crowded down the wages of its men until they were driven to strike, efforts to bring about an arbitration being foiled by the company, whose officers insisted that they were compelled to reduce wages by the bad conditions of their business. Yet this same company report-

ed last week that in addition to the dividends which it has paid on its capital of \$36,000,000, mostly water, it finds in its assets a surplus of \$18,000,000, which it has now added to its capital stock, as a basis for future exorbitant dividends. If this were really a private business, the increase of capital stock would be nobody's affair but that of the stockholders. But the Pullman Palace Car company could make no such profit out of a competitive enterprise. It makes its enormous profits out of hidden "pulls" and secret contracts with railroad corporations, which are not private concerns at all, but public servants. The matter is therefore a public affair. But what is the public going to do about it?

In connection with the increase of capital stock of the Pullman Palace Car company, it will be interesting to note how the employes have been paid during the past year. According to the company's report, the average number of persons on the pay rolls at Pullman for the year was 5,012, and the wages paid was \$2,702,591—an average of less than \$540 for each person employed. These persons, according to the same report, turned over to the company during the year a manufactured product worth \$10,368,256. In the latter sum there enter, of course, not only the labor of the men but also items for materials and wear and tear of machinery; but these items do not account for the difference between something less than three millions in wages and something more than ten millions in product. If they did there would not be an \$18,000,000 surplus after paying dividends. It appears, then, that for less than three millions in wages the Pullman employes have turned over to the company not far from ten millions in product. Yet the company and its apologists would have the public understand that the wages of its men are paid by it. To a man up a tree, it would look as if the men paid their own wages, and a good deal besides.

The annual report of the secretary of the American Proportional Representation league is just out. This league has for its president William Dudley Foulke, of Richmond, Ind., and for its secretary Stoughton Cooley, of Maywood, Ill. Its vice presidents are William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, and Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland. The object of the league is to promote the adoption of a simple election system, whereby voters may choose the candidate whom of all others they prefer, without risking the success of their party organization. Mr. Cooley's report shows that in Switzerland, where proportional representation is already in use in some cantons and cities, it is being extended to others, and that a recent attempt to abolish it in one of the cantons was overwhelmingly defeated. Spirited agitations also are in progress in France, Belgium and Germany, while Norway, Argentina and Brazil are in some form using the system for local elections. In Japan, the liberal party, the strongest single party there, is behind the proportional representation bill, which is soon to be reported. And in Tasmania the system was used in 1897 in two towns, under a temporary law, which is likely to be made permanent owing to the satisfactory result of the experiment.

An essential principle of proportional representation is that it gives the reformer in politics freedom to act within party lines. The voter, by making his party candidate his second choice, can vote for an independent whom he prefers, with full assurance that if the independent fails of election, the full force of his vote will go to the party candidate. On this point Mr. Cooley says in his report :

It is useless to rail at the voter for sticking to his party; but an appeal to support the best men in the party will seldom be made in vain, if a way is provided by means of which he can discriminate between the candidates of his own party without jeopardizing the principles for which it stands.

Principles are above men, and party politics will always stand before individual candidates. The free silver and the gold standard advocates will each support an inferior candidate on his own side rather than a superior one on the opposing; but neither of them would hesitate to support the better candidates on his own ticket if given the opportunity. This opportunity is denied so long as representatives are chosen from single districts or wards. No choice of candidates within the party is possible when but one is to be elected; it is then merely a choice of parties. But if the districts be made large enough to elect ten or more representatives, and these be taken from the several political parties, or bodies of voters, in proportion to the votes they poll, the successful men within the party being those standing highest on the party ticket, then it will be possible for the voter to discriminate among men as well as among parties.

We commented last spring upon the pamphlet which Jay D. Miller, of Oak Park, Ill., had then just issued, entitled "Finance and Transportation," referring to it as an intellectual mine which all parties to the controversy might profitably explore. This book has met with a most satisfactory sale, the first edition of 11,000 copies having been exhausted. Mr. Miller has just issued a second and revised edition. The price of the second edition is the same as that of the first—ten cents a copy, and one dollar for twenty—but several valuable additions have been made to the text. One of the most important of these relates to the Prussian railroads, which are under public ownership, showing that for the fiscal year 1896-97 they not only paid expenses and yielded to the disposition fund \$4,760,000, but that they also paid a full half of all other government expenses. To people who are beginning to feel that something is wrong in our transportation and money systems, Mr. Miller has supplied a book of inestimable value. It is so commended by such public men as Gov. Pingree, ex-Gov. Altgeld and Mayor Jones, of Toledo.

Kipling's poem on Adam-zad, "the bear that walked like a man,"

is an epoch-making poem if there ever was one. With a single powerful stroke he unmasks the false pretense of the Russian oligarchy in allowing the czar to put forth his proposals for disarmament. Since Peter the Great, it has been the undoubted ambition of Russia, as represented by her despotic government, to become the Rome of modern times—to rule the world. Patiently, year by year and century by century this ambition is being worked out; and neither violence nor fraud is put aside when a point is to be made. The recent plea for disarmament is plainly only a play in the game. It is as Kipling says: "There is no truce with Adam-zad, the bear that looks like a man." The reason there is and can be no truce, is because Adam-zad typifies the despotic nation of modern history, and between despotism and freedom there can never be any truce.

In Chicago the populist party is devoting itself pretty thoroughly to the single tax idea. We have already spoken of Clarence Moeller, the candidate for county assessor, who is making his campaign along single tax lines. Another populist candidate is doing the same thing. This is Johan Waage, who is running for representative in the legislature from the 11th senatorial district. Mr. Waage tells the people that "when much wealth is produced wages will be high, unless part of the product is taken from the laborer without recompense." This is a bottom truth, admirably stated. Let workingmen think it over and grasp its significance, and outbreaks like the Virden riot will become things of the past. There will be no occasion for riots when workingmen really get an increasing share of an increasing product.

The Post-Intelligencer of Seattle has discovered a brand new panacea for poverty. It proposes that every man who earns \$500 a year shall take care of one poor child, and of another for every additional \$500, men with

incomes of \$2,000 to add a widow or helpless aged woman to their list of dependents. This would be a magnificent poor house system; but if we understand the people of Washington they are not so ambitious to improve poor house systems as to get rid altogether of the necessity for poor houses. Stop legalized stealing, make the eighth commandment a living principal of social life, and no child, nor widow, nor aged helpless woman would welcome the patronizing charity of strangers.

These charity pleaders are fitly rebuked by ex-Congressman Tom L. Johnson, the millionaire monopolist, who says—

I don't believe in charity. It is merely another drink to a shaky man. What the world needs is justice, and not benevolence. I shall continue to decline to give checks to the eleemosynary institutions, and I leave no money to build churches and found libraries. My family will be well provided for, but the rest of my fortune, after my death as well as before, will be spent in trying to teach people how to stop me, and men like me, from robbing them. So long as it is permitted to any man to take what doesn't belong to him through monopolizing nature's resources, and the private ownership of public utilities, plenty of men of my kind will always be ready to jump in and do the stealing. My mission is to show the people how it is done, and to show them how they can put an end to the system which enriches me and impoverishes them

Commenting upon this sensible declaration of Johnson's, the Eclipse, of Campbell Hill, Ill., thoughtfully remarks:

The superficial thinker will say right off that Tom Johnson and men like Tom Johnson are to be held responsible for the possession of inordinate wealth; but this is not true when considered in the last analysis. They simply make use of conditions and opportunities (of monopoly) that society has supplied and encouraged. As long as the laws and customs of society are all shaped in the interests of special privilege, there will be no scarcity of men with scheming minds ready to take advantage of special privilege. Destroy the opportunity for monopoly, and you extirpate the power for robbery.

While the republican papers of Washington are fighting the amend-

ment permitting local option in taxation, upon the ground that all property should be taxed equally, it would be in order for them to show that all property in Washington is taxed equally. And when they find that under their equal taxation constitution, the chief burdens of taxation are escaped by the richer classes, which is the fact, it will be in order for them to inquire whether this is not true of every community that exists under an equality system of taxation. Having also satisfied themselves upon that point, let them then show, if they can, that equality taxation, as they call it, is possible. In fact, it never has been practically applied, and its practical application with fairness is not possible. The only fair taxation is not equal, but equitable, taxation. Tax men not according to the values they earn, but according to the values which the community gives to them, and your tax is just, fair, equitable.

