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If the origin of the poet laureate may be traced to the king's fool, the present British laureate is a painful instance of atavism.

Over \$1,000,000 was paid last year in dividends from American breweries to English stockholders. This item helped to swell the excess of American exports. It was an outgo without an income. How does that kind of exporting enrich this country.

With unspeakable impudence, the coroner's jury at Leavenworth, Kan., finds a verdict declaring that the negro who was recently lynched and burned there by a mob of a thousand well-known people, was killed "by a party or parties unknown to this jurv." No witnesses had been called. The jury made no effort at all to inform itself of the facts. Yet it appears that photographs of the barbarous scene, clearly identifying the mob leaders, are known to exist.

The reason given by John T. Bass, the well-known American newspaper correspondent from the Philippines, for maintaining a large army there, does not fit very snugly into the assurances received from administration sources during the campaign, that all the inhabitants except a fraction of one tribe rejoice with exceeding great joy in the American occupation. Mr. Bass outlined his reason in the Chicago Evening Post of the 21st. Referring to the inefficiency of the Filipinos as fighters, he said: "In view

of this fact the only logical explanation of the need of a large army in the Philippines is the general hostility of the native population." That reads as if President McKinley's war were one of subjugation.

A Kansas woman, Mrs. Carrie Nation, has been smashing the windows and furniture of saloons of Wichita, maintaining her right to do so because liquor selling in that state is a lawless business. She may possibly learn that physical attacks upon property, even where it is used for purposes legally criminal, constitute an offense. If not more criminal, they are at least breaches of the peace. Since liquor selling is prohibited by law in Kansas, infractions of the law should be dealt with in a lawful manner. All order is at an end when the law is enforced lawlessly. But why is not the Kansas law against liquor selling enforced legally? How comes it that there are any liquor saloons in Wichita? For more than a generation Kansas has been a prohibition state. Is it, like other prohibition states, a prohibition state only in name?

The senate amends the house bill for the reduction of war revenues by making several annoying provisions. For one thing it proposes to retain the two-cent bank check stamp until next January, and then, instead of abolishing it, to reduce it to one cent. The check stamp tax is in the highest degree discriminating in these days when so great a volume of exchange is effected by means of small checks. To makers of one-dollar checks it is a tax of one per cent. To makers of hundred-dollar checks it is a tax of only one hundredth of one per cent. To both it is

a nuisance. And why should this or any other war tax be retained? There has been no legal war for two years or more, and the Dingley tariff bill has all along been pointed to with pride as an abundant revenue raiser for all the purposes of peace. Even the extra expense entailed by "our valuable new possessions" ought to be met by the regular revenue laws if they yield income as freely as their friends pretend. The disposition to retain war taxes after the war is over is strongly suggestive of subsidy legislation. The chance of taxing the masses in ways they know not of, for the purpose of subsidizing millionaire ship owners, for instance, is too tempting to be passed by.

A person occupying the high official place that Queen Victoria did, comes quite naturally, regardless of her true character, to be regarded as a paragon of goodness. It is only human, also, after she has reigned so long in an era so marvelous, to ascribe to her personally an excess of credit for the general progress in the tide of which she has lived so conspicuously. The "Victorian era" acquires a connotation not easily distinguishable in the public mind from "the era that Victoria has made." So, when such a personage dies, extravagant displays of emotional affection, more or less intelligent and more or less sincere, must be patiently borne with; especially if, as in the case of Victoria, her career was tinged with the soft shadow of a pathetic romance. The royal idol ranks next to the religious idol in its mastery of the imaginations of the multitude—of the upper ten thousand and lower.

But the reputation of Queen Victoria as a good woman, is not all idol-

atry. Though scores upon scores of thousands of women as good as she, but whose virtues are unheralded, have died since her accession to the English throne, their virtues had shone in narrower circles and from less conspicuous stations; and if the story of hers is echoed over the world to-day merely because of the royal place she held, it must not be forgotten that she possessed them in eminent degree along with her sisters more obscure. Victoria was truly a good woman. Were her virtues worthy of no other remembrance, she would deserve to live in history as a magnificent example of the truth that intelligent and conscientious performance of even the most exacting civic functions is not incompatible with any of the duties or charms of maidenhood, wifedom or motherhood.

Nor is the popular disposition to credit Queen Victoria with the British progress that has distinguished her reign wholly misplaced. The English crown and throne are, indeed, only surviving symbols of divine right in a democratic environment. Like the absurd medieval oath of allegiance which members of parliament have taken to the queen's successor, they are mere mementoes of departed royal power. If they were more than that, the British would not be the people they are. Nominally, British sovereigns may veto acts of parliament. In reality that prerogative is obsolete, and its exercise in our day would be rightly regarded as an act of reactionary revolution. Parliament is supreme in England, and answerable only to the people. Nominally, British sovereigns rule, but in reality a committee of the majority party in parliament—the ministry—rules in the sovereign's name. Nominally, the sovereign chooses the chairman of that committee—the premier; actually he is chosen by his party associates. He is the leader of the popular party. A British sovereign who attempted to force an

unacceptable premier upon parliament, would bring the whole governmental machinery to a standstill. In fine, the British sovereign, so far as concerns official authority, is a highly ornamental, an impressively historical, a solemnly hypothetical, an utterly weak, and for the latter reason a very useful, personification of Britannia. Considerations of official power aside, however, the sovereign may wield great influence, both personal and official. And such influence was undoubtedly wielded by the now departed and affectionately lamented Victoria. Throughout her mature life she was an intelligent participant in the administration of public affairs. Her influence, unfortunately, was always conservative, and at times reactionary; but there is ample reason to believe that it was exerted in good conscience. And in the conservative point of view, it was put forth with statesman-like foresight and judgment. Doubtless her thought and aspirations, besides largely influencing social life, have molded and vitalized in some degree both the legislation and the administration of her phenomenally long reign. Upon her bier, democrats not less than aristocrats may be permitted to place a tribute of respect to the memory of this sovereign who was a British statesman, this statesman who was a good woman.

Ex-Congressman Tom L. Johnson is vigorously making good his determination to devote himself as a private citizen to the public service. At the Jackson day banquet in Cleveland early in January he publicly announced that he was now "free from business associations of every kind," and proposed to devote the remainder of his life to promoting the public welfare. "I shall not limit my work to Cleveland," he is reported to have continued,—

but shall extend it to state and nation, fighting for the principles of democracy, for the great principles in which I believe and with which you are all familiar. I want no office; I will ac-

cept none. I simply want to be in the ranks with the rest of you.

In the same speech he declared against the extension of street car franchises, and for low fares and municipal ownership.

What Johnson meant by being in the ranks he has since exemplified. He is at this moment in a rattling fight against the Cleveland street car ring, along the lines suggested by his speech at the Jackson day banquet. The street car ring of Cleveland, though its street franchises have yet several years to run, is trying to secure long extensions, with five-cent fares and no other substantial concessions than a percentage of gross receipts to the city and tickets at the rate of six for a quarter to the people. Against this Johnson is making his vigorous fight. He opposes the plan of selling rides at wholesale by means of tickets, because only the well to do benefit by it. Speaking from experience as a street car manager in Cleveland, he says that by far the largest proportion of street car patrons are reluctant to invest in tickets. They pay as they ride. Again speaking from experience, he asserts that the best financial results for the companies are to be obtained by three-cent fares; which are best also, under private ownership, for the patrons of the roads.

