

# The Public

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A Maine court is reported to have decided that a buried body is the property not of the surviving husband, wife, parent, child or other relative, but of the owner of the burial lot. This is a legitimate application of landlord law. The buried body, like a fixture, becomes part of the realty.

"Politics is business," said Senator Hanna, at the Lincoln birthday banquet in New York city, where Lincoln's name was celebrated and his principles ignored. "Very serious business at that," he added. From Mr. Hanna's point of view, and that of all other monopolists, he was right: politics, truly enough, is serious business. And he and they make the business profitable in many devious but businesslike ways.

When Lyman Abbott again declares in his lectures that "there is no right to vote save as society confers it," he might render a service by explaining how the will of society as to conferring the voting right is to be ascertained except by voting, and if in that way then how those who vote on that question acquire their voting right. In other words, does the right to vote originate in the power of one supreme man here and there, or in the assumption of oligarchies, or in the simple natural right of manhood?—which includes womanhood.

The report of the city electrician of Chicago is another contribution to the fast accumulating mass of testimony in favor of municipal owner-

ship of municipal monopolies. Since 1888 the city has expended \$2,786,100.12 for the construction, maintenance and operation of its electric lighting plant. Had the lights been rented, they would have cost \$2,507,110.50, or only \$278,989.62 less than they have cost in fact, and there would have been nothing besides that difference but monthly bills to show for it. As it is, though the city has no collection of light bills and has expended \$278,989.62 more than the lighting might have been rented for, it has an elaborate electric lighting plant of its own.

The Washington report that the administration has notified Venezuela that this country reserves the right to review the decision of the Venezuelan courts in the contest between two American grantees of asphalt privileges is hardly believable. The reason given for asserting that right is wretchedly inadequate. It is this, that as both the parties to the litigation are American corporations, the American government may review Venezuelan judicial decisions affecting their property interests in that country. That this government might object if its citizens were outraged in their rights by the government of a foreign country in manifest disregard of the laws of that country, is true enough; but it has not the shadow of a right to revise the regular decisions of foreign tribunals respecting their own laws. When American citizens or corporations go into business in a foreign country they engage thereby to submit to the regular administration of the laws of that country. Nor would our government presume to dispute that principle with any nation of its own military size.

At a banquet given by the Mer-

chants' club of Chicago last week, Prof. Jenks, of Cornell university, spoke on the subject of "Commercial High Schools," a subject which is just now prominent in the business and educational circles of Chicago. In the course of his address Prof. Jenks said, as the newspapers report him, that in his opinion only a few are born to be leaders, and that Providence intended the many to be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. We should hesitate, without better authority than a newspaper report, to characterize this sentiment. Prof. Jenks's language may not have warranted the repulsive inference that the report would justify. But there is no doubt that the comfortable classes do very largely entertain the self-gratifying notion that their success in amassing wealth is attributable to their superior talents and virtues, and that they hold some sort of authority from Providence to set the rest of mankind at work hewing wood and drawing water for them. It is the slave masters' theory, and college professors might be at worse business than in exposing its falsities and fallacies and pointing out its immorality.

The work of the constitutional convention of Cuba in drafting an organic law for that new-fledged nation, is now practically complete. In a few days the document will be in the hands of President McKinley. It is understood that he will transmit it to congress for the action of that body, accompanied by a message setting forth his own views regarding it. What his recommendations will be is as yet unknown. They are foreshadowed by Washington correspondence, apparently inspired, but that is no guarantee that when made they will not be entirely different. It would be premature, therefore, to dis-

cuss them now. In so far, however, as they may assume to suggest any conditions whatever, they will deserve and can honorably receive no consideration at the hands of congress. For the United States is under an irrevocable obligation—to the Cuban people, to the American people, to the civilized world—which in honor demands that congress make no attempt to dictate terms to Cuba. This obligation was deliberately expressed by congress in the resolutions of April 18, 1898, signed by the president two days later, which authorized the war with Spain. The first of those resolutions declared—

That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent—

and the fourth—

That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

Upon the faith of that pledge, congress cannot, without tarnishing the American name, exact a single condition as the price of its acknowledgment of the Cuban constitution.

There is another consideration, in the light of which the inspired correspondence from Washington and the profound editorials in the administration press upon the importance of reserving authority in the United States to protect the Cubans from themselves and foreigners, appear to be extremely ridiculous. We refer to the recent decision of the supreme court in the Neely extradition case. That decision rests, in principle and in the express terms of the court's opinion, upon the fact that Cuba is a "foreign country." Upon what theory can our government assert a right or appeal to a necessity of setting up a protectorate over a foreign country? The only explanation that possesses the slightest flavor of plausibility is the danger we might incur by leaving Cuba a possible prey to Eu-

ropean powers, which, with Cuba for a base, might attack the United States. But the flavor in that explanation is hardly distinguishable. One European power did have possession of Cuba for hundreds of years, until we drove it out; but it never occurred to Spain to make Cuba a base of operations against the United States nor to turn it over to a greater power for that purpose. Besides that, this slightly favorable explanation applies no better to Cuba than to Mexico. If we need a protectorate over Cuba for our own protection, we need one over Mexico, too; for Mexico would make a better base than Cuba for European operations against the United States. And after all is said and done, we may, if the necessity ever arises, rely upon Cuba's voluntarily giving us an opportunity to head off European invaders. It will be as much to her interest as ours. Some other and less altruistic reason, it is to be feared, exists for the anxiety of the imperialists to meddle with the internal affairs of this "foreign country" near our coast, a country which we ourselves have declared to be free and independent and have solemnly promised to pacify and then restore to its people. Some hint at what that reason is has been given in an administration paper quoted by the Chicago Chronicle. It asserts the necessity of requiring the new republic to recognize and respect the "vested rights acquired during the time of the military government." It is considerations of that character, doubtless, that raise all these questions with which the atmosphere at Washington is alive, about imposing conditions upon the acceptance by our government of the constitution of the "foreign country" called Cuba. Right and left, we are told, American syndicates have grabbed Cuban franchises during the American military regime. Neely was only a vulgar thief. Instead of pillaging the post office in the old-fashioned ways of crime, he should have got him a franchise. Then he would have been a highly respected and influential own-

er of vested interests instead of a prisoner. Whoever it was that said "the imperialists are not jingoes, they are only thieves," was not far wrong.

There are brighter prospects of peace in the Philippines. So the country is assured by an Associated Press dispatch from Manila, which has earmarks of military influence in dictating its composition. These reports of early peace are now an old story. They began to come in early in the spring of 1899. One of them was personally vouched for by President McKinley in the early summer of that year. They preceded every battle and followed every victory. In the presidential campaign they punctuated all the public documents, with the reservation, however, that their verification would depend upon the result of the election. Just before that event the period was fixed at 60 days, provided Bryan were defeated. All these reports have given some reason for expecting the peace they predicted. The latest one is based upon the rigor with which the campaign of arrests has been made. The Manila "prisons are daily becoming more crowded," says the Associated Press report, "and an additional one is being built on Subig bay." Gen. MacArthur probably expects to produce peace by putting the whole native population into jail. Even that is a better mode of "benevolent assimilation" than the earlier one of putting them into graves:

Inasmuch as Gen. MacArthur has banished an American citizen from the Philippines and sent him home as a prisoner, it is interesting to know the breadth and depth of this man's offending; and we are indebted to Senator Teller for information upon the subject. The facts furnished by Mr. Teller will be found in the Congressional Record of February 5, at page 2,132. The offender is George T. Rice. He was editor of the Daily Bulletin, a maritime trade paper. In

one of the issues of the Bulletin he criticised the manifest neglect of the captain of the port, an American naval lieutenant, with reference to pilotage and mooring regulations. The criticism was fair and well tempered, but because of it Mr. Rice was forbidden permission in future to enter the office of the captain of the port. Let it be noted in passing that the whole affair related to civil concerns. The only military element in it was the naval commission held by the offended captain of the port. Mr. Rice's retort to his unwarranted exclusion from an official source of maritime news was a statement in the Bulletin of the circumstances and an admonition that he would not be deterred from telling his readers the truth about the maladministration of the office of captain of the port. An ex parte military investigation was then made by Inspector General Mills, a personal friend of the captain of the port, who exonerated the captain of the port and contradicted the editor and the merchants from whom he had obtained his incriminating information. Upon Inspector General Mills's recommendation Mr. Rice was thereupon thrown into jail and subsequently shipped to the United States as a prisoner. The order of banishment, signed by Gen. MacArthur, described Rice as a "dangerous incendiary and a menace to the military situation." There appears to have been nothing to justify this characterization beyond the circumstances recited above. Senator Teller has done well in bringing the case to the attention of the country. It serves to reveal the autocratic methods of our military authorities in Manila, and to suggest the possibilities of tyranny which are embodied in Mr. McKinley's policy of "benevolent assimilation."