A curious commentary upon the prevailing prejudice against conferring the ballot upon women is afforded by the fact that no less than four of the governments of the world are ruled by women. At the head of the list, and the most democratic of the four, is England, upon whose throne sits Victoria. The most despotic is China, whose destinies are guided by the empress dowager—Tuen-Tson-Hsi. The other two are Holland and Spain. It is never insinuated that these women are unfit for the high political positions they hold. Then why should it be supposed that women in general are unfit for the simple duty of casting a vote. There is only one reason; but that, the opponents of woman suffrage are not candid enough to give. If they were frank they would say that their objection to womanhood suffrage is that they do not believe in reposing political power in the hands of the people. This is the only objection to woman suffrage that does not also condemn woman monarchs.

Puck asks, "Why can't a man be right and be president, too?" Puck should ask Senator Hanna. He knows.

Personal property taxation is driving rich men away from New York. That would be no great loss, for rich men, merely as rich men, are useless. A man's usefulness depends upon what he does, upon what he gives to the community and not upon what he takes from it. But these New York rich men, though they continue to draw unearned incomes from New York, will escape the payment of personal taxes there. So much for the effectiveness of personal property taxation. It may be effective in driving rich people away, but not in making them support the state in return for and to the extent of the peculiar and valuable advantages the state confers upon them. In its final results, therefore, the more stringently personal property taxation is enforced, the greater the inducement for rich men to get beyond the jurisdiction and leave the other fellows—farmers and such—to bear the burdens they thus escape.

#### THE VIRDEN RIOT.

It is a common thing when riots take place, to appeal to the public to disregard all pleas tending to excuse or justify, and to insist, regardless of every other consideration, upon the immediate and unconditional suppression of disorder. But when we remember that in communities that are habitually peaceful, riots seldom take place unless provoked by some injustice which ought to be removed, we should ask ourselves whether, notwithstanding their importance, peace and order are after all the sole consideration at such a time. We should at any rate be disposed to consider the facts, rationally and calmly. Let us discuss, then, the Virden riot in that spirit.

Virden is a coal mining town in central Illinois. Most of the miners usually employed there live in or near the town, and many of them own their homes. These miners are

dependent for a living, upon employment at digging coal in the mines of that region.

But the mines there, like mines everywhere, have been turned over to private owners, just as if they had been produced by the owners instead of having been given to mankind by nature. Consequently, the Virden miners cannot dig in the mines unless the mine owners hire them. A question necessarily arises, therefore, as to the amount of wages which the corporation can afford to give and the miners can afford to accept.

The same question having arisen from similar conditions in other parts of the coal mining region of Illinois, the mine owners and the mine workers of the state recently met in joint convention and agreed upon what they regarded as fair terms. But for peculiar local reasons these terms were not satisfactory to the Virden mine owners, who shut down their mines.

The local miners, whose homes and livelihood were now at stake, offered to compromise; but the mine owners ignored them. The miners then offered to submit the issue to the decision of the state board of arbitration. This proposition, also, the mine owners ignored. And when the board, upon its own motion, thereupon investigated the issue and advised as to the sum which, under all the circumstances, would be a fair rate of wages, the mine owners still refused to allow their mines to be worked. They enforced what is commonly known as a "lockout," as distinguished from a "strike."

Affairs having remained in this state for some time, the mine owners sent agents into Alabama to engage gangs of negro miners to come into the Virden mines. These agents represented to the negroes that in consequence of the prosperity of the country, which had made the coal business active, and of the war which had drawn large numbers of white miners into the army, there was a brisk demand for miners at Virden.

The negroes, thus deceived, were brought to Virden by the car load, and when they arrived the local miners took up arms and threatened to prevent their landing. Meantime the mine owners had employed bodies of



private detectives, organized and armed in military fashion, some of whom were placed upon the railroad trains to guard the negroes, and some at the mines to cover the landing.

The mine owners also called upon the mayor, the sheriff and the governor for assistance. The governor, who is a republican, refused assistance. He said that he would send troops to preserve the peace if necessary, but that he would not allow the troops to be used as a guard to facilitate the landing of the Alabama negroes.

This was the situation when, on the 12th of this month, a train load of negroes was brought into Virden. The riot or battle then ensued. Who fired first is not yet established; but the battle was between armed mine workers, and armed private detectives employed by the mine owners. Many men on both sides were killed and wounded.

As soon as he received word of the violent outbreak the governor threw troops into Virden, disarmed both sides, and enforced the peace; but he refused and has ever since continued to refuse, to allow the mine owners to unload the gangs of miners imported by them from other states.

These are all the material facts, in substance, that have as yet been disclosed.

The first question to which these facts give rise is the legality of the acts of the miners and of the position of the governor. But no one can positively answer that question until the courts decide. For we have fallen upon times when neither legislatures nor custom, but judges make our laws. Since a bare majority of the supreme court of the United States overruled the precedents of a century to nullify the popular income tax law, and other courts began to overrule the principle of trial by jury, by issuing injunctions in restraint of anticipated crime in labor cases, it has not been easy to know the law in a given case, in advance of the decision, without first knowing which side retains the judge who has the casting vote. Before a Tanner court, it is not improbable that the action of the miners and the governor's position, in the Virden mat-

ter, would be approved as legal; but before a corporation court it is even more certain that it would be condemned.

In our own humble opinion the latter decision would be right. Legally, it was a breach of the peace for the miners, by arming and threatening violence, to prevent the landing of the negroes from Alabama, even though the negroes were poor dupes of the mine owners, and not citizens of one state seeking, in good faith, work in another state. And we should say that both in refusing to respond to the call of the sheriff with troops to preserve the peace, even though that involved protection to the coal mine owners in landing the gangs of negroes, and in preventing the landing of those negroes after he did send troops to Virden, the governor was without legal justification. Good reasons might be advanced, no doubt, for regarding Gov. Tanner's action as illegal. It might be said, for instance, that the coal mine owners were entitled by law to pursue their business in their own way in peace, and that if prevented by lawless force with which the local authorities could not cope, they were legally entitled to protection from the state. So it might be urged that the negroes had the legal right to come into the state as they did, and to be defended with all the power of the state against lawless force. It might be argued also that the railroad company had legal interests in the matter which it was the duty of the governor, when properly called upon, to protect with every power at his command. But this question need not be pursued. It is doubtful if any lawyer, whatever his personal sympathies, would undertake to defend the disorder of the miners or the position of the governor, upon purely legal grounds.

But the governor and the miners are not the sole violators of law in connection with the Virden riot. The mine owners, too, are guilty.

The employment of private guards, as they were employed by the mine owners at Virden, is distinctly forbidden by the statutes of Illinois. These guards were no part of the police force, either of the county or of the

state. They had not been called into service by any legal authority, and their acts of violence were as much outside the law as were those of the miners.

Whether this fact renders the guards and their employers liable for criminal homicide in connection with the loss of life in the riot, will depend upon the sentiment of the judges who have the last say in the case. It is to be hoped, however, that it will be found that they are liable. Peaceable people who are also sensitive to injustice, would like to see the law less discriminating in its assertions of majesty. If miners are to be punished for violating it, let mine owners, railroad managers, and those detective agencies that make a specialty of furnishing private troops in the teeth of the law—let them be punished, too. Much has happened in recent years to excuse if not to justify the feeling of workingmen that the law discriminates against them, and there would be no disputing it if the governor were censured and the miners punished for the Virden riots while the corporation managers were allowed to defy the law without question.

If we pass from the domain of mere legality to that of public morals, the whole force of the condemnation for the Virden riot must fall not upon the governor nor the miners, but upon the mine owners. Had they cherished the slightest interest in the public welfare, there would have been no riot. In this aspect of the question, it makes no difference whether they were strictly within the pale of their legal rights or not. Keeping out of the penitentiary is by no means the best test of good conduct.