Judging from the Cleveland papers, Johnson is pushing his opposition to franchise extensions with effect. He is accused of circulating anti-franchise petitions and paying two cents a name for signers. This horrifies the ring, which denounces it as bribing voters! To which Mr. Johnson characteristically retorts that if the people are to be bribed for two cents a head, the ring had better buy them up than to corrupt councilmen. Of course he is suspected of political ambition. Because he fights the street car ring so vigorously, its managers are sure he wants to be mayor. Mr. Johnson himself says he doesn't want to

be mayor. He has severed his business connections and wants to devote his life, in the capacity of a private citizen having ideals of good government, to furthering reforms in the direction of freeing the people from the burdens of monopoly. But if the street car ring doesn't want him to be mayor, and evidently its feelings that way are very strong, the people of Cleveland could hardly do better than elect him whether he wishes to be elected or not. With a term in the mayor's chair and a council that would cooperate, Tom L. Johnson would come nearer than any other mayor to settling the street car question in Cleveland in favor of the people. He would also promote in other desirable ways that rational radicalism which is the only true and safe conservatism.

Gratifying news of a local political character comes from St. Louis. The Meriwether mayoralty campaign of 1897 is to be reorganized in the spring. No leading candidate has yet been thought about, but intelligent preliminary steps in organization are being taken. "Kitchen" conventions are organizing throughout the city. These are little gatherings in private houses. Only a dozen or two voters are expected at any one of them, but each person in attendance is urged to hold another in his own house. In this manner the endless chain principle is utilized. The open campaign will not begin before the middle of March. After that, the "kitchen" conventions having broken ground, large mass meetings will be held until the election. In 1897 Meriwether, pitted against both the republican and the democratic machines, polled 18,258 votes. His old supporters believe that the reorganization can add to that vote this year; and, in view of the effects of the street car strike of last spring, that it may win the election. This political movement aims at municipal ownership of public utilities. Its weakness is the lack of local newspaper

support, but hopes are entertained of overcoming that by inducing the Chicago American to issue a St. Louis edition.

We are advised by Senator Bucklin, of Colorado, that the report of the Colorado senate revenue commission, of which he is chairman, containing the commission's investigation into the Australasian land tax, has been exhausted. This is to be regretted, for the report is one of the most valuable official documents on taxation ever yet produced. More satisfactory is the news that the recommendations of the commission are commanding favorable consideration. Ex-Gov. Thomas approved them in his final message, and Gov. Orrin indorsed them in his inaugural address, while the recently elected senator, Patterson, supports them personally and in his newspaper—the Rocky Mountain News. The senate committee on the constitution has made a favorable report upon the recommendations, they having been referred to it; and it is believed that the proposed constitutional amendment embodying them will receive the requisite two-thirds vote in the senate. When the fact is noted that this amendment would allow the legislature to provide for levying the Australasian land tax—an ad valorem tax on land to the exclusion of improvements—for state purposes, and would empower counties to adopt it by popular vote for county purposes, as a matter of local option, the great importance and far reaching possibilities of the measure become immediately evident.

Missouri, as well as Colorado, has taken up the subject of local option in taxation, though in a more cumbersome and less direct manner. A resolution is now pending in the legislature of that state looking to a constitutional amendment under which the state would reserve to itself the power of taxing corporate property,

including franchises, and would get revenue from no other source except from license and inheritance taxes, and from fines, forfeitures and fees of public officers. The taxation of real estate and personal property would be left entirely to the localities respectively in which the real estate is situated and the owners of the personalty reside.

It is to be deeply regretted that President McKinley, by appointing a son of Justice Harlan to important office, and the son by not promptly rejecting the appointment, should have placed that distinguished member of the supreme court in a predicament in which, should he support the president's colonial policy in the pending decision of the court, his verdict can never be quite free from suspicion of sinister influences. The president's action is especially culpable, for it exposes not only Justice Harlan but all the other judges who may decide in favor of the president's policy to like suspicion. One judge having been thus openly approached with the disturbing influences of presidential favor, covert approaches to others will inevitably be suspected even by men who incline to look upon judges as beings of superior integrity.

The appointment of young Harlan is more significant perhaps, in that it exposes Mr. McKinley's conception—or is it Mr. Hanna's?—of the manner in which favorable judicial action may be secured, and tends to undermine popular confidence in the judiciary. To the ordinary mind, unaccustomed to worshiping presidents and not disposed to regard judges as demi-gods, the appointment of Justice Harlan's son means nothing less than that Mr. McKinley hoped thereby to influence the action of the supreme court upon a question of vital importance to the principal policy of his administration. It might mean more; but to the average mind it could not mean less. What public necessity was there for

appointing Harlan to office at this particular juncture? None at all. Every legitimate consideration was against it. Though nobody questions his abilities, there must be one or two young republicans equally able whom Mr. McKinley might have chosen. Why did he prefer Harlan? Since it has taken Mr. McKinley nearly four years to discover Harlan's peculiar fitness for official life, though the young man's qualifications were early called to his attention, the appointment just at the moment when Justice Harlan's judicial leanings toward a presidential policy happened to be of supreme importance to Mr. McKinley, is most disagreeably suggestive. If it does not imply a purpose of influencing the court, it does imply indifference to public confidence in the court, and for practical purposes both are bad unless promptly rebuked. Since young Harlan has not seen fit to defend his father's good name by refusing McKinley's indelicate appointment, it is to be hoped that Judge Harlan himself will not omit to administer a fitting rebuke at the first opportunity.

We take pleasure in promoting the circulation of Gen. MacArthur's official assurances that "houses of prostitution are not licensed, protected or encouraged" by the American military authorities in the Philippines. The public may now draw its own conclusions, from Gen. MacArthur's official assurances on one hand and the photographs of manifestly protected resorts of this character on the other. Incidentally it will be noted that official assurances from Manila in the past have not proved to be altogether trustworthy.

So enormous are the combinations of monopolies now forming that the mind cannot take in their magnitude. To speak of them in general terms is like speaking of astronomical distances in the ordinary terms of measurement. They cannot be appreciated without resort to striking sim-

iles or comparisons. Something of this kind is fortunately furnished, by a partner of J. Pierpont Morgan. He furnishes it quite blandly, as if unconscious of its tragic significance. We refer to Robert Bacon, of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., and a director of the Federal Steel company. His words will be found in the New York World of January 15, 1901. Mr. Bacon had been asked by the World reporter:

Would the purchase of the Carnegie Steel company mean that the railroads, the coal companies and the steel companies would all be controlled by one community of interest?

He replied:

By one man. When this combination is completed, J. P. Morgan will be the absolute head of it all.

The combination in question, though not yet complete, is in process of successful negotiation.

That extraordinary statement of a leading member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. throws a brilliant light into the depths of the industrial precipice toward the brink of which this monopoly-ridden nation is rushing. Further light—not direct, however, but reflected—is thrown upon the omnipotence of Morgan's house by an observant Wall street reader who writes:

My association (or should I say attrition) with a Wall street banking firm during the past two years has given me much information as to the fearful power already exerted by the house of J. P. Morgan & Co., which, with at the most three others, can damn any financial project brought to New York. In the matter of the National Tube company organization alone, I am positively informed that they received as promoters, not underwriters, \$10,000,000 of the stock, \$5,000,000 preferred and \$5,000,000 common; and that company earned 24½ per cent. on its common stock, after paying its seven per cent. on the preferred and writing off, etc. The tremendous ramifications of the three groups (which are practically one), as represented by Morgan, Standard Oil and the Metropolitan Traction company (which as you know is also the United Gas Improvement company of Philadelphia and also the Chicago Traction interests) are such that no business man, however rich and powerful, can stand against them, even if disposed to do so. I really believe that John Wanamaker, for in-

stance, would not last two years if he should offend them and they should deem it necessary to remove him from their path.

THE WAGES SYSTEM.

I.

Students of the mystification theories of political economy, now funning their course through American universities, like the whooping cough or the measles through a district school, must notice that the most prominent characteristics of these mighty triflings with the human reason are infinite detail and slovenly classification. They are often so absurd in those respects as far and away to outdo old Polonius in his analysis of the drama into—tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene indivisible, or poem unlimited.

This lack-method method of university "economics" gives "scientific" sanction to an industrial theory which originates in vulgar observation of superficial appearances, and is commonly distinguished as "the wages system."