"Let West Point go," is the proposal of the Peacemaker, Mr. Alfred H. Love's paper in Philadelphia. Of course, such a proposition is instantly dismissed as the silliness of a crank, and yet it would be difficult

for the hard-headed Philistine who mocks the idea of getting along without a regular army (which would be included in the abolition of West Point) to dispose of Mr. Love's argument that West Point furnished the confederate army with its best officers, and thus proved itself, as an institution, not only no safe reliance for the country that sustains it, but even a possible weapon in the enemy's hands. It was proved in the civil war that the West Point training has never guaranteed the production of the highest patriotism. Men may honestly differ on politics, but to turn one's educated skill in destruction upon the flag, the defenses and the defenders of one's country, is a very different matter. It requires a calloused moral nature and an esprit de corps that sticks at nothing demanded of it. These are the very things cultivated, it appears, at our national military academy. The special committee of congress which has been investigating the hazing outrages at West Point concludes the report to the house with these words, which would shock the country had not the horrible facts abundantly supporting the dreadful charge been so fully set forth in the public press: "Your committee, however, were astonished to find that something at the academy has benumbed the conscience of most of these otherwise creditable young men as to the treatment due from the strong and experienced to the weak, the embarrassed and the inexperienced." But, after all, what is this but the spirit of conquest, the spirit expressed in such wars of subjugation as the self-complacent leaders of Anglo-Saxon civilization are at this time waging in their contemptible and conscienceless onslaughts upon the African and Philippine republics? The treatment inflicted by these strong nations upon weak, embarrassed and inexperienced seekers for self-government in far-off lands is precisely what the hateful hazing at West Point, which has so disgusted all right-minded people, brings

up men to enter into with thoroughness and zest. It is, moreover, what is covered by Mahan's high-sounding euphemism of "Sea Power," which is maintained, as he has demonstrated ad nauseum, by forming big fleets to destroy those of weaker powers or grasp any outlying islands or other territory of some embarrassed power that a stronger may have some use for in its business. The only really "astonishing" thing about it is that anybody in this country should be astonished at "benumbed" consciences anywhere as to the crushing of "the weak, the embarrassed and the inexperienced." That is the accepted up-to-date policy, not only of national powers, but also of finance, trade and industry.

An important point has been raised by the lower house of congress in connection with the proposed reduction of war taxes. The house having passed a bill for this purpose, for which the senate, under the formalities of amendment, has substituted another and totally different bill, the house objects that it is not within the province of the senate thus affirmatively to dictate revenue legislation. This objection rests upon section 7 of article I. of the constitution, which provides that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives." The evident object of the provision is to place the national purse strings under the control, chiefly, of the more popular body. Under the same section authority is given the senate, it is true, to "propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills." There is an assumption, however, in the section as a whole, that the senate will recognize the superior authority of the house as the money disbursing body. Of course the supreme court could not nullify a house revenue bill though it had been amended out of all recognition by the senate. No claim of unconstitutionality in that degree is made. But the senate itself is bound to limit its action by constitutional restraints. This obligation it

frequently ignores by dictating revenue measures under the formality of amendments. It did so with the Wilson tariff bill in 1894, and it is doing so now with the war revenue reduction measure. By pursuing this dictatorial policy with referencē to revenue bills, instead of confining its action to amendments of detail, the senate takes all virtue out of the constitutional provision requiring revenue bills to originate in the lower house. If the senate assumes to amend by striking out of house bills for revenue all after the enacting clause and inserting instead entirely new bills, revenue measures might as well, for all rational purposes, originate in the senate as in the house. To have them originate in the lower house under those conditions is a barren technicality.

Two congressional steals are reported to have locked horns for mutual obstruction. One is the Hanna ship subsidy steal; the other is the river and harbor steal. Hanna threatens that the latter shall not pass unless its supporters help the former through. The news of this falling out among treasury looters is too good to be true. More unblushing schemes for plunder were never conceived. The ship subsidy scheme does not even wear a veil. With the river and harbor appropriations there is a thin pretense of serving public uses; but most of the items are transparent swindles. Even those that appear to be of public concern are less in the public interest than in that of local land owners.

It is interesting to note the ways in which the Hanna newspapers of Cleveland fight Tom L. Johnson for the mayoralty. The Leader, for instance, dodges his demand for the exemption from taxation of all property but land values, because it is in conflict with the Ohio constitution. But constitutions are amendable, and one of the good old American modes of causing them to be amended is to run for office on platforms candid-

ly stating the principle in respect of which amendments ought to be made. Another of Johnson's demands which the Leader dodges is that for three-cent fares on street cars. This demand cannot be secured, it says, until the present franchises expire, which is some years in the future. But the Leader doesn't know that. If Tom L. Johnson, with all his knowledge and experience in connection with street railroads and street railroad law, could not introduce three-cent fares in Cleveland if he were mayor and had a council in sympathy with him, we miss our guess. So does Mr. Hanna, who is so sure of it that he is ready with \$50,000 for a campaign contribution to beat Johnson.

What the Cleveland Leader wishes done in Cleveland is a comical combination of dodging vital questions and emphasizing superficial ones. To its mind the "immediate and vital issues" are enforcement of liquor laws, crushing of the gambling evil, cleaning the streets, enlargement of and increase in the efficiency of the police force, wider and better lighting of streets, and promotion of the group plan of public buildings. About all those things it complains that Johnson is "mum." Very likely. Johnson is not a demagogue, and those are the kind of things that demagogues talk loudly about when they run for office, and disregard after election. They are attractive superficialities. Experience having proved that candidates who emphasize such things before election ignore them afterward, it might be a good experiment for the people of Cleveland to elect a man like Johnson, who in his candidacy emphasizes vital things, and lets the public assume, as it safely may, that constant loyalty to fundamental principles is a guarantee of fidelity to superficial duties.

It would be useful to know exactly what the influences are that work so persistently in congress and the post office department for the suppression

of weekly newspapers. For a time this secret influence worked against sample copies. Having failed in that way to cripple the weekly press, which finds in sample copies the most effective method of extending subscription lists, it managed to work into the postal codification bill now in the senate a postage clause which, were it to become law and be construed by the department with any strictness, would ruin a large proportion of weekly newspapers, would cripple many others, and would make the starting of new ones more difficult than ever. This clause appears in section 150 of the bill, which has already passed the house. Since the bill purported to be a revision or codification of existing laws, and not a new measure, the objectionable clause slipped through the house without being noticed. It would require—

that the rate of postage on newspapers and periodicals not exceeding two ounces in weight, when the same are deposited in letter-carrier office for delivery by carrier, shall be uniform at one cent each; and periodicals weighing more than two ounces shall be subject when delivered by such carriers to a postage of two cents; and these rates shall be fully prepaid by stamps affixed.

Should that entirely novel clause be enacted, The Public, for example—which is delivered chiefly through letter-carrier offices—would be obliged to add 52 cents a year to its expenses for supplying each subscriber; and this for postage alone, to say nothing of the extra expense involved in stamping every single copy bearing a city address. That would raise the cost of printing, white paper and delivery, without counting other expenses, considerably above the subscription price. The effectiveness of that little postal law joker in suppressing the unsubsidized weekly press would contribute very considerably to the gayety of the monopolistic lords and masters of our land.

British newspapers find it difficult to understand American political methods. They frequently and sometimes comically confuse them with

their own. An instance in point is the comment of the London Speaker, the leading liberal party review and one of the ablest weeklies of Great Britain, upon Mr. Bryan's Chicago speech of January 8, in which he said (page 633) that he was now "a private citizen, with excellent prospects of remaining such," and did "not desire to be embarrassed by being placed in the attitude of a candidate for any office." The Speaker of January 26 assumes that this speech was a resignation by Mr. Bryan of "the standard of the party which he has borne with so much courage through two disastrous campaigns." Since British parties have their chosen leaders, who remain such until they are displaced or resign, the Speaker appears to infer that Mr. Bryan's relation to the democratic party of the United States is of that character, and that in consequence of his defeat as a candidate he has formally resigned as a leader. But that is not at all what he has done. He has simply declared, with characteristic modesty and deference to others, that he has no personal ambitions to promote. No one doubts that he would accept another nomination if called to it. And that he will be called to it, unless the call goes to some new man whose democracy is of the Jefferson-Jackson-Lincoln quality as distinguished from that of Buchanan, is certain. Such a man as ex-Senator Towne may be called to the front in 1904. In that event no one will support him more heartily than Mr. Bryan. But the day of the pro-slavery democracy is at an end, and men whose democracy is merely "historic" cannot supplant Mr. Bryan in democratic leadership. Others are not anxious to.

Representative Sprague, of Massachusetts, is reported to have called off a dinner to which he had invited the members of the District of Columbia committee, because one member of that committee, Representative White, of North Carolina, is a colored man. The other members could not bear the thought of sitting at the

same table with this negro, though they do manage to sit in the same committee room and in the same representatives' hall with him. As dinners are private affairs, we have no disposition to criticise either Mr. Sprague or his congressional associates who sent their regrets. Everybody has the right to choose his own company for dinner. But we may be permitted a word about the underlying motive in this case, since it involves so evidently not a question of personal congeniality, but one of democracy. It is safe to say that none of these men would have declined had Congressman White been white without though black as the heart of Satan within. His morals would have cut no figure. It is certain, too, that none of them would have sent their regrets because the dinner was to be cooked and served by negroes. Personal contact with a negro at dinner, therefore, was not the basis of their objection. Consequently, the reason for their action must have been not the character of the man, nor the fact that he was a negro whose presence at dinner might excite their disgust, but the equality of the association. They were aristocrats, not democrats.

#### EXACTING PAY FOR WORK.

Few things are more common than the notion that there is something sordid about men who preach for pay. The allusion is usually to preachers of conventional religion, but it frequently applies also to apostles of vital truths who from time to time bring messages into the world. In its more general form this notion condemns preachers of truth who exact pay for preaching, upon the theory that the truth should be free and that he who charges for preaching it thereby discredits both himself and his cause. Since that view of the matter is not confined to scoffers, but is seriously and sincerely accepted and propagated by the elect, it demands thoughtful consideration. Is it, then, the duty of preachers of truth to preach without pay?

At the outset, in making this in-

quiry, the distinction between preaching truth and making truth known, must be recognized. It is one thing to conceal truth as occasion for imparting it occurs, and quite a different thing to devote persistent labor to its exposition and propagation.