They are in the attitude of the man who deliberately excites his adversary to anger, so as to have the law of him for some overt act that his passion may prompt. When they brought gangs of negroes into Virden from a distant part of the country, they did so for the purpose of angering men whose homes were at stake, and of provoking them to violence, in order that a necessity might be created for military interference. Peace, order, life, were nothing to them. They were ready and eager to disturb the peace,

to overturn order, to sacrifice life, provided they could make the blame appear to rest upon some one else. All they cared for was the object they pursued, which was to reduce a community of American workmen to a village of serfs. For no one believes that they expected these negroes to be satisfactory miners. At half the ordinary wages the negroes would have been dear workmen. They were imported to serve the temporary purpose of making the lockout successful. That accomplished, the negroes would have been thrown upon the town as paupers. Even if the mine owners had been strictly within the law, as in fact they were not, their conduct would have been as reprehensible as Shylock's, who also was within the law.

Going still further back of the question of legality, we meet the most important issue of all. It is that of abstract justice. For laws are but a species of arbitrary force, except as they promote justice; and though all agree that order must be preserved, that is because we regard order as a necessary condition of justice. When its preservation is made a bulwark of injustice, it ceases to be order, and becomes anarchy in the very worst sense of that much abused word. There is no worse conception of anarchy than legalized injustice.

Yet it is impossible to consider the circumstances of the Virden riot, fully and candidly, without recognizing the truth, that in deep-seated legalized injustice it had its origin. Why did these men kill each other? From race or class antipathy? Not at all. The miners had no deadly race feeling against the negroes. Neither had they any deadly hostility to the armed guards who garrisoned the mining grounds. Nor had the negroes nor the guards any such feeling in return towards the miners. As men, they could all have met in good fellowship; and under almost any other circumstances they might have done so. Yet under these circumstances they killed one another. Why? For a chance to work. Think of it! They killed one another for a chance to bear the curse of Eden!

And are opportunities to work so scarce as that—so scarce as to set men

at killing one another? By no means. Opportunities to work, unless something be done to diminish them, are limited only by the general desire to have work done and to give work in exchange for it. And that is limitless.

But something does diminish these opportunities. The one thing without which no work at all can be done is monopolized, and the owners shut workers out from it. That one thing is the land, upon which and out of which we live, and without which no one can live who does live.

The Virden miners needed access to the buried coal, they needed that and nothing more, in order to live. But the coal mine owners, in whom the law has vested authority to open or close the mines at their own will and in their own way, exercised their authority by locking the miners out. It was against this that the miners rebelled, and it was this that led on to the riot.

The miners felt that in justice they had a right to earn their living by working in those mines. Were they wrong? The burden is upon those who assert that they were. What better right in justice had the mine owners to close the mines than the miners to insist upon working them? What better right in justice had they than the miners to fix the terms upon which the mines should be opened? Did the title of the owners give them the better right? Trace their title back, even to the state or to the federal government, or to the French or English crown, and you get no nearer to anyone who had a just right to deed the earth away from those who are born in dependence upon using it for a living.

There is no just title to the Virden coal mines. Society itself is without the right in justice to control them, except by regulation to promote their use. It has no just right whatever to authorize them to be closed against use. Yet society did authorize them to be closed; and it was against that authorization that the miners rebelled. Who is most at fault for this rebellion? The miners themselves who fought for their natural right to earn a living, or society which empowers a favored few

of its numbers to close God's cellar door?

## NEWS

At Virden, Ill., the place of the labor riot which we reported last week, no further outbreak has occurred. The subject retains its interest, however, owing to the presence there of the military, to the continued refusal of the governor to permit the mine owners to land imported laborers, and to the coroner's investigation.

The total number of deaths attributed to the riot is thirteen, and at the last report it appeared that 22 persons were wounded. For the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the deaths, the coroner impaneled a jury on the 13th, the day after the riot, and began taking testimony. The coroner's jury is composed of a police magistrate, who is foreman, of the tax assessor, of a retired merchant, of a grocery clerk, and of two miners.

The point about which the testimony seriously conflicts is over the question of who fired first. In behalf of the operators it is asserted that the miners fired upon the train of negroes, and that the guards on the train did not fire back; that no firing was done by the guards until the train had reached the stockade where the negroes were to be landed. But in behalf of the miners the testimony is the reverse of this. Their witnesses swear that shooting was done from the train, and that in fact it began there.

Another point of importance was indicated by the lawyer for the miners. In his cross-examinations he showed that the armed detective guards had not lived a year in the county. That made them incompetent under a state law to act as peace officers, and tended to render them liable for homicide not committed in self defense.

On the 13th, the day following the riot, a further attempt was made to land the imported negroes at Virden, but the militia prevented it. In doing so they acted under the governor's orders. The general managers of the coal company made a formal request that the negroes be allowed to land and enter the stockade. This was refused by the militia officers in com-



mand, whereupon the general manager put his request in the form of a demand, to which the officer replied that his orders were to prevent the landing of imported laborers and he must obey. There appears to have been no subsequent attempt to defy the governor. In defense of his position Gov. Tanner says:

My position has been from the beginning emphatically against the importation of labor into Illinois, not from the southern states alone, but from all other states, because such a pernicious system necessarily brings to our state and dumps upon society an undesirable class of citizens, and I do not propose, if I can help it, that the state of Illinois shall be used as a dumping ground for the criminal and idle classes of other countries or other states. If one, two or three, or even larger numbers, come to our state in the proper order and in the ordinary way, seeking employment, and the mine owners see fit to employ them, I will give them all the protection necessary to peacefully operate their mines.

Warrants were issued on the 14th for the arrest of the president of the coal company, the general manager, and the detective guards. They are charged with conspiracy to murder, and with actually committing murder, the charge resting upon the evidence given at the inquest. But no arrests have been made. When the police officer started for the stockade to arrest the accused person, the fact caused intense excitement and the militia officer in command interfered. He agreed to prevent the accused from leaving the stockade, and the warrants were withheld. The accused are now confined in the stockade under military surveillance until public feeling shall have sufficiently subsided to make it prudent to bring them before the civil magistrate.

The action of Gov. Tanner "in refusing to permit the state militia to be used in the interest of the coal operators" has been indorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor, but the indorsement was given reluctantly. A feeling prevailed that the governor had merely made a bid for the labor vote, and the resolution was on the point of being lost when George A. Schilling, who was secretary of the state labor bureau under Gov. Altgeld, came to its rescue with an earnest speech. In the course of his speech Mr. Schilling said:

I don't care if, as has been said here, Gov. Tanner did or did not take the

stand he has in the Virden affair in the hope of gaining political capital. He did something that no other governor in the United States ever had the courage to do, and for that reason, in this instance, at least, he is deserving of our praise.

Another labor conflict in the United States has taken on an aspect of general import. It is the strike of the workmen in the steel and wire works at Cleveland, a branch of the recently formed trust known as the American Steel and Wire company. This strike was begun on the 1st of August last, in resistance to a reduction of wages. Just before the formation of the trust, wages had been reduced 15 per cent., and after the formation they were reduced 33 1-3 per cent. more. To the latter reduction the employees objected, and they appointed a committee to wait upon the company regarding the matter. But the company refused to confer with the committee. Thereupon the workmen struck and the strike has been in progress ever since. The strikers have congregated in the highways near the steel works, for the purpose of warning outside workmen of the continuance of the strike; and though no breaches of the peace have occurred, this has been made the basis by the company for applying for an injunction. Their application was made to the United States circuit court, before Judge Hammond, of Tennessee, and Judge Ricks, of Ohio, and in behalf of the strikers it was opposed by Arnold Green and ex-Congressman Martin A. Foran, two prominent lawyers of Cleveland. On the 18th the two judges granted the injunction.

Judge Hammond, who wrote the opinion in this injunction case, held that the fact that the complainant was a trust, and therefore a lawless organization under the statutes of Ohio, made no difference. He also held that to constitute a breach of peace on the part of the strikers it was not necessary that they should even have lifted a finger—the mere presence of large bodies of them near the works being sufficient.

In Wisconsin another labor case is in progress. This is a criminal trial for participation in a labor strike. The charge is conspiracy to injure the business of an employer of labor, and the defendants are Thomas I. Kidd, secretary of the International Wood Workers' union, and two "pickets."

They are defended by Clarence Darrow, of Chicago.