Plutocrats stubbornly cling to "the wages system" as something good, while socialists wish to abolish it as an unmitigated evil. Both see it, however, in the same way. They see it as Talmage and Ingersoll saw religion, upside down; and like Talmage and Ingersoll with inverted religion, one likes it and the other doesn't. According to this economic concept labor is a commodity. It is bought and sold in the markets; and its price, like the prices of other commodities, rises and falls with the fluctuations of demand and supply—the demand that affects labor price being demand of employers for wage workers, and the supply being the supply of men wishing to be hired.

To the socialist "the wages system" is a system of slavery, the wage worker being forced by it to sell himself from period to period, for life, in a market glutted with wage workers. To the captain of industry it is a convenient system—he would not call it slavery, for he doesn't like the word—of making "capital and labor friends, not en-

emies," by bringing them into "voluntary" cooperation, like that of the lamb and the lion when the lamb is within. To both it is a normal development of competitive industry, and in this view the "economic" cult of the universities "scientifically" concurs.

That the industrial relations of employers and employed are now regulated by an oppressive wage system is undeniable. That this system is a system of slavery is equally so. The labor market of the present time is a veritable slave mart. Labor, in the existing industrial regime, is nothing but a commodity. The man himself is sold. Nor is this shocking condition modified by the fact that he is sold by himself. It is all the more shocking that men should be forced by circumstances to beg some one to buy them. Under this "wages system," let it be noted also, the buyer contracts none of the personal obligations of the slave master. He pays the wage-slave the cost of his poor "keep," and there his responsibility ends.

But it is one thing to recognize the "wages system" as an industrial phenomenon of the existing order of things—the existing disorder is a better phrase—and quite another to conclude with the university cult in "economics," and socialists who accept their dicta, that it is a system in the sense of being the normal regulation of the industrial relations of employer and employed in a competitive social order. Normally the "wages system" as it exists is utterly foreign to the principle of competition. It is not a product of normal competition; it is a social disease developed from strangulated competition.

All this is readily perceived upon common sense investigation. It is obscure only to minds that are over-stored with detail and over-tutored in the "scientific" methods of economic classification. Clearness of analysis, not profundity of learning nor wealth of statistical information, is the requisite for an examination into the subject. By that method of examination it may be plainly seen that the wages system, as we

experience it now, is a painfully distorted image—distorted by interference with competition—of what would under free competition be one of the beneficial phenomena of trade.

For the understanding of the nature of "the wages system," industrial history does not furnish the best material. Of the usefulness of industrial history as a side light there need be no question. But it is from a consideration of the laws of human nature as we perceive them in operation in ourselves and in our neighbors, that the truest explanation of the wages system is to be had. We do know in a general way how men in general will act under given circumstances of a general kind. We do not know in a particular way what particular men will do under given circumstances of a particular kind. History assumes to tell us, but history is far from infallible. The crudest generalizations as to the probabilities of human conduct in given circumstances are much more likely to be true than the most expert generalizations from historical or statistical data, which may themselves be false or incomplete.

We know, for example, or we can know if we reason about the familiar characteristics of human nature, what men in general would do as to accepting or rejecting wages, provided they were living in the fullest freedom that the laws of external nature permit. Let us, then, assume for the starting point of an inquiry into the wages system that men are living in such freedom. In other words, let us imagine—not as romancers imagine plots and incidents, but as mathematicians imagine axioms—what the wages system would be in healthy industrial conditions. In that way alone can we safely determine whether the wages system is essentially a parasitical device, or a beneficent manifestation of industrial life perverted by industrial disease.

II.

In the fullest conceivable freedom men must work. Natural laws do not permit them to live without eating, and unless they work they cannot eat. This is manifestly true of men in the sense of mankind, or

as a whole. Individual men may eat without working; but if they do, it is only because other men work for them without compensation. And other men will not ordinarily do that, unless coerced. In the absence of coercive power, then, every man must ordinarily work in order to live.

It is instinctive with men, however, to do the least work for the greatest result. They naturally seek the best living in the easiest way. That is the secret of labor-saving invention. But for this human instinct none of the devices for the lessening of human effort and the enhanced production of human satisfactions would be utilized. One of the devices for this purpose, in fact the all inclusive device, since every other springs from it, is trade.

No individual could with his own direct labor supply his own wants. He could neither feed himself, nor clothe himself, nor house himself in a civilized way if he were obliged to make all his own food and clothing and shelter. But by acquiring skill in making one kind of commodity he may by means of trade swap the particular commodities that he makes, for those that he wants. When he does this in freedom—neither party to the trading contract having any other advantage than his superior productive knowledge, skill and exertion may give him—the things that each receives in the trade are as truly his earnings as if he had made them himself.

Here, then, is a system which springs up naturally, not as a historical evolution, but as a spontaneous expression of human powers of production acting under the impulse of human desires to get the most with the least effort. Industrial history records the process of development with more or less accuracy, but the nature of the phenomenon may be better understood by logical analysis than from historical data. This system is natural industrial cooperation generated and maintained by trade. Every trade is a private free contract between two individuals, and the myriads of such trades, interdependent like the links of chain

armor, produce a perfection of cooperation to which no premeditated cooperative scheme can approximate.

If we suppose that trade would naturally first be manifest in the exchange of labor products—the order of development is neither known historically nor really important philosophically—we can understand that fluctuations in demand for particular products would require every producer to be a business man in the sense of keeping himself well informed regarding the multifarious variations of demand and supply. But this would divert his energy from direct production. He could not acquire business skill except at the expense of skill in his primary calling; and that being uneconomical, the instinct we have already described, that instinct which impels men to satisfy their desires with the least exertion, would lead some producers to cultivate business skill at the expense of skill of other kinds, and to contribute to the sum of cooperative energies by relieving producers of the necessity of watching for trading opportunities. Men in this new occupation would buy and sell as middle men. They would be in a sense speculators in labor products, buying when demand was low and selling when it had risen. The service they would render would be to save the expenditure by original producers of their energies in the processes of trading. And this would be a genuine service; else original producers, being free from coercion, would have nothing to do with the middleman. They would themselves superintend the processes of trading, if, all things considered, they could do so advantageously. And if middlemen made excessive profits, other producers, being free from coercion, would compete until the incomes of middlemen had been reduced to the level of incomes for original production requiring equal skill and effort.

So much is obvious. To understand human nature in its more general manifestations is to perceive that in the circumstances supposed men would act in the manner indicated. If an industrial history

were to describe any considerable community of free men as having in such circumstances habitually acted essentially otherwise, we should all say, unhesitatingly: So much the worse for that industrial history. Every sane man, even of the university "economic" cult, would promptly reject such a history as manifestly a romance, and rest his conclusions upon his conviction that human nature, like mathematical axioms, is the same everywhere and at all times.

III.

We are now prepared to see how a legitimate wages system, the genuine and useful system of which the one we are familiar with is the distorted image, may develop.

As production, facilitated by trade, divides and subdivides and consequently becomes more complex, men find it profitable to devote their labor to the making of only parts of commodities. To borrow an illustration from modern industry, one man does nothing but make shoe soles. If all were free, this would not be done unless those who did it found it advantageous to themselves. Coercion, it must be understood, is excluded from consideration at present.

Or, without borrowing illustrations from modern industry, we may refer to such industries as house building or ship building. No individual would be able alone to build a house or a ship. He must cooperate with others. With some, those who work with him upon the house or the ship itself, he cooperates directly and consciously; but with by far the larger number he cooperates indirectly and unconsciously through trade. Suppose that a dozen house builders wish to build each of them a house. Since they cannot themselves do all the work that is involved in house building, they must trade the products of their labor, through the intricate network of commerce, with all the thousands of unknown laborers in a multiplicity of occupations who cooperate with them. If the house builders have no accumulated products, or credit acquired in the form of

money or otherwise for products they have previously produced, then, either to middlemen, or directly to the producers of material, they must "mortgage," to use a common colloquialism, a share in the houses they are about to build; and, having built these houses, they will own the houses in proportion to their several contributions of labor, subject to the shares of the material men. This would be natural cooperation in house building. But it would be exceedingly complex cooperation were it not for the middlemen who accumulate, by buying from the thousands of miscellaneous producers, the material and tools which the immediate builders must have.