A blacksmith, for instance, who had awakened to a consciousness of some moral or economic or religious truth, the acceptancy of which would augment the happiness of mankind, might be censurable if he refused to make it known. In fact there would be no danger of his refusing. All the impulses of his nature would make him proclaim it. His neighbors would need no thumbscrews to force him to deliver his message, though they might at times wish for lockjaw to make him hold his peace. And as with the blacksmith, so with men of all vocations. We may at once concede that it is the duty of everyone to make known the truths that come to him; and, for the sake at least of directness of inquiry, that it is a duty which if neglected entitles others to complain of the breach. In a word, we may agree that the revelation of truth without money or price is a universal duty; at the same time protesting, however, that the point is unimportant, since human nature is so constituted that this duty is self-executing.

But it does not follow that he who sees a truth must quit his regular vocation, or even trench upon its demands, to devote himself to preaching that truth without pay. He is under no obligation, for the breach of which others may justly complain, even to surrender his leisure hours to this work. That he may make such work his play, refusing remuneration, is too obviously true to call for more than passing mention. It is also true that he may be under a spiritual obligation to the great Revealer of all truth, who has intrusted him with a message to the world, to drop his nets and become an unpaid fisher of men. But, clearly, if he has any duty to work without pay for the propagation of his truth, it is not a duty in any such sense as involves a corresponding right on the part of his fellow men to complain if he refuses to do the

work or if he exacts pay for doing it. And that is the determining point. When we criticise preachers for exacting pay for preaching, we imply not that they are false to their direct personal obligations to God (for this is none of our business), but that they are false to their obligations to us.

It will hardly be insisted that any such obligation really exists, and we may pass on to other considerations.

By dint of a little probing we shall find that no one really expects preachers of truth to devote themselves to their cause literally without pay. It would be absurd to expect that, whether as matter of duty or otherwise. Even preachers of truth must have food and clothing and shelter. And if the truths they proclaim are to gain listening audiences they must live as well as their auditors are accustomed to live. The real question is not whether they shall preach for pay. It will be acknowledged that they must have pay. The question is whether they shall exact pay for their work, as other men do for theirs, or shall subsist precariously upon the proceeds of miscellaneous beggary—that is, upon what is given them as charity for their support, as distinguished from what is paid to them as hire for their work.

The right of preachers to adopt the beggary plan, no one is at liberty to dispute. One may express doubts of its effectiveness in this age, may refuse to drop pennies into the outstretched hat, or may hold aloof from all that pertains to it. Only as it is commended as something which all of us ought as preachers to adopt or as supporters of preachers to approve, has anybody the right to protest. But when it is so commended then there is occasion for an exercise of that self-executing duty which consists in proclaiming truth without pay.

No regular work ought to be done without the exaction of regular and adequate pay. This is a social law which cannot be systematically violated without disturbing the social equilibrium. Systematic violation by means of force exerted against

workers, produces slavery as an institution; systematic violation by means of generosity on the part of workers, produces beggary as an institution; and either institution impoverishes the worker and pampers the idler, thereby doing an injury to both. When preachers devote themselves to preaching without exacting pay—all the pay that their work is worth to those at whose instance it is done—they encourage unwholesome mental states.

There is no difference, in the economics of it, between the preacher's vocation and other useful employments. If it were a duty of preachers to work without regular and adequate pay, then it would be the duty of choirs to sing and of organists to play without regular and adequate pay. It would also in that case, be the duty of the sexton to care for the church without regular and adequate pay. And, going back of these examples, it would be the duty of religious masons and carpenters to build churches, of religious lumbermen and quarrymen and miners to procure materials and of religious transporters to carry them—all without definite or adequate pay. For these workers are in those connections but coadjutors of the preachers in the labor of conserving such truths as churches have to offer.

Precisely so with preachers of other than ecclesiastical truths. When they devote themselves to the exposition and dissemination of those truths, they become, literally in the economic sense, laborers in that field. They are workingmen as truly as blacksmiths are, and the problem of their livelihood is precisely the problem of his; namely, to get an equivalent for what they give and to give an equivalent for what they get. The fact that he helps to shape one variety of truth into horseshoes while they help to shape other varieties into sermons, or essays, or books, or lectures, or speeches, or poems, or pictures, or songs, makes no economic difference. The laborer who devotes himself to writing desirable books or essays or poems, to delivering desirable lectures or speeches, to painting desirable pictures, or to making desirable music, is as worthy of his hire as are the laborers who manufacture

the paper and ink and type of which books are constructed, the buildings in which lectures and speeches are delivered, the canvas and pigments that make paintings possible, or the instruments from which the musician evolves his harmonies. All this work is cooperative, and one of the cooperators can no more justly or wisely be relegated to mendicancy than the others.

There is a difference, to be sure, between exacting pay for work, and working for the purpose of exacting pay. The preacher or writer, including teachers of all kinds—and including, for that matter, the workers in every field—who works merely for the sake of pay, is not a true worker. He lives for himself alone, and for the lower part of himself at that. Useful work is, as the adjective implies, work which on the whole is done not only for the sake of the worker but also for the sake of others. But this question of being a worker merely for the pay, brings up the individual motive and, therefore, concerns only the individual. Another has no right to judge him. The motives of his actions may raise an issue between himself and his creator; they raise none between himself and his fellow men.

The strong feeling against exaction of pay for preaching which prevails among the more idealistic agitators for social regeneration may well proceed from the disordered conditions that legalized monopolies engender. From confusing exaction of pay for privileges with exaction of pay for work, to hoping for the total abnegation of pay, is an easy transition of thought. Pay for preaching naturally stands out prominently in this programme of communism; but all exactions of pay are regarded as sordid, unbrotherly and spiritually degrading; and consistently so, for if it is sordid to exact pay for any kind of regular work, it is sordid to exact pay for any other kind.

Whether or not this concept that exacting pay for work is unbrotherly really results from considering social conditions without discrimination between the effects of monopoly and those of competition, it certainly is not the result of

any balanced inquiry into the nature of things.

Reflect a moment upon it.

Exchange of work is the law of social existence. This is a proposition which no one will dispute.

As exchange becomes unbalanced, so that some get more than they earn, while others earn more than they get, society falls into disorder. Neither is that proposition open to controversy.

The social problem, therefore, is how to secure an approximate equilibrium of exchange at which the work that each does for others shall be approximately equal in usefulness to the work that others do for him.

Obviously, that equilibrium cannot be approached by means of slavery. Slavery takes forcibly from workers for the benefit of idlers. Neither can it be approached by creating monopoly, which is essentially a form of slavery—a subtle form, but slavery none the less.

Can it, then, be approached by some voluntary mode of working regularly and mutually for one another without exacting regular and fair exchanges? Possibly. Whoever denies it assumes a power of foreknowledge which no human mind possesses. A world is conceivable where each will work faithfully to help fill up a common storehouse, drawing from the storehouse only what he needs. In that case, though some would get more than they earned and others would earn more than they got, each would act voluntarily and none could complain. But if it is an unwarranted assumption of foreknowledge to deny such a possibility, it is still more unwarranted to assert it. So far as human experience throws any light upon the question, a fair adjustment of work under such communistic conditions is possible only in societies where each is bound to all by religious inspiration and obligations. A single black sheep in the flock makes havoc with the adjustment.

It is consequently reasonable to infer that the communistic method of distribution will not secure an approximately equitable adjustment of work exchange in society at large unless each member of society comes under the influence of the religious im-

pulse—of the impulse, that is, which obliges him to love his neighbor equally with himself. There is a possibility, of course, that this condition, too, may result from communism. But at the present stage of development, he who denies it has the better of the issue, upon the circumstantial evidence.

Now, when we consider the effectiveness in maintaining a just equilibrium of distribution, which the exacting of pay for work produces to the extent that its operation is undisturbed by legalized monopoly, we may fairly ask an explanation, a more rational one than has yet been put forth, of the necessity, in the interest of equity and brotherhood, of trying to adopt a method which cannot operate justly unless all whose interests it involves become just. To work without exacting pay is to refer the question of equity in distribution to the least just. What equitable necessity is there for that, when exacting pay for work refers the question of equity to the mutual agreement of the two persons who are necessary to every exchange and who are the only persons capable of judging its equities?

To the fair operation of that method of exchange only one thing is necessary. It is the abolition of monopoly, of every privilege created by law which directly or indirectly gives to one person in a trade an advantage over the other.

The urging of communistic ideals regarding obligations to work without exacting pay, instead of urging the abolition of monopoly, is therefore very like dreaming away the hours when active and sane agitation is imperatively needed, as if they were the listless hours of that drowsy place where it is always afternoon. Whatever ideal of social reform may be ultimately realized, the first rational movement must be the clearing away of obstructions to the exchange of work upon the basis of exacting pay. Though the time may come when each will put into a common storehouse according to his abilities and withdraw from it according to his needs, he being himself the judge of each, the time that has now come de-

mands that each shall put into the storehouse the equivalent of what he takes out.

## NEWS

Reference to the map of South Africa is necessary to a clear comprehension of the week's military movements in that region, which have been important. Turn first to the Transvaal district lying east of the railroad from Johannesburg to Pretoria, and bounded on the north by the railroad from Pretoria to Lourenzo Marquez and on the south by that from Johannesburg to Durban. As stated in our report of last week (page 696), Lord Kitchener began early in the month a great offensive movement in this district, which was designed to sweep the Boers out of the eastern Transvaal. Seven British columns, moving eastward in wide, fan-shaped order, and keeping in constant communication with one another, were to drive everybody before them and to denude the country of everything that might serve to support Boer troops. On the 6th these columns occupied Ermelo, a point about midway between the railroads. Though the resistance is described by Lord Kitchener to have been slight, he reports very heavy Boer casualties, and a British loss of 24 killed and 53 wounded. Gen. Botha, he says in his dispatch of the 9th, is retiring eastward, before the seven British columns, with a force of 7,000 men, and the movement has "thoroughly upset all the" Boer "calculations and created a regular panic in the district."