Of the great labor strike in Paris, described last week, very little news has reached us. On the 13th it was reported that the Railroad Men's union had decided to join the strike, and was sending instructions to provincial branches of the union to quit work, with a reminder, so the dispatch reads, "of the secret measures agreed upon at the railroad men's congress for the hindrance of traffic in the event of a strike." On the same day the offices of the strike committee were raided by the police and its papers seized, while several provincial railway stations were taken possession of by troops. Since these reports nothing of importance has been cabled.

Turning from labor difficulties to the difficulties incident to the negotiation of a treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, we find that affairs are being brought to a head. The commissioners of the two countries, sitting at Paris, held their fifth joint meeting on the 14th, and their sixth on the 17th. These meetings, like all that preceded them, were held in secret, but there is a definiteness and an air of probability about the reports of what occurred, which indicate that the reports are authentic. According to these reports, no discussion of the Philippine question has yet been reached, the commissioners having been at a deadlock over the question of the debt which Spain has saddled upon Cuba.

The Spanish commissioners insist, so the apparently true reports have it, that Spain shall be relieved of the Cuban debt, while the American commissioners insist that Spain shall withdraw from Cuba in accordance with the protocol—unconditionally. For their side of this issue the Spanish argued that a national debt is transferred with the transfer of sovereignty, and that as Spain is responsible for the Cuban debt she has a right to know to whom she relinquishes her sovereignty, to the end that she may discuss the responsibility for the debt. They therefore asked whether the sovereignty is to pass to the United States or to a Cuban government. To this the American commissioners replied that the Spanish position might have been tenable at one time, but that the signing of the protocol cut off all argument. Responding, the Spanish com-

missioners intimated that they were being put in the position of repudiating the Cuban bonds, and rather than do that they would surrender the entire Philippines; to which Mr. Day is credited with retorting that the surrender of the Philippines would probably be demanded, irrespective of the Cuban or any other debt. He is said to have added that President McKinley had instructed him to demand the entire surrender of Puerto Rico on the 18th before midnight, and the evacuation of Havana by November 1st.

Puerto Rico was surrendered on the 18th, the American flag being raised over the palace at San Juan at 12 o'clock noon. This ceremony was followed by the raising of American flags over the other public buildings of the city. Gen. Brooke, chairman of the American commission of evacuation, then telegraphed to the secretary of war at Washington that "the occupation of the island is now complete." Gen. Macias, the Spanish captain general, had sailed on the 16th, with most of his staff, for Spain.

Cuba still remains under the nominal sovereignty of Spain, but Admiral Sampson, chairman of the American evacuation commission there, has made a peremptory demand for the complete surrender of Spanish sovereignty on December 1st.

While nominal sovereignty of Cuba remains for the present in Spain, and the United States holds part of the island by military occupation, the Cubans are preparing to assert their right of sovereignty at the proper time. To this end, a convention of Cuban representatives from the principal cities and towns met on the 17th at Sagua la Grande and unanimously adopted a platform of principles as the basis for a political party to be called the National Political Party of Cuba. In this platform the convention declared that it recognizes "no sovereignty other than the free and independent people of Cuba;" that "the will of the people as expressed in the laws enacted by their representatives shall be the supreme law of the country;" that there must be no "special privilege to any class of citizens;" and that "the right of the individual" is to be always defended, "upon the purest democratic principles and according to Christian morals." Among other demands of this platform are universal suffrage,

free speech, free press, religious liberty, liberty of all other opinion, the habeas corpus, an extensive and liberal postal service, free and non-sectarian public schools, the rights of assembly, petition, and trial by jury, and the abolition of capital punishment and of standing armies. The president of the convention was Jose Torres y Mendez.

President McKinley's committee of inquiry into the mismanagement of the war left Washington on the 16th. Its destination was Jacksonville, Fla., and the party consisted of 24 persons, who were accommodated with a special train consisting of a dining coach and sleeping and parlor cars. The committee expects to go from Jacksonville to Tampa, and thence to Atlanta, Anniston, Huntsville, Chattanooga, Lexington, Camp Meade and Camp Wikoff. On the 18th the committee began its work at Jacksonville.

American politics have settled down everywhere to the routine of campaigning, and there is nothing to note except the address which the national committee of the National Democratic party (gold democrats) has issued. This address was issued on the 16th. It is an appeal to the democrats of the country to abandon "the vagaries of the Chicago platform;" and, denouncing protection as "the spoliation of the many for the benefit of the few," and as inevitably breeding "trusts, monopolies, and those special privileges by which the cunning and unscrupulous prey on their unsuspecting and credulous fellow citizens," the address opposes the extension of protection to colonies, and favors the widest freedom of trade, of importing as well as exporting. It of course declares emphatically for the gold standard.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The London county council has decided to purchase and operate the entire London street car system.

—The Cleveland city council has reduced street car fares on two of its lines to four cents, with seven tickets for a quarter. The companies threaten an appeal to the courts.

—Ex-Police Inspector John Bonfield, who precipitated the Haymarket riot in Chicago, in 1886, by breaking up a peaceable public meeting, died at Chicago on the 19th.

—The third assistant postmaster general, in his annual report recom-

mends negotiations with England, Germany and France, with a view to reducing international postage rates to 2 cents a half ounce.

—William Waldorf Astor has won a bet of \$25,000, in London, the condition of which was that he give a dinner to 27 persons, all seated around a table made from a single cross section of California redwood tree.

—The Mohegan, of the Atlantic Transport company's line, which left London for New York on the 13th with 50 passengers and a crew of 150 men ran ashore in the night off the Lizard. Most of those on board were lost.

—Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, of the M. E. church in Liberia, Africa, who is now in the United States, announces that he is commissioned by the republic of Liberia to ask the United States to establish a protectorate there.

—It is now announced that the so-called official report of the naval engagement in which Cervera's fleet was destroyed, which all the newspapers published and which appeared in The Public last week, was fraudulent. No official report has yet been made.

—The Single Tax Society of Germantown, Pa., has addressed a letter to the czar thanking him for his disarmament proposition, and urging him to exercise his great power as an absolute sovereign to adopt a free trade policy as the best means for promoting peace.

—The emperor and empress of Germany have started upon a pleasure trip to Palestine. The imperial train consisted of 11 goods cars and 7 parlor and sleeping cars. The party was received at Venice on the 14th by the king and queen of Italy, and on the 18th at Constantinople by the sultan.

—Harold Frederic, of the New York Times, by all odds the best London correspondent ever attached to the American press, died near London on the 19th, from the effects of a stroke of paralysis suffered six weeks ago. The physicians refuse to give a death certificate because his illness was treated by a Christian scientist.

—Reports from Japan by way of Vancouver, B. C., tell of frightful floods in the valley of the Feng. Hundreds of villages have been swept away and thousands of people drowned. The Ishikari river also has overflowed, drowning more than 1,000 people. The same reports tell of a typhoon off Formosa, which was very destructive both to life and shipping.

—President McKinley arrived in Chicago from Omaha, via St. Louis, on the 15th, remaining until the 20th as the guest of the Chicago peace jubilee committee. The peace jubilee in Chicago extended over the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th, the principal procession being on the 19th. The weather was very

unfavorable, but great crowds flocked to the city. Gov. Tanner was excluded from the procession.

—John F. Schindler, the Milwaukee single tax man who was nominated by both the democrats and the populists for insurance commissioner of Wisconsin, has been obliged to relinquish the populist nomination because the supreme court of the state sustains the constitutionality of the republican statute forbidding the same name to appear in two columns of the official ballot. Referring to those who are disposed to criticize him for wanting to be elected, Mr. Schindler says: "I most assuredly do; that is exactly why I accept a place on either ticket, and if elected I will endeavor to demonstrate my fitness for the office by faithfully discharging its duties."

—The second noonday meeting of the National Christian Citizenship League was addressed by Jane Adams, of Hull house, her subject being "The Taint of Institutionalism." It was Miss Addams's leading idea that when recognized truths become crystallized into institutions, we are too apt to forget the truth in our reverence for the institution. She illustrated with institutionalized religion, which tends to become mere ecclesiasticism; and with that respect for "law and order" which ignores the moral purpose of law and order. On the 24th at Willard hall, Chicago, at noon, Prof. George D. Herron, of Iowa college, is to speak before the League on "The Ethical Tragedy of the Social Awakening."