Even with these middlemen as labor savers, for such they are, the dozen builders might not find their partnership method the most satisfactory. One might want a house, and therefore be willing to join the other 11 in building 12 houses, each to take one of the 12 houses for his work. But if the others did not want houses, except to trade them for something else, they would hesitate about going into the enterprise unless they were assured of trading opportunities. At this point the employer, as we call him in the distorted wages system of our time, would step in to correlate all the housebuilding forces and thereby promote the erection of those 12 houses.

He would buy the houses in advance of their erection. That is, he would say to the dozen house builders: "Gentlemen, I will marshal the material for the projected houses, and will pay you so much apiece for them as compensation for your work after it is done; or I will pay you so much a week, from day to day, as you proceed with the work. If I pay you at the end of the job I shall pay you more than if I pay you from week to week as the work goes on. Let us agree together." The builders, being free to accept or reject these terms, and under no fear of poverty if they decline, will decide, considering similar offers from other middlemen, whether to accept the offer; and, if they do accept, whether or not to take the higher pay for the houses when fin-

ished or the lower pay in weekly wages. They will do in the matter what seems most profitable to themselves.

Suppose they take the weekly wages, preferring its benefits and certainties to the greater benefits but lesser certainty and longer delay of payment at the end of the job. Then we have the wages system. But what is it other than a mode of cooperation?

These builders do not sell themselves. They discount the value of their future work for the sake of an immediate trade of what they do for what they want. At the end the houses will have been produced by cooperation, by a fair partnership arrangement, as truly as if it had been a partnership in form. The only difference is that one of the partners buys up the interest of the others in advance, in a free contract which is as beneficial to them as to him. Though he gets something which by themselves trading the houses they might get, yet he does work in effecting the trades which they would have to do in house building to attend to. In other words, he earns what he gets, and they lose nothing that they earn.

Reduced to the last analysis, this wages system is a system under which employer and employes are free cooperators, all sharing in the final result, namely, those things for which the product is traded, the employer's share being compensation for his work in effecting the trades that marshal the materials, for his work in superintending the production, and for his work in trading the product, while the shares of the employes are compensation for their work in putting the materials together without being troubled either to marshal the materials or to trade the final product.

And these shares must be mutually satisfactory, for in free conditions neither party to the hiring contract need allow the other to oppress him. Competition bearing not in only one direction, but, like the weight of the air, bearing with equal force in all directions, maintains an equilibrium of compensation for every worker at the point

of earnings. The wages system, then, in free conditions, is a mode of cooperation which adjusts itself to the satisfaction of all the cooperators by their mutual consent.

IV.

Under that natural wages system hired laborers are not commodities. They remain partners or cooperators in production, discounting their demands upon satisfactory terms, in return for exemption from certain kinds of necessary labor. But the fairness and usefulness of this system depends upon the freedom of its environment.

In coercive conditions this natural and most useful mode of dividing labor and distributing its proceeds is degraded into the wages system which socialists justly denounce as a species of slavery. When social institutions foster the monopoly of natural opportunities for labor so that workmen sell their labor in a glutted market because they cannot utilize it otherwise, then the relation of employer and employe ceases to be a relationship of free cooperators and becomes in greater or less degree a relationship of master and slave. It is evident, however, that the seat of the injustice is not the wages system. It is the effect upon the wages system of unfree conditions.

By promoting the monopoly of natural opportunities for production and trade—the soil and the mine, factory and store sites, rights of way for transportation, and the various other facilities which nature provides for labor, and which are more or less included in those enumerated—and by taxing labor in every direction in which it turns for purposes of production, we have generated in place of free competition a jug-handled competition, a competition that is all one sided. Employers and employes do not contract upon even ground. The employer offers his own terms, and the employe must either accept or starve. Natural opportunities being closed by private monopoly, and production being checked by taxation upon enterprise and thrift, the supply of labor tends constantly to outrun the effective demand for labor, and so to maintain a glutted

“labor market.” Competition in these circumstances is like air pressure in only one direction. Laborers are subject to the pressure of competition on their side, but are not protected in equal degree by the pressure of competition on the other. The equilibrium is thereby disturbed and the wages system becomes distorted in consequence into the shape that incenses the socialist and pleases the captain of industry.

It is not the wages system that a discriminating examination into the subject discovers for labor to quarrel with. In itself that system is as natural as breathing. It is one of the useful adjustments of cooperative production, when carried on in freedom. To make war upon it is to distract attention and to divert reformatory energy from the real evil that turns this useful adjustment into an engine of oppression. We cannot destroy the wages system without making men over again, or putting them into governmental strait jacket. We can, if we will, destroy the monopolies which so disturb the competitive equilibrium as to reduce laborers to the condition of dependent and desperate hunters for work, and make freedom of contract between employer and employe a dismal mockery. With the monopolies destroyed, freedom of contract would be restored and the wages system would no longer be oppressive.

NEWS

Victoria, queen of England, died on the 23d, at 6:30 in the afternoon, London time. The first authentic news of her fatal illness was published on the 18th by her secretary, Sir Arthur John Bigge, K. C. B. He explained that her health had suffered considerably from the strain of last year's events, and that the past few weeks especially had told upon her nervous system, in consequence of which her physician had ordered that she be kept perfectly quiet and abstain altogether from transacting business. At midnight on the 19th her illness became alarming. She was at that time stricken with paralysis, and the

absent members of the royal family were summoned to her bedside at Osborne house, on the Isle of Wight, near Cowes. All hopes of her recovery had been abandoned by the morning of the 21st, when her grandson, the emperor of Germany, arrived. There was a slight improvement in her condition later in the day, so that she was able to take food and to secure some tranquil sleep; but in the early morning hours of the 22d she was reported as only just alive, and in the evening, surrounded by her children and grandchildren, she passed painlessly away. The official report of the cause of her death attributes it to "senile decay." Queen Victoria was in her eighty-second year, having been born May 24, 1819; and had reigned since June 20, 1837. She was possessed of private wealth yielding an annual income of \$1,000,000, over and above her annual parliamentary allowance of nearly \$2,000,000 (£385,000).

The day following the queen's death, the prince of Wales took the oath of office as King Edward VII. It was administered at St. James's palace, in the presence of the privy council, the members of which then swore allegiance to the new king. Later in the day the house of lords and the house of commons also took the oath of allegiance. Upon taking the oath of office the new king made a speech in which he expressed his determination "to be a constitutional sovereign in the strictest sense of the word."

Immediately upon learning of Queen Victoria's death, and before official action by the British government, the governor general of Canada, Lord Minto, with the authority of the Canadian privy council, proclaimed the allegiance of the dominion.

At Washington the solemn occasion of the queen of England's death was promptly recognized by the half-masting of the flags at the public departments and over the white house. The latter mark of respect was an innovation. The white house flag has never before been half-masted upon the occasion of the death of a foreign ruler. Besides lowering the flag, President McKinley addressed a letter of condolence on the 22d to "His Majesty the King." Both houses of congress passed resolutions of respect, the lower house adjourning for

the day, but the senate deciding not to do so.

It was authoritatively reported at the beginning of Queen Victoria's illness that Lord Roberts's inability, when he visited her two weeks ago, to encourage her hopes that the war in South Africa was at an end, had weighed upon her spirits and been the cause of her physical decline which then set in. But Lord Roberts could not truthfully have given her the assurances she desired. The plight of the British in South Africa was worse then than it had been at any time before, and it is worse now than it was then. The reports of the Boer movements are not luminous, as might be supposed, with Lord Kitchener controlling all the avenues of intelligence; but a British proclamation on the 17th reveals some of the dangers of the situation. This proclamation, issued from Cape Town, places the whole of Cape Colony—except the Cape Town, Wynberg, Simon's Town, Port Elizabeth and East London districts—under martial law. Martial law has been proclaimed also in Tombuland, Griqualand East, and East and West Pondoland. Unless the invading Boers were meeting with success in arousing revolts in British territory, this resort of the British to martial law would be neither necessary nor desirable.