Turn now to the Orange Free State. This is the region of De Wet's operations. At the time of our last report, Kitchener's advances placed De Wet to the north of Thabanchu, which lies almost due east from Bloemfontein. But in his dispatch of the 9th he indicated his belief that De Wet was going westward, across the north and south railway line to the south of Jagersfontein road, which is 75 miles or more below Bloemfontein. A hard fight had taken place on the 31st, in which the British were distinctly worsted by De Wet, who thereby made good his southerly movement into Cape Colony. The British had set a trap for him. Seven columns, one of which was commanded by Maj. Crewe, another by Col. Pilcher and a third by Gen. Knox, had started out from

Bloemfontein with the design of forcing him upon a British corps concentrated at a convenient point on the Orange river, east of the railroad. On the morning of the 31st Maj. Crewe, who had swung northward and eastward and was now moving southwest, came in sight of Tabaksberg, a mountain 40 miles east of the railway between Small Deel and Bloemfontein, and hearing heavy firing on the farther side, where Col. Pilcher was supposed to be, hurried across to Pilcher's assistance. He met a force of Boers streaming down the mountain side, apparently retreating before Pilcher, and began to attack them. But they welcomed him so warmly that he was soon forced to retreat, his enemy following him closely and driving him into an ambush from which he escaped only with great difficulty. On the following morning Maj. Crewe continued his retreat in the direction of Gen. Knox's column, which he eventually reached, though compelled for miles to fight a harassing rear guard action. Upon returning to Bloemfontein, Maj. Crewe was highly commended by Lord Kitchener for his achievement in getting back.

After this brilliant victory over Maj. Crewe—in fact, over Kitchener, for he escaped the trap—De Wet crossed the railroad westward between Jagersfontein road and Springfontein, capturing a train of cars in his progress. On the 10th, according to unofficial reports of the 13th, he crossed the Orange river a few miles north of Norval's point, and, accompanied by President Steyn, was then making for the Cape Colony town of Philippstown with a force estimated at 3,000.

Official reports of British casualties in the South African war down to January 31 show the following totals:

Killed in action.....	4,356
Died of battle wounds.....	1,191
Died as prisoners of war.....	106
Died of disease.....	7,793
Accidental deaths.....	205
<hr/>	
Total deaths.....	13,651
Missing.....	905
Sent home as invalids.....	38,624
Killed and wounded since compilation of above figures.....	1,000
<hr/>	
	54,180

The above table does not include

colonial troops invalided home (4,000), nor invalids under treatment in hospitals of Africa (17,000), nor casualties among pro-British civilians (2,000).

The Philippine subjugation proceeds more successfully than that of the Boers, according to the Manila dispatches. Some fighting in the archipelago is reported, but the dispatches are devoted chiefly to accounts of surrenders of Filipino detachments, to enthusiastic welcomes of American sovereignty, to arrests of insurgents and their friends, to the organization of provincial governments, and so on. On the 12th, President McKinley's commissioners—Taft, Worcester and Moses—along with Gen. Grant and three members of the native federal party, Arellano, Tavera and Flores, went to Bacolor to organize a provincial government for the province of Pampanga. The town was profusely decorated for their reception, with flags and pictures of Washington and McKinley. The work of provincial organization began on the 13th, when the officers of the province and their salaries were announced, as follows: Sekrina Joven, governor, \$1,600; Mariano Cuanan, secretary, \$1,000; Lieut. William A. Goodale, treasurer, \$2,400; Lieut. Lawrence Butler, supervisor, \$1,800; Juan Garcia, fiscal, \$1,350. Gen. MacArthur cables prediction of entire suspension of hostilities throughout Luzon at an "early date." Some discord between the civil and the military representatives of American sovereignty in the Philippines is legible between the lines of the Manila reports.

American casualties in the Philippines since July 1, 1898, inclusive of the current official reports given out in detail at Washington to February 13, 1901, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900 (see page 91).....	1,847
Killed reported from May 16, 1900, to the date of the presidential election, November 6, 1900.....	100
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period.....	468
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Total deaths to presidential election.....	2,415
Killed reported since presidential election.....	36

Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period..... 159

Total deaths.....2,610  
Wounded since July 1, 1898.....2,410

Total casualties since July, '98.....5,020  
Total casualties to last week.....5,006  
Total deaths to last week.....2,596

Cuba practically completed her constitution on the 11th. The question of the nativity of the president, referred to last week (page 696), was then decided so as to make Gomez eligible. The vote stood 15 to 14, two delegates, both classed in the affirmative, being absent. The various committees have been instructed to designate one member each for a central committee to draft a plan regarding the relations that are to exist between Cuba and the United States. One of the clauses of the constitution relates to the public debt. It provides that debts contracted prior to the promulgation of the constitution, except those contracted on behalf of the Cuban revolution after February 24, 1895, shall be void.

In American politics the most notable formal event of the week was the election of president and vice president of the United States. The two houses of congress assembled in representatives' hall on the 13th, where the returns from the electoral college were then read and computed and the president of the senate, Mr. Frye, announced that 292 votes had been cast for McKinley and Roosevelt and 155 for Bryan and Stevenson, and that the former were therefore elected for the term of four years from March 4, 1901. The proceedings were finished within an hour.

The most important political event, however, was the celebration on the 12th at Columbus, O., of Lincoln's birthday by the Jefferson-Jackson-Lincoln league, of which Congressman John J. Lentz is president. This league is local in its initial organization, but it contemplates a national movement in support of democratic democracy. Its motto is: "Truth loses battles, but wins wars: Truth lost a battle at Bunker Hill, but won a war at Yorktown." The first part of this motto is credited by the league to The Public, in a pleasant letter which explains that—in searching for a brief expression and summary of our determination

and ambition, we appropriated the first sentence in the first column on the first page of a recent issue of *The Public*. We could not well give you credit in the letter head, but we take this opportunity of giving you due credit for the motto of the League: "Truth loses battles but wins wars." This much we appropriated from your good paper. To it we added, etc.

The letterhead of the league, referred to in the foregoing extract, is a handsome piece of typography, which displays the portraits of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln, with five quotations from each, intended to demonstrate a parallelism of thought and purpose on the part of these three American democrats, which quotations the league adopts as its creed. The first public demonstration of the league was made, as already mentioned, in the celebration of Lincoln's birthday last Tuesday at Columbus. The banquet was a dollar dinner, at which 1,500 guests sat around the tables. The diners and an audience which filled the Auditorium galleries were addressed by William J. Bryan on Jefferson, by John P. Altgeld on Jackson and by Charles A. Towne on Lincoln. A letter was read from Senator Pettigrew on "From Lincoln to Hanna," and speeches were made on "Jefferson and Lincoln" by Congressman Shafroth, of Colorado; on "Our Duty" by Congressman De Armond, of Missouri; on "Democratic Principles—Past, Present and Future," by Congressman Troup, of Connecticut, and on "Municipal Ownership of Municipal Monopolies," by Tom L. Johnson. In introducing Bryan, Lentz announced him as "the next president of the United States."

Prior to this banquet a meeting of speakers and guests was held, at which plans for giving national scope to the Jefferson-Jackson-Lincoln league were formulated. A committee on national organization was appointed; and Willis J. Abbott, Charles A. Towne, A. J. Elias, John P. Altgeld and John J. Lentz were appointed a committee on constitution and by-laws. The committee on ways and means consists of Norman E. Mack, New York; W. J. Bryan, Nebraska; J. S. Cash, Minnesota; Adolph Miederuen, Michigan; J. F. Shafroth, Colorado; Tom L. Johnson, Ohio; W. H. King, Utah; J. E. Osborn, Wyoming; Alexander Troup, Connecticut; R. I. Harner, West Vir-

ginia; D. A. De Armond, Missouri; N. Gottlieb, Illinois; Samuel Wetherell, New Jersey. Opposition to any attempt at reorganization of the democratic party was unanimous. The probabilities are that a national convention of the league will be held at an early day.

The mayoralty contest in St. Louis next spring is to be triangular. Rolla Wells, a gold democrat, has been nominated by the regular democratic organization. The republicans will have a party ticket in the field. And a third party has named Lee Meriwether. Mr. Meriwether was a third party candidate at the last municipal election in St. Louis, when he polled nearly 20,000 votes. His nomination this year comes from the Municipal Ownership league (see page 659), which held its convention on the 7th. The nominating speech was made by H. Martin Williams; and with him was nominated a complete city ticket, every candidate being pledged not to withdraw without the consent of the executive committee. The platform, reported by L. P. Custer, chairman of the committee on resolutions, while renewing "allegiance to the principle of public ownership of public utilities," declares—

We are not opposed to corporations; on the contrary, we recognize their importance in the business world and favor such free switching and other privileges as will help make St. Louis the greatest commercial and manufacturing center of the country. But we are unalterably opposed to turning our city's streets over to private concerns. We believe that all natural monopolies should be owned by the people. To those who fear this may mean the creation of a too powerful political machine, we answer: Public ownership of the waterworks and the post office has proved beneficial to the public. Nine-tenths of the city hall corruption is due to the bribes of promoters seeking special privileges. Franchise holding corporations, already up to their neck in politics, spend large sums of money, dictating the nomination of their friends in political conventions for the double purpose of first securing valuable franchises free of charge; and, second, of escaping their just share of taxes. . . . Public ownership will remedy these evils, will give the people cheaper and better service and can not possibly create as dangerous a machine as that now operated by such concerns as the Transit company. . . . While awaiting such legislation as may be necessary to secure city

ownership of street railroads, lighting plants, etc., the Transit company, Laclede Gaslight company and similar semi-public corporations shall be required to pay taxes on their franchises. . . . If, before we secure municipal ownership, and because of the world's fair, or any other valid reason, it becomes desirable to grant a franchise to a private corporation, such franchise shall not only provide for ultimate ownership by the city, but upon demand of five per cent. of the registered voters of St. Louis, such franchise will be submitted to the people for their approval or rejection. We favor the principles of direct legislation. We condemn the effort now being made to turn the city's waterworks over to a private New York corporation. We demand that the waterworks shall remain the property of the whole people. We hold that a labor union is educational. It brings workmen together, teaches them a sense of brotherhood and aids in fitting them for the high duties of citizenship. For these reasons it benefits society at large as well as labor, and we favor the employment of organized labor in the execution of all public works.