## MISCELLANY

An accident during the make-up of the last Public caused several errors in the last page, among them the introduction of an item which did not receive editorial supervision.

### THE TRUCE OF THE BEAR.

From Literature, published by Harper & Bros.

Copyright, 1898, by Rudyard Kipling.

Yearly, with tent and rifle, our careless white men go

By the Pass called Muttianee, to shoot in the vale below.

Yearly by Muttianee he follows our white men in—

Matun, the old blind beggar, bandaged from brow to chin.

Eyeless, noseless and lipless—toothless, of broken speech,

Seeking a dole at the doorway he mumbles his tale to each—

Over and over the story, ending as he began:

"Make ye no truce with Adam-zad—the bear that walks like a man!"

"There was a flint in my musket—pricked and primed was the pan

When I went hunting Adam-zad—the bear that stands like a man.

I looked my last on the timber, I looked my last on the snow  
When I went hunting Adam-zad fifty summers ago!

"I knew his times and seasons as he knew mine, that fed

By night in the ripened maizefeld and robbed my house of bread—

I knew his strength and cunning, as he knew mine, that crept

At dawn to the crowded goat pens and plundered while I slept.

"Up from his stony playground—down from his well-dugged lair—

Out on the naked ridges ran Adam-zad the bear,

Groaning, grunting and roaring, heavy with stolen meals,

Two long marches northward and I was at his heels!

"Two full marches to northward, at the fall of the second night,

I came on mine enemy, Adam-zad, all weary from his flight.

There was a charge in the musket—pricked and primed was the pan—

My finger crooked on the trigger—when he reared up like a man.

"Horrible, hairy, human, with pawlike hands in prayer,

Making his supplication rose Adam-zad the bear!

I looked at the swaying shoulders, at the paunch's swag and swing,

And my heart was touched with pity for the monstrous pleading thing.

"Touched with pity and wonder, I did not fire then—

I have looked no more on women, I have walked no more with men.

Nearer he tottered and nearer, with paws like hands that pray—

From brow to jaw, the steel-shod paw, it ripped my face away!

"Sudden, silent, and savage, searing as flame the blow—

Faceless I fell before his feet fifty summers ago.

I heard him grunt and chuckle—I heard him pass to his den.

He left me blind to the darkling years and the little mercy of men.

"Now ye go down in the morning with guns of the newer style,

That load (I have felt) in the middle and range (I have heard) a mile?

Luck to the white man's rifle, that shoots so fast and true,

But—pay, and I lift my bandage and show what the bear can do!"

(Flesh like slag in the furnace, knobbed and withered and gray—

Matun, the old blind beggar, he gives good worth for his pay.)

"Rouse him at noon in the bushes, follow and press him hard—

Not for his raging and roaring flinch ye from Adam-zad.

"But (pay and I put back the bandage) this is the time to fear,

When he stands up like a tired man, tottering near and near;

When he stands up as pleading, in monstrous, man-brute guise,

When he vells the hate and cunning of the little swinish eyes.

"When he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer,

That is the time of peril—the time of the Truce of the Bear!"

Eyeless, noseless and lipless, asking a dole at the door,

Matun, the old blind beggar, he tells it o'er and o'er;

Fumbling and feeling the rifles, warming his hands at the flame,

Hearing our careless white men talk of the morrow's game:

Over and over the story, ending as he began:

"There is no truce with Adam-zad, the bear that looks like a man!"

### AN UNORGANIC NATION.

We are in the habit of thinking of Russia as a compact, powerful nation, able to crush any other single nation on the face of the earth. On paper she has the largest army, and it would seem that just by mere force of numbers she ought to prove irresistible. But when we consider that there are considerably more than 100 nationalities in Russia, and that more than 50 languages are spoken there, the idea of solidarity vanishes and we see the elements of weakness in an overgrown monster. While the Russians constitute about two-thirds of the population, a large proportion of them are restive under an autocratic government, and are continually plotting for the rights which God intended all men should have. The remaining third of the people are acquiescent for fear of the consequences. There are 12,000,000 Poles and Jews, for instance, who, to a man almost, are antipathetic to the present form of government. Instead, therefore, of being a fused and vigorous nationality, Russia is the home of the political volcano. But in addition to racial and political elements of discord, the weakness of Russia has other phases. Her finances are in a bad way; she is threatened with famine in several provinces; she is now, as she has always been, the victim of a felonious bureaucracy. Money is frequently appropriated for certain official purposes, which is secluded by the officials, while it is given out that the purposes have been duly accomplished. Her army organization is probably even more rotten than was that of France when war with Germany began. Her navy doubtless has not half the efficiency credited to it. We do not wonder, therefore, that the czar is talking about disarmament and peace. The chances are that he has about all he can attend to at home. Of course, the Russian's sincerity is always subject to a discount; and no doubt the czar, if he ever feels himself really strong, will not hesitate to violate any promise he may make; but if Russia is now really solicitous for peace, it is because she is absolutely

unprepared for war. — Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal.

#### AN AID TO HONEST OFFICIALS.

I believe in direct legislation mainly for two reasons:

First—As I understand it, most of the amendments proposed provide that whenever a law is declared unconstitutional by a supreme court it shall be referred to a poll of the people, and if a majority of the people vote in favor of it it shall become a law, anything in the constitution or constitutional construction to the contrary notwithstanding. This would really make the people supreme. At present they are theoretically supreme, as they can alter their constitution, but that is so difficult a matter that it is almost impossible.

Second—As a public official, I want to be a public servant. I think I know in many things what the people want, but on some I am uncertain, and direct legislation will keep me constantly informed of just what the people want on each measure. It will be a good guide to progress, an index finger to the right path, an efficient aid to every honest public official.—Gov. Leedy, of Kansas.

#### THE INDIAN CRIME.

One humble individual, taking his pen in hand to write a few lines, has all unconsciously given to the world the inexcusably wicked position of this nation (practically the same policy has been followed by all administrations so far as we are aware) toward the Indian. Eli Wright, clerk of the district court of Cass county, Minn., writing to Secretary Bliss from the scene of the present disturbance, in enumerating the wrongs which the Indians now in revolt have suffered, says: "The cutting of 'dead and down timber' on their reservation is causing the greatest dissatisfaction among them. They see their pine being taken away from them, and not more than one Indian out of one hundred gets a dollar out of it. They see a large number of white men drawing large salaries in idleness, consuming their money. They say in another year the government will want their hides." Did our revolutionary fathers have greater cause for revolting against British oppression than this? And we know that the appeals of the Indians to the Washington authorities were treated with as great contempt as were those our revolutionary sires preferred to the court of St. James. Reading thus far we concluded that here was a man who knew the truth and was ready to

say a word for a downtrodden race; that Mr. Wright was courageous enough to face unpopularity for conscience and justice's sake. But here is Mr. Wright's conclusion of the whole matter: "It is folly to send small detachments of soldiers on the reservation, as they will be only a fine mark for the Indians to pick off at will. I do not see any other way now but to wait until it freezes up, and then with 5,000 or 1,000 soldiers surround the reservation and drive them in, killing or capturing every Indian that is in rebellion against the government."—Editorial in Farmers' Voice.

#### THE WAR DIDN'T STOP IT.

Extract from an article by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson, published in The American Fabian.

The advance of social reform is a natural process, a quite inevitable process under given conditions; and, while it is no doubt helped and hastened by discussion and agitation, it is not caused by them. A large part of the agitation accompanying conscientious social progress is a result rather than a cause. It is an accompanying symptom, but not always a cure.

An unthinking mother demands crossly of her child who has hurt himself: "What are you crying for? Crying won't do you any good!" The child does not know enough to answer that; he is not crying "for"—he is crying "because." He does not imagine it to be a useful recreation—it is not a cause, but a result. If the child is crying from the pain of cutting teeth, you may stop his crying, and yet not check the dental process in the least.

This is rather a disrespectful comparison, but the idea is that to stop the discussion and agitation of social progress will not stop the progress itself. If our reforms were initiated by our reformers we might indeed be alarmed by anything which interfered with their efforts, but this is not the case.