Further information regarding the Kitchener reconcentrado policy was furnished by the Associated Press on the 17th from Pretoria. We quote the dispatch:

Boer families and their stock are being systematically brought into convenient centers from all over the country. They are kept in camp and fed. Those who surrender voluntarily are supplied with full rations, and those whose husbands are still in the field are provided for on a reduced scale, which is raised, when the husbands surrender, to a full allowance.

From the American Transvaal—the Philippine archipelago—the only news of the week relates to the legislative proceedings of the president's commission, which is enacting laws for local government. There has either been no fighting, or else reports of it are suppressed. In answer to a request from the war department for information, Gen. MacArthur sent the following official dispatch from Manila on the 17th:

With reference to your telegram of

the 16th, the drunkenness of the army is no more noticeable here than in garrison in the United States. Considering the whole force as a unit, it is probably very much less. In Manila drunken men are very noticeable, as one drunkard in a public place creates an impression among citizens of extensive disorders throughout the whole force, which is not the case. The army is in splendid discipline. The high standard of efficiency is shown by their doing the hardest kind of service in the most faithful, inspiring manner. Houses of prostitution are not licensed, protected or encouraged.

American casualties in the Philippines since July 1, 1898, inclusive of the current official reports given out in detail at Washington to January 23, 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.....	160
Death from wounds, disease and accident, same period.....	468
Total deaths to presidential election	2,415
Killed reported since presidential election	22
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period	132
Total deaths	2,569
Wounded since July 1, 1898.....	2,382
Total casualties since July, '98....	4,951
Total casualties to last week.....	4,936
Total deaths to last week.....	2,554

In the organization of constitutional government in Cuba, some progress is to be noted. The constitutional convention, to which, under orders from the American war department (page 266), delegates were elected by popular vote September 15, last (page 377), and which assembled November 5 (page 487), received a report on the 21st instant from its central committee embodying the constitution proposed by that body for the action of the convention. After the proposed constitution had been read, the convention adjourned until the 24th.

In American politics the work of filling senatorial vacancies, which began last week (page 648), is nearly complete. Senator Shelby M. Culom was on the 23d elected to succeed himself by the legislature of Illinois, his democratic opponent being Samuel Alschuler, the democratic candidate last fall for govern-

or. Senator Cullom had been chosen in the republican caucus by acclamation, although the assembling of the caucus was preceded by a factional fight so bitter that one of his competitors, ex-Gov. Tanner, refused to call upon him after his nomination. On the same day Senator W. J. Sewell, republican, was reelected from New Jersey; Senator Stephen J. Elkins, republican, was reelected from West Virginia; Senator Knute Nelson, republican, was reelected from Minnesota, and with him Moses E. Clapp, republican, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Cushman K. Davis, which has been temporarily filled under gubernatorial appointment by Charles A. Towne, democrat; Senator Barry, democrat, was reelected from Arkansas; Congressman J. W. Bailey, democrat, was elected from Texas to succeed Senator Horace Chilton, democrat; Robert J. Gamble, republican, was elected from South Dakota to succeed Senator R. F. Pettigrew, populist; J. R. Burton, republican, was elected from Kansas to succeed Lucien Baker, republican; T. M. Simmons, democrat, was elected from North Carolina to succeed Senator Marion Butler, populist. Senator Francis E. Warren, republican, was reelected from Wyoming; and Thomas Kearns, republican, was elected from Utah. It is charged by the Salt Lake Tribune, republican, that Kearns's election was purchased directly by the head of the Mormon church. The deadlocks in Delaware and Nebraska have not yet been broken.

The social democratic convention, which assembled in Chicago last week (page 648) and over which Seymour Stedman presided, closed its deliberations on the 18th by adopting resolutions intended to harmonize all the political organizations of socialists. There are now three such organizations. One of them is the original social democratic party, under whose call the above named convention met, and to which Eugene V. Debs, the candidate of the party for president of the United States in the late election, belongs. Another is the socialist-labor party, the oldest political organization of socialists in the country. Its candidate for president of the United States, Joseph F. Mallony, polled 39,699 votes, which, with Mr. Debs's vote of 96,918, brings the socialist voting strength up to 136,617. The third organization is called the

"Springfield" social democratic (its headquarters being at Springfield, Mass.), to distinguish it from the "original," or Debs, party of the same name. Of the Springfield organization Job Harriman, the candidate for vice president with Debs, is regarded as the leader. It consists more especially of the socialist-labor party socialists that fused last year with the original social democratic party for the presidential campaign (see The Public No. 101, page 10, and No. 102, page 10, of last year; and pages 121, 136, 282 of the current year), thereby abandoning the old socialist labor party, or being abandoned by it, according to the point of view. The harmony resolutions adopted at Chicago on the 18th by the original body of social democrats, call for a national convention, to be held at Indianapolis on the second Tuesday in September next, in which the socialist labor party and the "Springfield" social democratic party, as well as all unattached state and territorial socialist organizations are invited to participate. These resolutions were opposed in the convention, and their adoption is regarded as a triumph for Mr. Debs, who favored amalgamation if possible, and federation if amalgamation cannot be secured.

NEWS NOTES.

—The United Mine Workers of America met at Indianapolis on the 21st.

—Celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the kingdom of Prussia began on the 17th.

—On the 18th the national live stock convention closed a four days' session at Salt Lake City.

—Gen. Plazoas has been elected president of Ecuador by a majority over Gen. Garcia of 40,000.

—The 26th annual convention of the National Association of Marine Engineers was held on the 21st at Cleveland.

—Warren Leland, Jr., of the third generation of the famous hotelkeeping Lelands, died at New York on the 21st, aged 46.

—The French ministry was sustained on the 21st by a vote of 298 to 226 upon a bill in restraint of the religious orders.

—Prof. Elisha Gray, inventor of the telephone, died at Newtonville, Mass., on the 21st, of neuralgia of the heart, at the age of 65.

—Father Huntington is to address the students and friends of the University of Chicago on the 5th at Kent hall, his subject being "Social Purity."

—A Missouri court at Kansas City decides that the state board of equalization cannot tax the franchise of the Western Union Telegraph company.

—The reapportionment bill was signed by the president on the 17th, and is now a law. It fixes the number of representatives in congress, after March 3, 1903, at 386.

—William J. Bryan's dollar weekly, The Commoner, appeared with its initial number on the 23d. The first 21 copies were printed by Mr. Bryan himself for complimentary distribution to intimate friends.

—Following the example of the Missouri legislature, the legislature of Arkansas passed a resolution on the 21st extending sympathy to the people of the Philippine islands in "their heroic struggle for freedom."

—The lower house of congress on the 23d passed a remarkable bill, peremptorily instructing the court of claims to give judgment against the United States and in favor of the Cramp Shipbuilding company for \$1,300,000.

—The People (socialist), of New York, reports that Vermont cast 371 votes for Debs and Harriman, that Alabama cast 928 and that Arkansas cast 27, thus raising the official vote to 96,918, none of the three returns noted above having heretofore been counted in the general result.

—On the 21st, by a vote of 43 to 21, only two democrats—McLaurin and McEney—voting in the affirmative, the senate confirmed the president's nomination of James S. Harlan, of Chicago, son of Justice Harlan of the United States supreme court, to be attorney general of Puerto Rico.

—The Federal Steel company, the steel trust that J. Pierpont Morgan manages, has acquired control of the American Steel and Wire company, the competing trust, of which John W. Gates is president. The purchase of its stock was manipulated by the Morgan syndicate under cover of a disturbance in the stock market produced for the purpose.