European politics have not been sufficiently exciting during the week to stimulate cable dispatches, except in Italy, where a ministerial crisis occurred on the 7th. The Saracco ministry then resigned, having been defeated the day before. The defeat was caused by a curious coalition. The socialists voted against the ministry because they regarded it as not sufficiently liberal; the conservatives did so because they regarded it as disposed to yield too easily to the socialists. Immediately after the decisive vote the anti-ministerial coalition disintegrated. There is, therefore, no reliable majority out of which the king can evolve a new ministry.

Dangerous possibilities threaten Spain in consequence of popular uprisings there. These uprisings are in part industrial, in part religious, and in part political disturbances. Strikes have paralyzed business over extensive districts. Jesuits have been mobbed. And the marriage of the princess of the Asturias, sister of the king and heiress presumptive to the throne, to Prince Charles, son of the Count of Caserta, a reactionary Bourbon and Carlist leader, has raised up political mobs in Madrid. In some places martial law has been declared, and the situation throughout the kingdom is reported as perilous.

## NEWS NOTES.

—Queen Wilhelmina, of Holland, was married on the 7th to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

—A bill to restore peremptory capital punishment in Kansas was defeated in the state senate on the 12th by 18 to 11.

—Thousands have died on the Khirgez steppes, Russia, says a St. Petersburg dispatch of the 12th, from hunger typhus.

—Ex-King Milan, of Servia, grandson of a swineherd, and father of the reigning king, died at Vienna on the 11th, aged 49.

—The lower house of the Colorado legislature has passed a bill for the restoration of capital punishment, prescribing electricity as the mode.

—The British treasury asks bids for \$55,000,000 of three per cent. exchequer bonds, to be of date March 7, 1901, and be repayable at par December 7, 1905.

—Tom L. Johnson is to deliver the principal address at a public meeting under the auspices of the Massachusetts Single Tax league in Fremont Temple, Boston, in the afternoon of Washington's birthday.

—At the fourth annual interstate joint conference of coal operators and miners, which closed at Columbus, O., on the 9th, it was agreed to extend the old wages scale, with minor changes, until January 20, 1902.

—The Milwaukee Sentinel the old republican paper of Milwaukee, has just been sold to the street car syndicate—Charles Pfister, Frank Bigelow and Henry C. Payne. An exorbitant price was paid. The paper had opposed the street car ring.

—In the legislature of Delaware a bill has been introduced which would require tax assessors to distinguish between the values of landed improvements and the values of sites. Such a law is in force in California and Massachusetts.

—The supreme court of Michigan sustained on the 12th the decision of a lower court refusing to strike from the tax assessment of the Detroit council against the Detroit street railways, the sum of \$2,000,000 for franchise value. Under this decision franchise values in Michigan may be taxed.

## IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, and closes with the last issue of that publication at hand upon going to press.

Feb. 4-9, 1901.

## Senate.

On the 4th a communication from the secretary of war relative to the deportation of Mabini, the Filipino statesman, (see proceedings of January 24), was laid before the senate and referred to the com-

mittee on the Philippines, after which the senate proceeded to the consideration of the District of Columbia appropriation bill. The following day, the 5th, Mr. Teller read the facts about the deportation of George T. Rice from Manila (p. 2132), while speaking to his resolution asking information from the war department. Consideration of the District of Columbia appropriation bill was then resumed. When the hour for unfinished business, the ship subsidy bill, arrived, Mr. Allison asked unanimous consent to lay it informally aside for the purpose of proceeding with the business then under consideration, and objection being raised, he made a motion to proceed with the appropriation bill. This motion was agreed to, and the senate continued its deliberations upon the appropriation bill in hand and passed it. It then proceeded to consider the military academy appropriation bill, which it resumed on the 6th, when that bill also was passed. Thereupon it took up the house bill for the reduction of the war revenues and after amending passed it. An evening session having been voted, the ship subsidy bill was taken up when that session convened, but the speeches were not confined to the subject. On the 7th the pension appropriation bill was passed at the day session, and at the evening session consideration of the ship subsidy bill was continued until the senate adjourned for lack of a quorum. This bill was further considered on the 8th until displaced by the naval appropriation bill, which occupied attention on the 9th until the hour set apart for memorial addresses on the late Congressman Alfred C. Harmer, of Pennsylvania.

## House.

The Cuban claims bill from the senate was considered on the 4th, and a house substitute adopted, after which consideration of the post office appropriation bill was resumed. The same business occupied the house on the 5th. Also on the 6th (when conferees on the District of Columbia appropriation bill were appointed), and again on the 7th, when the bill passed. Consideration of the diplomatic and consular service appropriation bill was then begun, and after being interrupted on the 8th by private pension bills, was resumed on the 9th. On this day memorial addresses were delivered on the late Congressmen William D. Daly, of New Jersey, and Richard A. Wise, of Virginia.

## MISCELLANY

## RETROGRESSION.

For The Public.

"Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams."

Base visions are wooing our young men's eyes

In this era of disillusion;  
Their models, but thieves in charity's guise;  
What marvel the meanest should win the prize,

With his soul grown callous, and worldly-wise

In lore of one truth to myriad lies,  
Entangled in wily confusion?

The spirit of poetry, fain to greet  
The march of life's jubilant morning,  
With a rainbow arch, and a rhythmic beat,  
To our modern youth is a childish cheat,  
For "the age of action" no longer meet,  
In our "strenuous" air grown obsolete,  
But a target for flippant scorning.

A sorrier truth has been brought to pass  
Than a Swinburne's airy confession  
That he is only a song; for alas!  
When he pipes to the tune of a murderous class,

Beholding life through Imperial glass,  
To our ears he becomes "as sounding brass"

In his pitiful retrogression.

Sad dreams are our old men dreaming to-day,

When the world recedes from their vision;  
When its selfish triumphs have loosed their sway,

Dissolved in the folds of a sunset gray,  
As slowly their thoughts thread the backward way;  
For its aftermath, though a truth for aye,  
Will surely be held in derision.

Regretful dreams overshadow their rest  
While their slack-moored spirits are drifted

On an out-bound tide; though they leave the best

Of their wine of wisdom, by heart-throbs prest,

To their children's children, such high bequest

May serve, perchance, as a warning or jest,  
By no grand ideals uplifted.

We have no prophet to show us the end  
Of our recreant generation;  
As with shame and fear we follow its trend  
We may miss the hap of a curve or bend,  
That may mean to our race a foe or friend;  
Or utter debasement some law may fend  
Through the justice of tribulation.

D. H. INGHAM.

## THE ELEPHANT AND THE BULL PUP.

When the mahouts and cameleers sit about in the cool of the evening capping stories, some one usually tells how Dharmadas, the Elephant, went must. Dharmadas, you should know, is Bengalee for "servant of righteousness." And so righteous was this particular Elephant that his admirers would have it, he was the incarnation of all moral ideas.

Fancy, then, their amazement to find him crashing through the market place, one hot morning, covered with blood and dirt. His hoarse "Urmph! urmph!" gave but scant warning. Humankind and animals, gear and buildings, went down before him like grain before the flail. A man amuck makes empty streets; an Elephant must—God save us!—makes widows and orphans.

But this is not the story of an Elephant alone; and therein lies the nub of the whole tragic business. Upon the neck of Dharmadas was perched a Bull Pup. How he got there it is hard to say, for Elephants loathe Dogs. Yet there he clung. His fierce little eyes gleamed savagely from the round, combative head. His underhung jaw, half open, showed the white glittering teeth. Now with this paw, now with that, he goaded his maddened mount. What evil genius possessed that bloodthirsty little brute? On, on, he drove, making a crimson trail across the square. Our tale is soon told; but the desolation of that ill-assorted couple left in their wake cannot be summed up until three generations have ceased to mourn.

At the fountain Dharmadas stopped. He must have one drink if that merci-

less driver clawed his ears off. As the hot trunk dipped for a cooling draught, our Elephant saw, mirrored on the surface of the water, what manner of mahout had led him this wild chase. In a flash the dripping trunk had the now yelping Pup in its grasp, and a swift backward toss landed him in the nearest ditch.

Sane but sad the Elephant turned from that fountain. A wave of repentance, as when the big river flows its muddy banks, swept over him. Slowly, with downcast head, he retraced his steps; and the naked little children from the keddah led Dharmadas home.

One should not presume to speak of beasts and men in the same breath. Yet, brother, when I see a good man, or a party of men, for that matter, driven by some cheap demagogue into disgraceful paths, I recall how an Elephant once flung a Bull Pup into a ditch, and I take heart of grace.—Alonzo Rothschild, in City and State, of Philadelphia.