Economic progress moves steadily on, under laws of its own, and will continue so to move.

Without denying the temporary check during the period of struggle, it remains true that this check is but temporary, and in no way affects the deep currents which are bearing us steadily on toward better social conditions.

A man can afford to stop his efforts toward personal improvement while he strikes a good blow in self-defense or to save a fellow creature, and he will be none the worse for the interruption. A nation can do the same.

If an action be right its consequences will be right; and for a people to subject themselves to great effort, great expense, and inevitable injury, in the cause of justice and liberty, will not permanently interfere with the fullest establishment of justice and liberty in their own land in peace as well as in war.

#### WOMEN AS STOCK-RAISERS.

As business managers female stock-owners are noted for economy, method and good sense, and this seems generally applicable even to young beginners. Experienced frequenters of stock sales agree that ladies are good buyers, and know exactly when to sell. They buy cheaply as a rule, and never lose their heads at an auction sale, or give fancy prices as the men do, because they have set their hearts on a particular animal. When bidding they are neither nervous nor excited, and know clearly what they wish to buy and the price they mean to pay. At the Jersey sales or pony sales they usually arrive early, and it is not the least surprise to those who are not "in the fancy" to see young ladies, coolly dressed, critical, and catalogue-consulting, inspecting the different animals with the most businesslike exactness, and then bidding for them in the sale. Ladies' stock is never extravagantly managed, and nearly always well managed. They do not waste straw and fodder, do not overfeed, take trouble to test all their milk, keep registers of their butter produce, and combine efficiency and economy very successfully. At the same time they are enterprising. We believe the first dairy in which the machinery for producing Pasteurized butter, milk, and cream was erected in this country was the property of a lady. The milk was poured in at one "end" of the machinery, and in due course came out as butter in grains from one spout, and separated Pasteurized milk at another. By slightly altering the set of the machinery, Pasteurized cream came out in place of the butter, all germs of typhoid fever or tuberculosis having been absolutely destroyed. One hundred and seventy-five gallons of milk could be treated in this way in an hour. The result of this business capacity is seen among women amateur stock-keepers much as it used to make itself felt among professional farmers. It was common experience that on stock farms a widow or a daughter often made the business pay where the father or husband had not succeeded, or had done indifferently. So, too, lady owners often take

on the herds belonging to their husbands, brothers, or fathers, and maintain them with pleasure, profit, and credit.—The London Spectator.

#### THERE IS PLENTY OF WORK.

Many of those who are seeking to bring about social and economic reforms seem to imagine that the cause of present troubles is the lack of sufficient amount of work to be done.

Capitalists are praised and spoken of as public benefactors, on the ground that they furnish work to so many people. Philanthropists propose that the government should undertake the construction of highways and public buildings in order to furnish work to the people. Labor organizations are advocating the reduction of the hours of labor largely on the ground that if each man works fewer hours, a greater number of men will have an opportunity to get some of the work.

The whole line of argument is based on the supposition that there is not sufficient work to go around, and that men must struggle with each other for an opportunity to labor.

This is a mistake, and leads to endless misapprehension in regard to the nature of present difficulties and the proper course by which they may be overcome.

Some of the things aimed at as a remedy for this imaginary scarcity of work are in themselves good. Reduction of the hours of labor is, under proper conditions, a good thing, because it is not best for men to spend every hour of their waking time in a mere struggle for existence. But reduction of the hours of labor will be a result of correct social and economic conditions, and will not by itself bring about these conditions.

The construction of highways and public buildings, where these things are needed, will be an advantage, because of the value of the highways and the buildings. The liberal construction of such works will be a result of correct social and economic conditions, but will not bring about these conditions.

There is no real lack of work to be done. There is no occasion for devising plans to create work for the multitude. There is no necessity for attempts to restrict the amount of work any man shall do that he may not exhaust the supply and deprive others of the opportunity. There is no reason in the nature of things why men should struggle with each other for an opportunity to labor. The opportunity to labor in this world is absolutely limitless. All the work that needs to be done can never be done.

No matter how much any man may work, he does not thereby, in the slightest degree, lessen the amount of work for others to do.

And yet to judge from a large portion of the writings of social and economic reformers, of philanthropists and others, one would conclude that work was the scarcest and most precious thing in the world; that it must be husbanded with and parceled out with caution, so that there may be enough to allow a little to each man.—The New Era, of Springfield, Ohio.

#### THE VIRDEN TRAGEDY.

Let us see how monopoly reduces the people to slavery. Two miners struck a rich vein of gold. The heat was intense, and there was no water. The gold they could not drink. Without drinking they could not live. Their vein was worthless until they discovered near by a freak of nature. A creek sprang out of the ground, cool and sparkling, and after running a few yards suddenly disappeared. The miners were rejoiced. They toiled on. In the course of time a stranger came into the valley. They were glad of company; they showed him how fortunate they had been in discovering Minute Creek, as they called it, and urged him to stake out a claim, for there was gold enough for all. The stranger did not like digging for his own gold. Instead he staked out his claim around Minute Creek. He put a barbed wire fence about it. He erected a stockade and supplied it with men armed with Winchesters. Then he told the miners that if they wanted water they must bring him half of all the gold they dug. They were at his mercy, for he had a monopoly of one of Nature's resources. No man can get \$1,000,000 without a similar monopoly.

The country is stirred by the tragedy at Virden. Fourteen men are dead and more wounded. Gov. Tanner's act was clearly illegal. He admits it. The operators claim the right of free contract, which the law grants them. The Governor justifies himself on the ground that the miners' homes are more sacred than the law. Whatever people may think of it, they must not forget that the laws, while granting the right of free contract to the operators, have denied that right to the miners. The miner cannot work without a mine; therefore his very life depends upon his having access to a mine. But the operators, like the man who fenced in Minute Creek, have a monopoly of those resources of nature, without which the miners cannot live.

If the mines were owned by the state, and the railroads also, to prevent discriminating rates, there would be work enough and to spare for all miners, Alabama negroes included; and they could leave the operators to starve in their stockades or take a pick and go to work.

Whose fault is this tragedy at Virden? The miners blame the operators. The operators blame the miners. The newspapers blame the Governor. I blame the great mass of well-to-do people who live in comfort, who have been blind partisans, who have not thought, who have not known the meaning of the word patriotism, whose indifference has fostered such unjust legislation that to-day the justice-loving people stand ready to applaud the act of a lawless Governor. Our mines and oil wells are fenced in. Our very streets are given away. The heavens are obscured by the wires of monopoly and the earth beneath is a network of pipes through which flows the treasure of a despoiled people.

"The existing industrial organization," said Prof. Matthews recently before the Conference of Charities and Correction, "is one monstrous monopoly of nature's abundant provision the world over. This monopoly establishes between the great majority of the human race on the one side and the minority on the other the relation of serf to master, and it leaves to the majority absolutely no legal right to live except in the almshouse."

The act of Governor Tanner is as justifiable as the act of John Brown. The blood of Illinois miners will be well spent if it shakes the country from its indifference to the nature and the evils of commercial slavery. But the remedy is not in bloodshed. Let the people regain the power to make their own laws. With this power let them legislate every form of monopoly out of existence. Then will dawn a new day; then will approach to earth the kingdom of righteousness, the reign of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.—Rev. H. S. Bigelow, as reported in the Cincinnati Enquirer.

#### THE TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH IN GERMANY.

"The Coming Nation," of Ruskin, Tenn., reprints the following interview between a San Francisco Call reporter and Heinrich Hofmeister, director of the German telegraph system and superintendent of the cable station at Emden, who had arrived in San Francisco from Central America, where he had gone on official business for his government.

Asked to state the difference between the telegraphic service in his country and this, Dr. Hofmeister said: "The greatest difference which I

have observed is that we do more for the small towns and villages all over the empire. We have arranged it so that the smallest communities have a service twice a day for letters, newspapers and money, and that they have an efficient telegraph and telephone service. In Germany the mails, the telegraph and telephone are combined in one department known as the reichs postamt, or, as you would call it, the postal department. Dr. Von Stephan is at its head, and since 1876 his strong personality has been bent to this one end, that in the matter of intercommunication the people shall have a perfect system at a minimum cost. His success has been wonderful and his work the admiration of the world. His slogan was: 'Reduce the rates.'