—Murray H. Hall, the keeper of a domestic service intelligence bureau at 145 Sixth avenue, New York, and for 30 years a well-known ward politician connected with Tammany Hall, who had been twice married and survived both wives, and whose sex had never been questioned, died of cancer of the breast on the 16th and was discovered only after death to be a woman.

—During the performance of "Hamlet" on the 22d by Mr. Sothern to a packed audience in the Grand opera house, Cincinnati, the theater caught fire, but, though the building and its contents were quickly and completely destroyed, no lives were lost and no

persons were injured. This remarkable fact was due to well arranged exits and the consequent self-control of the audience, which dispersed with as much composure and order as if there had been no fire.

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.

January 14-19, 1901.

Senate.

Consideration of the army bill was resumed on the 14th and continued on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th. The bill was passed with amendments on the 18th and conferees appointed. The 19th was devoted to memorial addresses on the late Senator Gear, of Iowa.

House.

The river and harbor bill was under consideration in committee of the whole on the 14th, 15th and 16th. It was reported to the house on the 16th and there passed without division. The yeas and nays were demanded by Sulzer, but as only 13 members joined in the demand the vote was taken *in voce*. The bill on the revision and codification of the postal laws was taken up in committee of the whole on the 17th. The 18th was devoted to private bills, and on the 19th consideration of the postal law revision and codification bill was resumed.

MISCELLANY

THE TEMPLE OF GOD'S BOUNTY.

For The Public.

In the Temple of God's Bounty the money-changers stand,
Their throne is on the Altar the God of Good Gifts planned.
Upon the great Earth-Altar where all His gifts are stored,
The King hath written "Labor!" the kings have written "Hoard!"
With lapse of years grown bolder, with spoil of years grown great,
They seize on aisle and chancel and shut up the Temple gate.
Now, all the world comes cringing to offer an entrance fee
To open the gates of Plenty locked with a golden key.

"Half," says the money-changer,
"Half shall be my share,
Else ye may not come to the Altar
Where labor alone is prayer."

In the shadow of the Temple the walling people crowd,
And the sound of their strife and anguish, it groweth deep and loud.
And the voice of the money-changer sounds shameless in the gloom:
"Cast out the little children, that ye may find more room!"

Barred out from their Father's bounty—
cast out from their mother's breast—
The people weep and wander, and find not where to rest.

All 'round the stolen Temple they call on their Father's Name,

In voice of soul-wrung anguish—in voice of maddened blame!

And ever the money-changer at ease on the Altar-stone,

Turns the key on our Father's bounty, and claims it all his own!

Drive out the money-changers
From the Temple where labor is prayer!
Drive out the money-changers!
And ye shall find Him there.

VIRGINIA M. BUTTERFIELD.

THE TRUE ROBERT BURNS.

There are doubtless readers of The Public who will be glad to have their attention called to an article in the December number of the Westminster Review on "Robert Burns as a Social-Reformer." The literary world has been wont to think of Burns simply as a lyric genius—guilty at times of recklessness of speech that "smelt of the smithy" and savored of sentiments that were to be pitied and put up with, for the sake of his literary art. The writer of this article rightfully says:

Not alone as lyric king is this poet loved by Scotsmen. In him is seen an earnest, thoughtful reformer of religious and social life.

It will be especially interesting to single taxers to find that the conclusion of the critic is that—

To Burns the one great evil which like Aaron's rod, swallows all the rest, in private monopoly of land.

J. H. DILLARD.

STUDENTS WHO ARE NOT WILD ANIMALS.

The University of Chicago Weekly of January 19 has advised the students not to accept Mr. McKinley's invitation to them to attend his inauguration in March. It says:

If there are a few—which we doubt—who feel a mad desire to make this pilgrimage to Mecca, all well and good, let them go; they will not be missed. But most of us can make better use of our time and money. To allow the work of a considerable number of students to be broken into, even to attend such an event as an inauguration, which takes place once every four years, we regard as very little short of folly.

Besides, we object to the idea which seems to be current that a college student is merely a strange animal which can be whistled out of its den and made to prance for the amusement of his populace, decked in his own peculiar colors, and yelling his own peculiar war whoop. And, finally, being advocates of a Jeffersonian simplicity, we have a distaste for triumphal processions.

WHAT IS INVOLVED IN THE LAWLESSNESS OF LYNCHING.

Mob lawlessness is extremely dangerous. It is worse than the offense it assumes to punish, because it releases and gives encouragement to the brutal passion of vindictiveness, and instills and propagates contempt for law. It does wickedness falsely in the name of justice, thus donning the livery of Heaven to serve the devil in. It is a breeder of anarchy, and unless it is vigorously suppressed the time must come

when it will be employed for manifold other and less defensible purposes than punishment of offenses like that committed in Leavenworth. The indications are that the negro burned at the stake was innocent. Whether he was or not his culpability or lack of it should have been determined by the statutory method. Whatever appearance of excuse a mob might have for putting him to death after he had been formally adjudged guilty by a court jury, it had not even a specious pretext for killing him in advance of trial and conviction and on bare suspicion. All who took part in putting him to death are murderers, and if it shall appear that the officials charged with his custody neglected to protect him to the utmost of their ability they will deserve penitentiary sentences. It is admitted that the offense is a strong provocation to the infliction of informal and condign punishment. But the rights of society and the sacredness of law have claims to recognition and respect, which cannot with safety be set aside to gratify the animal instinct for revenge.—Dubuque (Ia.) Daily Telegraph, Jan. 16

SENOR LOPEZ TO GOV. ROOSEVELT.

Is there no tertium quid between annexation and total abandonment? If there is none, have you adopted the "policy of scuttle" in Cuba? I have always regarded your Cuban policy as a reasonable middle term between the two extremes, and most of your opponents desire that that policy shall be applied to our country. But if you charge your opponents with "scuttle" in the Philippines—which you characterize as a "wicked absurdity"—you must admit that yourself are chargeable with "scuttle" and "wicked absurdity" in Cuba. The difference between Cuba and the Philippines is simply this: The one has been promised independence, the other has been annexed. As a consequence one is at peace, the other is at war. If both had been treated alike, both would have been at peace. If both are now treated alike, both will be at peace. It must be clear to the meanest intellect that if the Philippines are promised independence there will be no war. But the promise of independence does not mean "scuttle" in the Philippines any more than it does in Cuba. . . .

Let there be no misunderstanding and no false delicacy. We shall be glad to see the last of your soldiers in the Philippines; their presence is neither for our good nor your own. But we do not ask for a "policy of scuttle" or any other policy incom-

patible with the maintenance of good order, or with any obligations which you have wisely or hastily undertaken. All we require is a definite assurance of independence. Everything else can easily be arranged, and at one-tenth the cost of the present "wicked absurdity."

SENATOR BUCKLIN'S PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

It is impossible to overestimate the far-reaching effect, to the people of Colorado, of the question raised by Senator James W. Bucklin in his report on taxation, or even to foreshadow what its adoption would mean to the people of this country and to the civilized world.

This report has brought out, in a thorough and masterful way, the workings of the Australian land tax. Your distinguished citizen deserves great credit for having made the first complete investigation and report on the workings of this equitable revenue system.

He has exposed the errors of those who prophesied evil results that did not arise, and, what is more important, he has made plain how much the friends of the system underestimated its benefits.

With a land value tax that raises only a small part of the revenue in the four Australian colonies that have adopted the principle, large landed properties have been divided and sold to actual users, the building trade has been stimulated, and the population, without exception, has increased; while exactly the opposite result is apparent in each of the other three colonies adhering to the old methods.

It was the Australian secret ballot which found such universal and instantaneous favor with the people of the United States.

Why should not Colorado initiate the Australian land value tax as Massachusetts did the Australian secret ballot? One brought about a more just method of voting, the other will guarantee more equality of tax burdens. One made it possible for the plain people to express their judgment on all questions, free from intimidation; the other will enable the plain people to reach Nature's storehouse by breaking down monopoly and special privilege, the offspring of unjust taxation.