#### WHAT THE CITY OF CLEVELAND MIGHT ASPIRE TO.

The following letter of acceptance was read by ex-Congressman Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio, to the Committee of Fifty, Harry Payer, chairman, which waited upon him on the 6th of February, with a petition signed by 15,682 democratic voters of Cleveland, requesting him to allow his name to go before the primaries of that city as a candidate for the democratic nomination for mayor.

To the Committee:

Knowing of your intended visit and its object I have prepared the following:

I have, up to the last, hoped that this situation would not arise. I much prefer my original plan of being active in politics without running for office. At the same time, I feel deeply sensible of the honor of being asked to stand as a candidate for mayor of this city.

If elected I would endeavor to give to the people as much of a business administration of public affairs as is possible under existing statutes. I believe the greatest good can be accomplished by some fundamental changes in the laws governing the city. The people of Cleveland should have local option on the subject of raising their revenues, and more freedom in the control of their expenditures.

The principle of home rule should prevail in purely local questions. We should have the right to exempt some classes of property from taxation, with a view to stimulating manufacturing enterprises and encour-

aging the building of homes. We should be at liberty to supplement the expenditures of the national government in our harbor improvements, and engage in other public works which will greatly promote our material prosperity. Generally, we should pursue a progressive policy in keeping with our wonderful growth.

The most important business question ever before the people of this city is that involved in the efforts of the street railroad companies to secure renewals of their existing franchises.

In dealing with this question, the city, while recognizing in the fullest the franchise and property rights of the present owners, should not hastily decide all doubtful questions against the people.

The best way to secure reasonable rates of fare is by inviting competition as the statutes now provide, the ordinance requiring as a condition precedent the payment by the successful bidder to the owners of the full and fair value of all property and unexpired franchises.

Under no circumstances should a renewal be granted that would permit a greater charge than three cents cash fares, with universal transfers. Low rates of fare, rather than revenue, should be the aim.

Personally, I advocate municipal ownership of street railroads and some other public utilities, in their nature monopolies; and believe in the philosophy of Henry George as the best rule of conduct in governmental affairs, whether local, state, or national. Taxes should be so levied as not to retard the production of wealth, but should be made a charge on monopoly and privilege.

I am willing to become the democratic nominee if the primaries so decide. If elected, I will serve the best interests of all the people. Yours truly,

TOM L. JOHNSON.

#### ECHOES FROM THE COLUMBUS BANQUET.

Extracts from speeches delivered at the banquet of the Jefferson-Jackson-Lincoln club, Columbus, O., on the evening of the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, February 12.

#### MR. BRYAN SPEAKS TO JEFFERSON.

Never has this nation been more in need than it is to-day of an earnest and thorough revival of Jeffersonian principles. While other statesmen, appearing at different crises and meeting the responsibilities of their respective times, have made partial

application of democratic principles, Jefferson is the only one who formulated a democratic code applicable to all times, all situations and all people.

Though the champion of the common people, he was born among the aristocrats and was as intimately acquainted with the members of the House of Have as with those who struggled to meet by daily work their daily wants. He was called a demagogue by his enemies, and yet he exhibited a moral courage which none of his detractors has ever possessed, and in behalf of a righteous principle he would oppose the world.

At this time, when the money changers are in absolute control of the government and are shaping the government's financial policy in their own interests, without regard to the welfare of the people at large, we need to recall Jefferson's scathing arraignment of those who demand the surrender into their hands of the sovereign functions of government.

At this time, when corporate monopoly is fast extinguishing industrial independence, we need a revival of the Jeffersonian spirit which demands a government administered according to the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

At this time, when commercialism is searing the conscience of the nation, when the worship of mammon is leading the people to ignore inalienable rights, when the ideals bought with blood and sacrifice are to be bartered away for the specious and delusive promises of empire—at this time, I repeat, we need to have our faith in man as man and our love for man as brother rekindled by the memory of this mighty patriot, philosopher and democrat, whose brain comprehended the height and depth and breadth of government and whose heart embraced the human race.

#### MR. ALTGELD SPEAKS TO JACKSON.

There is a fact, my friends, that should give us hope. Everything in this universe is governed by laws, laws that are immutable. There are laws of disintegration that never sleep, that never rest, that never tire. The world long ago discovered that thieves fall out, and I say to you this law of disintegration will, in its own time, and in its own way, tear to pieces that combination of vulgar exploiters that is to-day controlling the American government.

In all serious situations there are comic incidents, and amid the disaster to republican principles in the late

campaign there is one very comic incident.

The smoke of battle had scarcely cleared away when there was noticed a commotion in some political graveyard. Men with hunger in their eyes, with the mold on their faces, with the moth in their hair crept over to the fence and kindly offered to reorganize the democratic party. And there was a commotion in some republican kitchens; men who had once called themselves democrats, but who, for several years had been eating republican soup, hurried over to tender their services for the purpose of reorganizing the democratic party. But, unfortunately for these men, they have a record. The country is familiar with their careers. Their doings are yet fresh in the minds of the American people. The people remember that these men were in power only six years ago and that during a brief period they destroyed the democratic party. The people recall the fact that under the Cleveland administration nearly every cabinet office and every important position in the government was filled at the dictation of the corporations and the incumbents proved to be only a convenience for the great corporations.

What would Jackson do with the private monopolies that are being fostered by the McKinley administration and that are devouring the substance of the American people?

He would destroy them. How, I cannot tell you. He could not tell you in advance if he were here, but we know that wherever there is a fierce determination there is a way to succeed, and he would furnish that fierce determination. Understand, it is not the idea of a monopoly that is so obnoxious, but the idea of a private monopoly that is intolerable. There are many monopolies in this country to-day that are the natural outgrowth of the civilization and the industrial and economic conditions of the times that cannot be wiped out, and which we do not want to have wiped out. But in all that class of cases the whole people must own and get the benefit of the monopoly.

Let me say here, my friends, if we never do anything more, we did the country a service in 1896 by bringing the democratic party up out of the swamps and underbrush, and taking a position in the sunlight on the highlands.

We are not offering the young men offices, but we want what is a thousand times greater than all the offices put

together, and that is a career, an opportunity to work in the vineyard of mankind, to fight the battle of the lowly; an opportunity to help the man that is doing the world's work, to protect the children that are being robbed of their bread, to protect the weak from the greed of the strong.

We offer no palace on the hill, but we offer what is a thousand times greater and better, an opportunity to assist in lighting the hovels of the poor, in driving want and hunger from the cheeks of toil and lifting the hopes of the sons of men.

#### WHAT THE FILIPINOS ASK.

A letter addressed by Signor Sixto Lopez to Robert Treat Paine, Esq., president of the American Peace society, Boston, dated at Washington, January 29, 1901.

Dear Mr. Paine: I have to thank you for your most interesting and sympathetic letter, which reached me via Chicago and Philadelphia, and I now hasten to reply.

I fear that you have misunderstood my statement of the terms upon which the Filipinos would be prepared to end this most deplorable war. The Filipinos will never accept American sovereignty in the sense in which the word is generally understood. Whether they would accept suzerainty would also depend upon the definition of the word and the powers which it implied. But let me now briefly state what I intended to convey to you on January 1:

The administration is demanding certain rights in the Philippines. These are, so far as I can discover:

1. The right and the means to fulfill certain (unspecified) obligations to other nations.
2. The right and the means to protect life and property—foreign and native.
3. A basis of trade and military operation for the far east.
4. Coaling station.
5. The right, or the desire, to raise us—by a process called "benevolent assimilation"—out of a condition of savagery which does not exist in our country.

In order to obtain these rights the administration demands that our people shall surrender unconditionally and submit to American sovereignty.

The Filipinos, on the other hand, demand one "unalienable right," namely, independence, or the right to "institute" a government "deriving its just powers from the consent," not of any foreign nations, but "of the governed." It is only by the exercise of this right that the Filipinos will be able to secure equitable laws, insure just administration and prevent the exploitation of their country and its resources.

But, while firm in this demand, the Filipinos are prepared to yield to the United States everything included or implied in the above list from 1 to 4 inclusive. In addition to this they are prepared to repay, in whole or in part, the \$20,000,000 paid to Spain, if the demand be made by the United States.

As to paragraph 5, the Filipinos do not want and will not accept anything in the form of benevolence or charity from any nation in the world. But if any American citizen or citizens desire to embark in missionary enterprise and if they really think that there are those in the Philippines who need special enlightenment they will be at liberty to spend their missionary zeal without let or hindrance. The Filipinos would only reserve the right to recommend that such missionary zeal be expended on Spain or Turkey or Russia or the east end of London or perhaps in some parts of America, where education and enlightenment are more urgently needed than in the Philippines.

It will therefore be seen that every demand that the administration is making with the exception of that denied to George III. will be granted by the Filipinos.

Now, therefore, if the administration will say to the Filipinos: "We will not deny you one right which you claim and which we enjoy; we will grant you your independence, but we reserve the right to take such steps as are necessary to enable us to fulfill our obligations and conserve our rights," the Filipinos will lay down their arms at once.

If the acceptance of this offer entailed some definitely defined form of suzerainty or if it necessitated joint action in foreign affairs, the retention of American troops or the appointment of a customs commissioner the Filipinos would raise no objection provided that these conditions were not to be made perpetual. These and all such questions are matters of detail and could be included in a treaty.

I do not think I could more clearly define the nature and degree of independence demanded by the Filipinos. As to whether this definition would mean "absolute independence" or "limited independence" is a mere matter of terminology. The Filipinos are interested in the fact, not in the name. Nevertheless, since words are the symbols of things, there should be no shrinking from the fact that the Filipinos do demand independence as defined above. And there can be no hope of ending this war until that independence is granted to them.