"How do your tolls compare with the rates in this country?" was asked.

"Very much lower. The charge for a ten-word message to any part of the empire is 20 pfenige, or five cents of your money."

"What are your telephone tolls?"

"Twenty-five cents for five minutes' conversation. We do not take distance into the account. You can talk from Berlin to Hamburg at the same rate as the nearest station. We charge individual subscribers 150 marks (about \$36) a year for the use of the telephone, and there is no charge for switches."

"Is there a deficit or a surplus at those rates?"

"Oh, a handsome surplus every year which is turned into the general treasury. Lest you may think the charges by your private corporations are too high as compared with ours, I ought in justice to say that we operate much of our mail, telegraph and telephone system conjointly. In small places one man acts as postal clerk, telegraph operator and telephone manager. When we added the telephone service, we did not incur in many places additional cost for buildings, employes and incidental expenses. But, as I said before, the people of the interior are better served than Americans. We provide fire alarms, calls for physicians, weather reports, etc., and we are always prepared for emergencies."

"Do you still string wires on poles?"

"Indeed not. We abolished overhead wires long ago, not only in cities, but throughout the empire. We employ underground cables containing seven hard copper wires constructed like submarine cables and incased in iron pipes like gas mains. Germany is one gigantic spider-web of underground cables. Main lines radiate from Ber-

lin to the uttermost edge of the country, and these radiating lines are joined together at regular intervals. Spider-web exactly describes the system. It is Dr. Von Stephan's chef d'oeuvre. With this network under the earth, no meteorological disturbance, however severe, can interfere with the perfect working of the wires from Berlin to any part of the realm. No invading army could cut the wires unless it dug trenches over the face of the empire.

"Occasionally we string wires on poles in the country, but we use two poles, strongly braced, to support the cross-arms, much like the bents of a bridge, and we put up porcelain insulators, which prevent the escape of the electric current. It seems to me that in this country your poles are too flimsy and your glass insulators imperfect."

"Do you think government control of the telegraph and telephone applicable to the United States?"

"Why not? This system is a success in Europe under every form of government. You must come to it sooner or later. The people demand the best facilities for intercommunication at the minimum of cost, and these cannot be secured from private corporations, but only from the government itself."

#### INNER AND OUTER TRUTH.

An extract from an article on "Equivocation and Lying," published in the London Spectator.

The average common-sense person is apt to confound two totally distinct virtues, each of which may lay claim to the title of truth, and which may be called respectively the inner and the outer. The former is that which is meant in the Bible by the expressive phrase, "truth in the inward parts;" the latter is truth-telling in the ordinary sense of the word. To be possessed of truth in the inward parts is to possess a nature resolutely bent in the direction of the eternally divine fact, to be eager to view spiritual things as God views them, or, as philosophers put it, to see them "sub specie aeternitatis," to penetrate beyond the shows and formalism of time and conventions, to get at the heart of things, and of course to govern one's own life in accordance with the insight gained. He who has once clearly divined that "the things that are seen are temporal, the things that are not seen are eternal," is an organ of truth in this higher sense; he has elected to serve a higher ideal than that of the coarse world. "Im ganzen, guten, schoenen resolut zu

leben" is the ever-persistent motive-power of his life. He by no means neglects or undervalues truth-telling in its ordinary sense; indeed, he is the one on whom you may most readily count for precision of statement and honorable conduct in social affairs. His yea is yea, his nay is nay; but he does not confound two different things, knowing, as he does, that the average truth-teller, the man who would not stoop to a falsehood, or even to that half truth which, as the poet says, is ever the basest of lies, is not necessarily a man who cares one jot for the higher truth; a bent of nature towards the divine. But now, the question we wish to ask is, whether the average truth-teller is, by the moral law, ever permitted to depart from that exact correspondence of statement to fact which is the essence of the social virtue of truthfulness. Let us put a case, and the best case we can put is a historical one. During the existence of American slavery, a so-called "underground railroad" was contrived by benevolent people in the United States to help slaves over to Canada. The very existence of such an institution involved constantly either an equivocal silence or a direct contradiction of palpable fact on the part of the friends of the escaped slave. "Did the man take this road?" "No, he took that," or else no answer whatever to the question as to whether a slave had passed that way. Do we condemn the people who thus misled purposely the slave-hunter while also breaking the law, and thus were at one and the same time guilty of a double offense, according to the mere formalist? We know that they were among the very salt of the earth, and, like Sterne's recording angel, our tear blots out the offense alleged against them. We assert that the healthy instincts of every human being endowed with the normal conscience would instantly take that view, and would visit with execration the man who, to serve the cause of mere formal truth-telling, would have handed back the runaway to the tender mercies of a "nigger-driver." The slave in question might have been a worthless person, but that would have made no difference to the average healthy human instinct; and we hold that that instinct is right.

Here was a case, surely, where there was a collision of moral forces—the force which makes for truth-telling (the immense moral importance of which we fully admit), and the force which makes for humanity, for social justice, for that fundamental instinct



of pity, sympathy and brotherhood, the absence of which would mean the wreckage of humanity. The formalist stands by the exact fact, the healthy man stands by the larger human claim. And why? Because the very value of truth-telling is necessarily related to a larger good as means to end. The existence and perpetuation of slavery being in no sense a larger good but a necessary evil, becoming worse and worse the more it extends, the general cause of humanity cannot be served by any mere formal adherence to an exact fact about a slave. It would be idle to pretend that the social conscience is perverted by any such lack of correspondence between statement and fact as obtained in such a case, because every one knows that falsehood is not the habitual bent of nature of the people who help the slave to escape. Such people are, as a matter of fact, among the most truthful of mankind; but they refuse to make a mock sacrifice at the shrine of evil; they refuse to save even their own consistency and reputation for veracity at the expense of a human being's dearest interests. A similar moral problem might arise before any of us. A robber wants to know where the treasure he seeks is secreted, a murderer wants to track down his victim, a scoundrel desires to blast the reputation of our dearest friend—are we to aid by a rigid adherence to statement of literal fact? Have we no higher conception of what we owe to the world than that? The really vital question for us is as to our general bent of disposition, our philosophy of life. If we are habitually neglectful of truth, even in its minor aspects, we shall suffer inwardly; there will be taken from us even the little that we have, and the outer darkness will be our portion. But in the conflict of moral judgment which occurs not seldom in this strange and puzzling world, we may depend upon it we shall never lose if general love to man and reverence for justice become our supreme standard of habitual conduct.

#### A LESSON FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

Sydney, New South Wales, Sept. 10. —I find the platform adopted by the Illinois state democratic convention demands "municipal ownership and control of all public franchises and all other natural monopolies which of right belong to the people."

This, no doubt, seems a radical demand to the people of Illinois, because it is new and strange to them. No

such demand is necessary in New South Wales. This colony owns every mile of her railroads and, though the country is sparsely settled, transportation charges are less than in New York. They are one-third less than in Illinois and about two-thirds less than anywhere in America west of the Missouri river.

New South Wales covers an area of 310,700 square miles and has a population of 1,300,000, yet one may travel on her railways in a Pullman car for two cents a mile—seat in the Pullman included, berth extra. There is not a state in America where railway service is so cheap.

The only town in New South Wales with any street railways worth mentioning is Sydney—population about 500,000. Four-cent fares prevail throughout, except in some places where they have two-cent fares and a few cases where the fare is six cents for very long distances.

Sydney owns its own railways, waterworks, telephone system and lighting plant. Telephone service costs about one-fourth of what is charged in Chicago. New South Wales owns its telegraph system. The prices charged for messages are about the same as in Illinois, which is about one-half the price charged in the sparsely settled far west. The price charged in New South Wales for telegraph or railway service should really be compared with the prices charged in the far western states in America, because this country is so sparsely populated.

The people of New South Wales would no more think of delegating to private parties the right to operate their railway, telegraph, telephone or street car systems than they would think of letting to private parties the exclusive control of their thoroughfares. Yet in Illinois when it is proposed to make these natural monopolies public property the voters are no doubt horrified. But the difference in politicians between New South Wales and Illinois is also noteworthy. This may for the most part be attributed to the fact that there are no beneficiaries of special privileges for legislators to feed on—there is no gas trust or railway ring to buy votes here.