The adoption of the Australian land tax will make it more profitable to use land than to hold it until others must use it. It will be easier for men to find places on which to build homes

and factories and to acquire farms. It will make it harder for men to hold vacant lots, mineral deposits and great water privileges in idleness, thus opening opportunities by which men can employ themselves and not be forced, as now, to compete for a bare existence in what is an apparently overstocked labor market, but is in reality a market artificially restricted.

If Colorado is the first state to adopt this just system of taxation, the progress of her people in the production of wealth will be unsurpassed by any sister states and the tide of emigration and capital will set in her direction.

Colorado's great gain will be an object lesson to the people of other communities, who will find that the real solution of the labor problem and the trust and monopoly question is to be found in a just system of taxation that will relieve the producers from their present burden and put it where it justly belongs, as a charge on land owners, who not only appropriate the land value created by all, but in doing so restrict opportunities to such an extent that an idle horse seems of more value than an idle man.

People of Colorado! You have the chance not only to lift yourselves to a higher plain of justice, but to be a beacon light that shall point the way for others.—Hon. Tom L. Johnson, in the Denver Times of January 20.

THE FABLE OF THE WISE MAN AND THE FOOL.

With Apologies to George Ade.
For The Public.

Once upon a time a Wise Man and a Fool dwelt happily together in the same Land. The Wise Man was a Paragon of public spirited Push, but the Fool was a self centered Poor Thing. So it happened that the Wise Man lay awake Nights thinking how he could Do the Fool—Good, while the Fool pursued his own selfish Ends all Day and spent the Hours of Darkness in slothful Slumber. And since Everything bringeth forth Fruit after its Kind, in the fertile and phosphoric Filaments of the Wise Man's Brain there budded and blossomed and ripened in all its Juiciness and Lusciousness a glorious and patriotic Scheme for the Betterment of the Fool. Then the Fervor of Inspiration filled the Wise Man with a warm Glow, and altho' the Hour was yet late and the Wise Man had not yet closed his Eyes—except to his own Interests—he struck his Hand upon his Knee and exclaimed: "It is borne in upon me with great Force that this Idea of mine is a good Thing."

Straightway, therefore, he hied himself to the Abode of the Fool, for in his Youth his Parents had taught him that the early Bird catches the Worm, and the Habit was strong upon him. He discovered the Fool asleep with his Head covered up with the Blankets and one Foot out of Bed in the Cold. He pulled the Fool by his other Leg with a quick Jerk that brought him up Standing, saying at the same Time: "Arise, thou Sluggard, and behold thy Benefactor."

The Fool heard the Voice but was forced to reply: "The Atmosphere is so Opaque that I can't see."

"Well, listen, then," said the Wise Man, "I am a Philanthropist and I love you better than I do myself, and I have a burning Desire to improve your Condition. I see that you do a great Injury to yourself by trading with the Foreign Devils who come Here in Ships. You buy your Clothes from Them and for that Reason Nobody makes Clothes Here. Hence there is no Market for the Wool that you grow; but if you would get a law passed to prohibit Them from bringing Clothes Here in Ships, I would build a Factory and buy your Wool at a high Price, because I would create a Market for It, and you would soon become a Rich Man."

The Fool smiled and thought: "This Philanthropist must be an Easy Mark, but that is None of my Funeral."

But he said aloud: "I should like to become a Rich Man, and you are a nice, kind Gentleman to show me How." And he went and did as the Wise Man had said.

When all these Things were accomplished Wool did indeed go up and the Fool had Money to burn, but he just grinned a Grin and went fishing, seeing which his Neighbors said among Themselves: "This is a Free Graft; let us raise some Wool and get Rich, too."

But when they did this the Price of Wool went down with a dull, sickening Thud, and there wasn't any Money in it any more. Therefore the Fool came back from his fishing Expedition and asked the Officeboy to see the Boss. He waited there two Days for an Interview to be accorded him.

"Who are you and What do you want?" said the Boss, whom the Fool recognized by his Voice as the Philanthropist, as he added: "This is my Busy-day; please get a Gait on."

"I merely came in to tell you that that Get-Rich-Quick-Scheme hasn't panned Out, and I don't want to prohibit myself buying Clothing cheap anymore. My Clothes cost me Twice

what they used to, and my Wool brings Less than ever."

"You are a Fool," returned the Wise Man, "not to have got a Corner on Wool as I did on Clothing. See how I have prospered by my superior Industry and Thrift. I cannot let you repeal the Law that you have secured to keep out the Clothing made by the Pauper-Labor of the Foreign Devils. I have invested my hard earned Rocks in Reliance upon that Law, and now I have a Vested Interest in it. I have a Wife and a Child whom I must shield from Want; and altho', as I have said, I love you more than I do myself, I know that Charity begins at Home, so I must not forget my Family in my Zeal in your Behalf. Besides, 'a Cheap Coat Makes a Cheap Man,' and as a person of superior Intelligence and Foresight it is my Duty to protect you from Yourself. Now I must write an Article for a Magazine telling 'How I Earned My Millions Mostly' by my Habits of Industry and Thrift, and how any Young man can do likewise by devoting himself exclusively to the Interests of his benevolent Employer, so please chase Yourself."

Thereupon the Fool got Spunky, hired a Lawyer, and appealed to the Court. But the Court said:

"The Wise Man is right, by Gum. The fundamental Law of the Land is attached in this suit, for the Constitution is founded upon the Sacredness of Vested Interests. Besides, the ignorant Populace is not capable of dealing with this Question so we must take it out of Politics." and entered Judgment against the Fool for the Costs.

The Fool's Sheep were sold to pay those Costs and the Lawyer got his Farm, but his young Son secured a Job as Office-boy for the Boss (for the old one had married the Daughter of the Philanthropist and gone to Europe on his Honey-Moon), his Wife took in Washing, and his Daughter went to work in the Over-All Factory. So the Fool sat on the Back Stoop all the rest of his Days, and smoked a Pipe, and tried to figure it Out.

MORAL.

Public Spirit is Sometimes Synonymous with Private Snap.

JAMES W. CLARK.

IS NOT THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT?

During the consideration of the reapportionment bill in the lower house of congress, January 8, Hon. Champ Clark, of Missouri, offered an amendment to the effect that the District of Columbia should be created a territory, by the name of the territory of Columbia, and that the usual officers, and a legislature,

and representation in congress, should be provided for. The amendment was declared out of order, but Mr. Clark was allowed five minutes in which to plead for its pertinency. We give his speech in full from the Congressional Record.

Mr. Clark, of Missouri—Mr. Speaker, the part of that amendment that is pertinent to this bill is to give the District of Columbia a delegate to sit in this house. Ever since I came here I have been in favor of the proposition, and all I have witnessed confirms me in that opinion.

It is a disgrace and a reproach to the American republic that right here under the shadow of the dome of this capitol 300,000 people, white, black, yellow and copper-colored, are absolutely disfranchised and have no more voice in their own government than if they were so many Digger Indians. The only objection that I have ever heard to my proposition was the statement of some fine-haired solar-walk citizens of this city, that "if the right of franchise were restored to these people the poor whites and damned niggers would vote them into bankruptcy." That is a very strange statement to be made in this city—the finest capital in the world.

You cannot walk 300 yards in this city without seeing the effigy of either Andrew Jackson or of Abraham Lincoln. To say that poor whites are dangerous voters in this country, which holds up those two illustrious men, sprung from the poorest of poor whites, as exemplars of American manhood, is absolutely preposterous. A wag out in Missouri told me that when Andrew Johnson was sworn in as vice president, in looking up at the senate diplomatic gallery, he happened to catch sight of the representatives of the foreign governments up there, and, shaking his fist at them, said: "You aristocratic cockadoodles, go back to your royal masters and tell them that in the land of the setting sun you saw a tailor and a rail splitter climb to the apex of human power." (Laughter.) That is a gorgeous sentence—a patriotic sentiment.