The Filipinos ardently desire peace

and they are prepared to sacrifice much in order to obtain it. But they will allow no man or nation, however powerful, to take from them their inalienable right. A powerful nation may take their life. But they hold that it is better to have death with honor than to bow the head at the expense of legitimate pride and self-respect. This determination and sentiment is shared by practically the whole population of the archipelago, with the partial exception of central Mindanao and the Sulus.

But let there be no misapprehension. It must not be thought that our desire and our plea for peace are due to any inability to carry on the war. Our forces are in a stronger position to-day than they were ever before. They are gaining in strength and experience every day. The rigors of military rule and the new method of deportation bind our people to the deathless determination never to submit to a nation which indulges in such practices. There will be no difficulty in imitating the American patriots of 1776 and in carrying on the war for eight or even eighteen years—

For men betrayed are mighty,  
And great are the wrongfully dead.

We plead for peace, but the plea is in the interest of those who suffer and die by sword and starvation, not because of fear. We can fight long, even if we have to suffer much, for we are fighting for hearth and home and in a righteous cause. We are ready for peace; we hold out the olive branch. But on that branch is written with the blood of brave men the word liberty. For that we are willing to suffer; for that we are prepared to die. But we will never submit to have liberty conferred upon us by the "charity" or "benevolence" of any man or nation; it is ours by right, not by bounty.

With many thanks for your kindly interest in our sorely stricken people and with much respect, sincerely yours,  
SIXTO LOPEZ.

TO THE PERSON SITTING IN DARKNESS.

Extracts from an article with the above title, by "Mark Twain," published in the February North American Review.

Extending the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and has paid well, on the whole; and there is money in it, if carefully worked—but not enough, in my judgment, to make any considerable risk advisable. The People that Sit in Darkness are getting to be too scarce—too scarce and too shy. And such darkness as is

now left is really of but an indifferent quality, and not dark enough for the game. The most of those People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them, or profitable for us. We have been injudicious.

The Blessings-of-Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory, more sovereignty, and other kinds of emolument, than there is in any other game that is played. But Christendom has been playing it badly of late years, and must certainly suffer by it, in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that appeared on the green cloth, that the People Who Sit in Darkness have noticed it—they have noticed it, and have begun to show alarm. They have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilization. More—they have begun to examine them. This is not well. The blessings of civilization are all right, and a good commercial property; there could not be a better, in a dim light. In the right kind of light, and at a proper distance, with the goods a little out of focus, they furnish this desirable exhibit to the Gentlemen who Sit in Darkness:

LOVE,	LAW AND ORDER,
JUSTICE,	LIBERTY,
GENTLENESS,	EQUALITY,
CHRISTIANITY,	HONORABLE
PROTECTION TO	DEALING,
THE WEAK,	MERCY,
TEMPERANCE,	EDUCATION,
—and so on.	

There. Is it good? Sir, it is pie. It will bring into camp any idiot that sits in darkness anywhere. But not if we adulterate it. It is proper to be emphatic upon that point. This brand is strictly for Export—apparently. Apparently. Privately and confidentially, it is nothing of the kind. Privately and confidentially, it is merely an outside cover, gay and pretty and attractive, displaying the special patterns of our Civilization which we reserve for Home Consumption, while inside the bale is the Actual Thing that the Customer Sitting in Darkness buys with his blood and tears and land and liberty. That Actual Thing is indeed, Civilization, but it is only for Export. Is there a difference between the two brands? In some of the details, yes.

We all know that the Business is being ruined. The reason is not far to seek. It is because our Mr. McKinley, and Mr. Chamberlain, and the Kaiser, and the Czar and the French have been exporting the Actual Thing with the outside cover left off. This

is bad for the Game. It shows that these new players of it are not sufficiently acquainted with it. . . .

And by and by comes America, and our Master of the Game plays it badly—plays it as Mr. Chamberlain was playing it in South Africa. It was a mistake to do that; also, it was one which was quite unlooked for in a Master who was playing it so well in Cuba. In Cuba, he was playing the usual and regular American Game, and it was winning, for there is no way to beat it. The Master, contemplating Cuba, said: "Here is an oppressed and friendless little nation which is willing to fight to be free; we go partners, and put up the strength of 70,000,000 sympathizers and the resources of the United States: play!" Nothing but Europe combined could call that hand: and Europe cannot combine on anything. There, in Cuba, he was following our great traditions in a way which made us very proud of him, and proud of the deep satisfaction which his play was provoking in Continental Europe. Moved by a high inspiration, he threw out those stirring words which proclaimed that forcible annexation would be "criminal aggression;" and in that utterance fired another "shot heard round the world." The memory of that fine saying will be outlived by the remembrance of no act of his but one—that he forgot it within the twelvemonth, and its honorable gospel along with it.

For, presently, came the Philippine temptation. It was strong; it was too strong, and he made that bad mistake: he played the European game, the Chamberlain game. It was a pity; it was a great pity, that error; that one grievous error, that irrevocable error. For it was the very time to play the American game again. And at no cost. Rich winnings to be gathered in, too; rich and permanent; indestructible; a fortune transmissible forever to the children of the flag. Not land, not money, not dominion—no, something worth many times more than that dross: our share, the spectacle of a nation of long harassed and persecuted slaves set free through our influence; our posterity's share, the golden memory of that fair deed. The game was in our hands. If it had been played according to the American rules, Dewey would have sailed away from Manila as soon as he had destroyed the Spanish fleet—after putting up a sign on shore guaranteeing foreign property and life against damage by the

Filipinos, and warning the Powers that interference with the emancipated patriots would be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States. The Powers cannot combine, in even a bad cause, and the sign would not have been molested.

Dewey would have gone about his affairs elsewhere, and left the competent Filipino army to starve out the little Spanish garrison and send it home, and the Filipino citizens to set up the form of government they might prefer, and deal with the friars and their doubtful acquisitions according to Filipino ideas of fairness and justice—ideas which have since been tested and found to be or as much an order as any that prevail in Europe or America.

But we played the Chamberlain game, and lost the chance to add another Cuba and another honorable deed to our good record.

The more we examine the mistake, the more clearly we perceive that it is going to be bad for the Business. The Person Sitting in Darkness is almost sure to say: "There is something curious about this—curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's new freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land."

The truth is, the Person Sitting in Darkness is saying things like that; and for the sake of the Business we must persuade him to look at the Philippine matter in another and healthier way. We must arrange his opinions for him. I believe it can be done, for Mr. Chamberlain has arranged England's opinion of the South African matter, and done it most cleverly and successfully. He presented the facts—some of the facts—and showed these confiding people what the facts meant. He did it statistically, which is a good way. He used the formula: "Twice 2 are 14, and 2 from 9 leaves 35." Figures are effective; figures will convince the elect.

Now, my plan is a still bolder one than Mr. Chamberlain's, though apparently a copy of it. Let us be franker than Mr. Chamberlain; let us audaciously present the whole of the facts, shirking none, then explain them according to Mr. Chamberlain's formula. This daring truthfulness will astonish and dazzle the Person Sitting in Darkness, and he will take the Explanation down before his mental vision has had time to get back into focus. . . .

Kitchener knows how to handle disagreeable people who are fighting for their homes and their liberties, and we must let on that we are merely imitating Kitchener, and have no national interest in the matter, further than to get ourselves admired by the Great Family of Nations, in which august company our Master of the Game has bought a place for us in the back row.

Of course, we must not venture to ignore our Gen. MacArthur's reports—oh, why do they keep on printing those embarrassing things?—we must drop them trippingly from the tongue and take the chances:

During the last ten months our losses have been 268 killed and 750 wounded; Filipino loss, 3,227 killed, and 694 wounded.

We must stand ready to grab the Person Sitting in Darkness, for he will swoon away at this confession, saying: "Good God, those 'niggers' spare their wounded, and the Americans massacre theirs!"

We must bring him to, and coax him, and coddle him, and assure him that the ways of Providence are best, and that it would not become us to find fault with them; and then, to show him that we are only imitators, not originators, we must read the following passage from the letter of an American soldier lad in the Philippines to his mother, published in Public Opinion, of Decorah, Ia., describing the finish of a victorious battle:

"We never left one alive. If one was wounded, we would run our bayonets through him."

Having now laid all the historical facts before the Person Sitting in Darkness, we should bring him to again, and explain them to him. We should say to him:

"They look doubtful, but in reality they are not. There have been lies; yes, but they were told in a good cause. We have been treacherous; but that was only in order that real good might come out of apparent evil. True, we have crushed a deceived and confiding people; we have turned against the weak and friendless who trusted us; we have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic; we have stabbed an ally in the back and slapped the face of a guest; we have bought a Shadow from an enemy that hadn't it to sell; we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched

America's honor and blackened her face before the world; but each detail was for the best. We know this. The Head of every State and Sovereignty in Christendom and 99 per cent. of every legislative body in Christendom, including our congress and our 50 State Legislatures, are members not only of the church, but also of the Blessings-of-Civilization Trust. This world-girdling accumulation of trained morals, high principles, and justice, cannot do an unright thing, an unfair thing, an ungenerous thing, an unclean thing. It knows what it is about. Give yourself no uneasiness; it is all right."

Now, then, that will convince the Person. You will see. It will restore the Business. Also it will elect the Master of the Game to the vacant place in the Trinity of our national gods; and there on their high thrones the Three will sit, age after age, in the people's sight, each bearing the Emblem of his service: Washington, the Sword of the Liberator; Lincoln, the Slave's Broken Chains; the Master, the Chains Repaired.