Another important feature of New South Wales politics is the fact that any man may run for office without compromising himself with a lot of ward heelers and tuppenny politicians. There are political parties here, but no nominations for office are made. If a man wants to run for office he merely presents a petition signed by 20 electors and his name is put on the

ticket. This ticket does not mention whether the candidates named are of one party or another. He then presents to his constituents the ideas he stands for and tells them how he will vote if elected.

Nor are the ballots counted by politicians, but by civil servants, who are otherwise engaged when elections are not on.

No political jobs are to be offered the supporters of successful candidates in this country. When the government needs help in any of its departments it merely advertises for them just as a merchant does. Once a man is engaged in any of these departments he holds his position until he resigns, is discharged or dies. No one is engaged or dismissed because of his political affiliations. Men are promoted from time to time as vacancies occur, just as in any mercantile establishment.

If there be people in Illinois who think the demand made by the democratic party for public ownership of natural monopolies is a radical proposition that is unworkable let them come to New South Wales, where, with a population much smaller than that of Chicago, scattered over a territory larger than that of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan combined, transportation charges are lower than anywhere in America, while politics is clean enough to satisfy even so immaculate a body as the Civic Federation.

The people of New South Wales boast that they are the freest people on earth. In no other country in the world is politics so free from corruption or the people so free from extortionate charges by monopolies, or have so many liberties which can be traced directly to legislative action.

One thing that impressed me as quite remarkable when I first came here may be witnessed on any Saturday or Sunday afternoon at what is called the Domain. The Domain is a large park right in the center of the city and is devoted exclusively to free speech. As many as 30,000 people gather in the Domain on a Saturday or Sunday afternoon and listen to all sorts of orators give expression to different ideas. One orator will be explaining to his audience the teachings of Christ, while a few steps farther on some fellow will be trying to prove there is no God; the next fellow is preaching socialism and the next is advocating the single-tax doctrine formulated by Henry George.

Thus the common people of Sydney have a public forum where they meet and exchange ideas without let or

hindrance; there are no police officers present, none are needed, as the meetings are quite orderly.—M. J. Foyer, in *Chicago Chronicle*.

Warren E. Russell, of Massillon, O., tells me of a little incident that recently occurred when Judge Day, late secretary of state, and Gen. Coxe were passengers in a Pullman car on the Pennsylvania railroad. It is well known that these two gentlemen, as well as President McKinley, are residents of the same county and well acquainted. Of course no one among the home folks takes Coxe seriously, and he is the object of considerable chaffing wherever he goes. At the time mentioned Judge Day and Gen. Coxe were the center of a little group of acquaintances who were discussing the conduct of the war, when the general, rising from his seat, stretched out his arms toward the judge and said in a loud voice: "In the march of the commonwealers I gave my army enough to eat, which seems to have been more than you have done for yours."—*Chicago Record*.

If I send my students to pursue further studies upon subjects to which I have introduced them, I must send them to receive the benefits of endowments from the hands of a besotted philanthropy, drunken and sated with the wine of life pressed from the crushed and exhausted millions who feed the modern industrial wine press. By merely preaching the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount in their churches, nay, by merely reading it on one occasion without note or comment, I have been the means of depriving able and noble men of their pulpits and livelihoods, because of their economic dependence upon the few rich men who control the organization of their churches.—Prof. George D. Herron.

Rewards for the colored soldier! Medals and monuments are easy honors, but a more kindly appreciation of the fitness of the race for places of trust will be the guerdon of justice. No racial prejudice exists when the colored man stands shoulder to shoulder with his white brother to face a common enemy.—M. L. Rayne, in *Chicago Times-Herald*.

What is the great thing the church can do for the individual to-day? It ought to give him a new motive for righteousness. The old motives have gone. What we call the outbreak of crime at this time is caused by the fact that the old individualistic motives that used to lead men to be moral and pure have gone, and the new motive has

not yet come with power to take its place. It is the business of the church to emphasize the social motive for individual righteousness, and to give men such a moral impetus as never sprang from the old idea of trying to save their own souls, and go to heaven when they died. The world will see a marvelous change when the church confesses that she has a mission not only to the individual, but in behalf of the individual.—B. Fay Mills.

### TOM SAWYER ON THE COAST.

For the Public.

Tom Sawyer, as you recollect  
(You've read Mark Twain's droll story?),  
Was a chap of genius, wit and tact,  
Who achieved a widespread glory.  
You'll recall that his whitewash task that day  
He got performed by proxy,  
By pretending it was simply play  
To his chums—the rascal foxy!

Tom lately moved out to the coast,  
And soon was known as a "waxer"  
In the cause that is now his pride and boast—  
He's a Croasdale Single-Taxer.  
He found there a faithful little band,  
Whom he joined—for he was no shirker—  
Teaching man's natural right to land  
As the gospel for the worker.

But he saw that the task was hard and slow,  
Like that whitewash job of old.  
Then he said to himself, in a flash:  
" 'Twill go!  
I'll work the same game so bold!  
There are campaigns on in these two states,  
And I'll have the whole dem.-rep. chorus  
Singing 'Henry George,' and, by all the fates,  
They will do our whitewashing for us!"

And he worked the scheme—he actually did,  
In a way as fine as tissue!  
And the single tax is no longer hid,  
But is now the burning issue!  
I'm telling no fiction, like Mark Twain;  
These are facts concerning Sawyer—  
Or if Tom hasn't done this thing, why, then,  
'Tis the work of some cunning lawyer.

For the facts are just as I state them here;  
To-day the whole coast is howling  
The Single-Tax—and we needn't care  
Who first set the ball a-rolling!

J. W. BENGOUGH.

The persistent assumption that sheer economic might, with the inequalities and miseries it brings, is in accord with natural law, is a piece of academic bluff, a wanton abuse of science, that will no longer faze the people. The economist who thus persists has only to keep on saving his job long enough to lose it forever, and make permanent the moral disgrace into which his science has deservedly fallen.—Prof. George D. Herron.

In Antwerp, Belgium, there is a municipal cab service, and a citizen who lives in the central region of the

city can buy a commutation ticket for \$20 a year that will enable him to call a cab or a herdie at any hour of the day or night, and go anywhere he wishes, as many times a day as he chooses. If he lives in the outskirts of the city the price varies from \$20 to \$30 a year.—Commonwealth.

### A REVISED VERSION.

A Soldier of the Legion lay dying of Algerians,  
There was lack of woman's nursing,  
Also of medicine,  
food,  
doctors,  
tents,  
clothing,  
and pretty  
much everything  
else that  
might have  
been dictated by experience.

—Life.

### ANNOUNCEMENT.

From time to time THE PUBLIC will reproduce in pamphlet form suitable for mailing in open envelopes at the one-cent rate of postage, the editorial articles of permanent interest that appear in its columns. These pamphlets will be supplied upon the following terms:

Single copies, delivered at office,	\$0.02
Quantities delivered at office, per 100,	1.00
Single copies mailed to any address, postage paid,	.03
Single copies mailed to any address, postage paid, upon orders for 100 or more, per 100,	2.00
In quantities, mailed in bulk to one address, postage paid, per 100,	1.25

The following pamphlets are now ready:  
1. *A Business Tendency* (from THE PUBLIC of Sept. 10, 1898), by Louis F. Post.

## FRIENDS

of this paper are requested to send us the names and addresses of persons of their acquaintance who would be interested in reading it regularly.

## THE PUBLIC

is a weekly paper which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the really valuable news of the world. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

### Subscription, One Dollar a Year.

Free of postage in United States, Canada and Mexico, elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. Payment of subscription is acknowledged up to the date in the address label on the wrapper.

Single copies, five cents each.

Published weekly by

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, Room 822,  
Schiller Building, Chicago, Ill.

Post-office address:

THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

### SUBSCRIPTION AGENTS:

Western Reserve, Ohio, OTTO PFISTER, 316  
American Trust Building (Telephone, Main 1069),  
Cleveland, Ohio.  
Toronto, Ont., E. M. BLOOMER, 579 King St  
West.