It will give the Business a splendid new start. You will see.

Everything is prosperous, now; everything is just as we should wish it. We have got the Archipelago, and we shall never give it up. Also, we have every reason to hope that we shall have an opportunity before very long to slip out of our Congressional contract with Cuba and give her something better in place of it. It is a rich country, and many of us are already beginning to see that the contract was a sentimental mistake. But now—right now—is the best time to do some profitable rehabilitating work—work that will set us up and make us comfortable, and discourage gossip. We cannot conceal from ourselves that, privately, we are a little troubled about our uniform. It is one of our prides; it is acquainted with honor; it is familiar with great deeds and noble; we love it, we revere it; and so this errand it is on makes us uneasy. And our flag—another pride of ours, our chiefest! We have worshiped it so; and when we have seen it in far lands—glimpsing it unexpectedly in that strange sky, waving its welcome and benediction to us—we have caught our breath, and uncovered our heads, and couldn't speak, for a moment, for the thought of what it was to us and the great ideals it stood for. Indeed, we must do something about these things; we must not have the flag out there, and

the uniform. They are not needed there; we can manage in some other way. England manages, as regards the uniform, and so can we. We have to send soldiers—we can't get out of that—but we can disguise them. It is the way England does in South Africa. Even Mr. Chamberlain himself takes pride in England's honorable uniform, and makes the army down there wear an ugly and odious and appropriate disguise, of yellow stuff such as quarantine flags are made of, and which are hoisted to warn the healthy away from unclean disease and repulsive death. This cloth is called khaki. We could adopt it. It is light, comfortable, grotesque, and deceives the enemy, for he cannot conceive of a soldier being concealed in it.

And as for a flag for the Philippine Province, it is easily managed. We can have a special one—our States do it: we can have just our usual flag with the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and cross-bones.

And we do not need the Civil Commission out there. Having no powers, it has to invent them, and that kind of work cannot be effectively done by just anybody; an expert is required. Mr. Croker can be spared. We do not want the United States represented there, but only the Game.

By help of these suggested amendments, Progress and Civilization in that country can have a boom, and it will take in the Persons who are Sitting in Darkness, and we can resume Business at the old stand.

JOHN FISKE ON INDIRECT TAXATION.

Nowhere was there any such violent opposition to Hamilton's scheme of custom-house duties on imported goods. This is a very easy method of taxation, sometimes perhaps too easy. It is indirect taxation. The people do not flock to the customhouse and pay the duty, but the importer pays it and then reimburses himself by adding the amount of the duty to the price of the goods on which he has paid it. In this way vast sums of money can be taken from people's pockets without their realizing it as they would realize a direct tax. When a tax is wrapped up in the extra 50 cents paid to a merchant for a yard of foreign cloth, it is so effectually hidden that most people do not know it is there. Hence the tariff has been our favorite device for obtaining a national revenue.—John Fiske's "Civil Government in the United States," Page 258.

FARMIN' BACK EAST.

For The Public.

The incident related in this poem actually occurred at Pontiac, Ill., July, 1898.

The bliss and joy of farmin'  
Ain't to no degree alarmin',  
No matter what the poet man may write.  
There is reapin' and there's sowin',  
And a-watchin' crops a-growin',  
Never sure you won't be visited with  
blight.

From this fact there's no dissenter  
In the person of a renter,  
A-farmin' of the land that ain't his own.  
Fer the landlord in most cases  
Gineraly absorbs all traces  
Of the profits on most all the crops that's  
grown.

There ain't no joy in slavin'  
And a-pinchin' and a-savin',  
Fer to swell the market value of the land.  
As the value grows some greater  
The agent of the good Creator  
Is sure to raise the rent all you can stand.

If you own the land you're workin',  
And you don't gin in to shirkin',  
But work from early morn till late at  
night,  
You will have a chance of reapin',  
And another one of keepin',  
The reward of honest labor, which is  
right.

But it's business that is sorry,  
And it has no end of worry—  
This here tendin' of another feller's soil.  
But I reckon the Creator  
Picked out some men to be greater  
Than the rest of us poor fellers that must  
toil.

When you talk about a pension,  
You git most of men's attention,  
Fer the most of us we think it is a snap;  
But a pension isn't in it,  
And to match it don't begin it,  
When it comes to lettin' out a little piece  
of map.

In Illinois I had a naber  
That wa'n't no stranger to hard labor,  
And he saved and raked and scraped to  
pay the rent;

His wife and boys they hurried,  
But the landlord always worried.  
If it wasn't promptly every pay day sent.

The poor feller with his strainin'  
Didn't seem to be a-gainin'  
And at last in harvest time he took down  
sick.  
In spite of keeful nursin',  
This disease it went a coursin',  
Till it claimed its falterin' victim rather  
quick.

Then the sorry friends and nabers  
Laid aside awhile their labors,  
Till they bore him to his everlastin' rest.  
The pinin' wife and mother,  
Like so very many another,  
Went heart-broken back to where she  
had been blest.

The landlord he was thrifty,  
And a rustlin' like, and shifty,  
And to tend the poor man's funeral could-  
n't stop.  
On the widow's home returnin'  
She was somewhat grieved at learnin'  
He had gotten an attachment on the crop.

—E. F. VAUGHAN.

La Junta, Colo.

Once upon a time a cultivated people inhabited a small island and were happy.

"But," they suddenly exclaimed, "we have no navy commensurate with our territorial importance! How stupid of us to have overlooked this!"

Accordingly they set to work and built a large skiff, which required a crew of ten men in its effective operation.

Now, there were 11 men, all told, among these people, and they were thus able to have a taxpayer in addition to their navy.

The taxpayer was disposed to murmur until he was told that he thereby revealed an inadequate conception of national destiny, whereupon he gracefully took off his hat and exclaimed:

"My country! May she always be right! But, right or wrong, my country!"—Detroit Journal.

"Is this map of the world up to date?" asked the precise woman.

"Strictly so, madam," answered the agent. "you will note that South Africa, the Philippines and China are colored a beautiful and realistic crimson."

G. T. E.

Mrs. Brown—Was there any excitement at the stock exchange when you were there?

Mrs. Jones—Oh, yes! Prices were being marked down and the men were all rushing to get bargains.—Puck.

Crew—So the Boer war is not ended, as the British hoped?

Guerr—No. And when it is ended, it will not be as the British hoped.

G. T. E.

BOOK NOTICES.

Pamphlet V., of the Philippine Information Society (Boston: L. K. Fuller, secretary, 12 Otis place. Price 10 cents), has just appeared. It is entitled "Aguinaldo and the American Generals from the Fall of Manila, August, 1898, to the Iloilo Expedition, January, 1899. The Parting of the Ways." The publisher of these pamphlets is not a political society. It aims

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Report of the Committee on State and Municipal Taxation of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York (New York: Press of the Chamber of Commerce), is the report advocating local option in taxation and the abolition of equalization boards, which the New York chamber of commerce has adopted unanimously. This pamphlet, which contains also the act proposed by the chamber of commerce in furtherance of the report of its committee, may be had of the Tax Reform association, 111 Broadway, New York.

Seventh Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of Colorado, 1899-1900 (Denver: The Smith-Brooks Printing Co., state printers), prepared by James T. Smith, deputy labor commissioner, under the supervision of Elmer F. Beckwith, secretary of state and commissioner ex-officio, deals primarily with the organization of labor in Colorado and the statistics of wages there. Strikes and lockouts, convict labor, conditions of employment, and public employment bureaus also receive a degree of attention. The book concludes with the full text of the Bucklin tax commission report, which embodies an explanation of the land tax systems of Australasia and their effect upon labor interests.

#### DECEMBER MAGAZINES.

—The Miners' Magazine (Denver: Western Federation of Miners, 1613 Court Place. Price one dollar a year), edited by Edward Boyce and now closing its first year, is a well edited labor organization magazine.

#### JANUARY MAGAZINES.

—Love's Medical Mirror (St. Louis: Price, \$1.00 a year; 10 cents a copy) has a leading article on the care of the sick.

—National Single Taxer (New York: George P. Hampton, 62-64 Trinity place. Price \$1.00 annually; five cents a number), which is edited by George P. Hampton and John J. Murphy, makes of the January issue a memorial number on the late Thomas G. Shearman.

#### FEBRUARY MAGAZINES.

—Public Libraries (Chicago: Library Bureau, 215 Madison street. Also Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and London), devotes the February number to the public library interests of public schools.

—Iron Molders' Journal (Cincinnati: The Iron Molders' Union of North America. Price 50 cents annually; five cents a number), makes a feature in the February number of the Cash Register company's establishment at Dayton.

—The Social Crusader (Chicago: The Social Crusade, Ashland block. Price 50 cents annually; five cents a copy), makes a feature in the February number of the Herron lectures, of which Marion Craig Wentworth contributes a compact and exceedingly lucid condensation.

—Locomotive Firemen's Magazine (Peoria, Ill.: Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen) gives space to an illustrated article on the approaching Pan-American exposition at Buffalo. The technical article, the first of a series on building the modern locomotive, explains the construction of the boiler.

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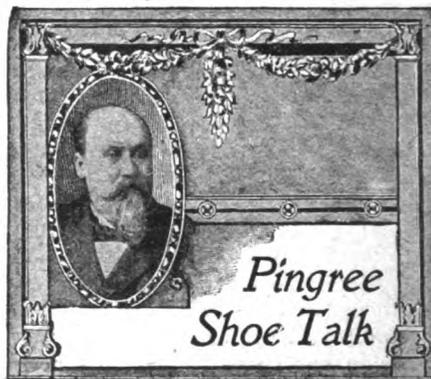
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