Whether he ever said it I do not know. However that may be, it was worthy to be said, because in that idea is the genius of our institutions. And I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that if a "nigger" is good enough to vote against me in the Ninth congressional district of Missouri, he is good enough to elect a representative for the city of Washington to sit on this floor. (Applause.)

We have always professed that we are in favor of "home rule." Our desire to see the Cubans have home rule lay at the root of the Spanish war. We are

all in favor of home rule for Ireland, and a vast majority of the American people, irrespective of party affiliations, wish to see the brave, heroic Boers win in their unparalleled fight for home rule. Yet, with persistency which is amazing, and inconsistency which is enigmatical, we refuse to grant the precious boon of home rule to our own fellow-citizens at our very doors. It is not only an anomaly in our system of government; it is an anomaly in human nature.

I do not believe that the people of this district are unfit for self-government. They have a fine opportunity for educating themselves in that difficult art. They hear more politics and talk more politics than the people of any other portion of the republic. Things are always happening here to incite their patriotic fervor. The monuments of our achievements, and our greatness are all about them. The visible evidences of our power are forever before their eyes. The glorious traditions and fascinating legends of American worthies who have passed into history are familiar to their ears. The numberless blessings of our free institutions are known to them. To say that they are unfit to govern themselves is to confess that our experiment in representative government is a colossal failure.

Mr. Speaker, you may rule this bill out of order now, but if I sit in this house long enough, I intend to bring this bill here in a way that it will have ample discussion, and whenever it does I will drive the republican majority of this house into taking the position openly on this floor, that the negroes are not fit to vote at all, because that is the idea that they have in disfranchising the people of the District of Columbia, though, for political reasons, they dare not avow it. And in this connection I have only one wish, and that is to be in this city on the day that they elect the first delegate to sit in the American congress.

There would be 500 candidates at the least calculation. It would be a battle royal, to witness which would be worth ten years of peaceful life; and it is the saddest commentary ever made on free government that we sit here and refuse to these people the right to govern themselves—to indulge in the luxury of voting and being voted for. A gentleman said to me the other day that this was the best-governed city on the continent, when I was talking to him about this bill. Suppose it is. Every city has a right to govern itself as it pleases. If it wants to let the hoodlums run it, all well. The only reason that

the hoodlums run any town on the American continent is that the fine-haired people, the self-styled "better classes," think they are better than other people. They are unwilling to be jostled by a hoodlum on the day of election.

Mr. Klutz—The mugwumps?

Mr. Clark, of Missouri—Yes, the mugwumps, or jugwumps, as Sam Jones calls them. These fine-haired people are too good to discharge their political duties. They stay at home in idleness, clothed in their mantles of self-righteousness, while the hoodlum discharges not only his own political duty, but also the political duty of the fine-haired citizen. I repeat it, Mr. Speaker, and it is the last I have to say about it at present, that you can rule this amendment out of order now, but the day will come when this bill will be, must be, considered here. (Applause.)

FATHER M'GLYNN.

An address delivered at the memorial meeting in honor of Rev. Edward McGlynn at Cooper Union, New York city, January 7, 1901, by Lawson Purdy.

Many have labored and now labor to lift the lowly and establish justice. Some are scornful of efforts to raise the individual, and believe that only by great economic changes can lasting good be wrought. They say that man is the creature of his environment, and that his environment must be altered before he can be elevated. Others say that the evil conditions of society spring from individual wickedness, and that man must be made moral and industrious before society can be made better.

It is no uncommon thing for reformers to jeer at charity organizations and well-disposed alms-giving persons, and taunt them with paying their alms as premiums of insurance against violence and riot. The almsgivers retort that the cranks and theorists live by agitation, and touch not with one of their fingers the burdens of the poor.

I am well aware that an unanswerable argument can be made against aiding the unfit, but this places mankind on the level of the beasts of the field. The force of the argument may be admitted and such aid be justified on the ground of political expediency. It needs no such justification, for we are more than beasts, and the highest and best instincts of the soul prompt us to relieve pain, to clothe the naked and feed the hungry.

God made the human heart and implanted in us all a craving for love and the desire to express it, and the man

or woman, who, unknown and unhonored, makes life a little easier, a little sweeter for one of God's children is doing the Master's work.

Some noble men have spent their lives serving humanity, and for lack of the quality that begets affection have failed to exert great influence. Others as noble have loved and served men and won their love and confidence. Then, through ignorance of the cause of poverty and crime, they have failed to achieve much lasting good. Their well-won power has been wasted.

Dr. McGlynn was in every sense an educated man. His mind was developed by thought, and the study of men and books. He spoke several languages fluently. He had an academic training in philosophy and history in the College of the Propaganda at Rome which could hardly be surpassed. When "Progress and Poverty" was placed in his hands by one of his parishioners he was thoroughly competent to weigh its argument. His reason was convinced and love bade him act.

When he was forced from his parish of St. Stephen's, thousands of his flock came to hear him preach, and in those dark years of excommunication his support came from those who, like himself, were faithful Catholics. They knew that he taught nothing contrary to the Catholic faith, and he knew it. In love and patience he worked and waited until his restoration proclaimed to the world that his ancient church found nothing to condemn in the doctrine that God's storehouse is for all his children.

Those of you who have passed the age of 30, and many who are younger, know that there are times in the lives of men and women when the heart feels sore need of sympathy, of counsel, of encouragement. You know that he who has given such sympathy, counsel and courage wins gratitude, respect and love. To many thousands Father McGlynn gave sympathy, counsel and courage. They were an hungered and he gave them meat; they were naked and he clothed them; they were sick and in prison and he visited them.

They tell the story that one day a poor woman visited the father and begged a pair of shoes that her husband might accept an offer of work. Dr. McGlynn sent for the shoes in his bedroom and gave them to her. A little later he prepared to go out and found that he had given away his last pair of shoes.

Do you wonder that when, from Henry George, Father McGlynn learned the lesson of social justice, learned how

"to find room at the Heavenly Father's table for all his children." that his people were ready to believe the story he told them? They trusted him because they knew there was no unselfishness in him. They had proven his heart and his head; they had tasted of his love and of his counsel. And because these thousands knew him, trusted and loved him, the fame of him went abroad and many came to hear him and believed the message that he brought them.

When the ban of excommunication was lifted and Dr. McGlynn was sent to perform his priestly functions in the little city of Newburgh, instead of the great city of his birth, he obeyed the call of duty without a murmur. Many, who had felt the thrill of addressing great audiences and been well-nigh worshiped as he had been, would have failed in this test. Not so Father McGlynn.

In February, 1896, some newspaper asked the question: "What has become of Dr. Edward McGlynn, priest, orator, agitator and reformer?" And the Newburgh Daily Register answered it in this wise:

Dr. McGlynn is here, neighbor, here, ministering to the spiritual needs of the people of St. Mary's parish, visiting the sick, comforting the dying and burying the dead.

As a priest he discharges the duties of that noble calling, humbly and conscientiously, and reflects in his own daily conduct the beauties of the Christianity he represents and of which he is a noble exponent. He mingles with the people and is beloved by all. He belongs to no one congregation, but to the city. His goodness has no limitations. He is broader than any church or creed. He oversteps denominational lines. Rich and poor, high and low, are equally drawn to him by his eloquence, his loveliness of character and the resistless magic of his charming personality.

Many of you here remember how that grand voice rang through this old hall, and how our hearts were stirred and we here resolved that we, too, would do something to hasten the coming of the kingdom for which he ever prayed. We remember the affection that was in the grasp of his hand and how the light of love shone from his eyes.

Father McGlynn was the ideal reformer. His life illumined and embodied his preaching. He won trust and confidence by his life of sacrifice, and taught that social justice is a duty as binding as personal uprightness. He attacked vested wrongs at whatever cost. To him no rights were sacred that were not human rights, and all men are created equal because God is their father and all men are brothers.

He has gone to his reward. May the Lord grant unto him eternal rest, and

may the everlasting light of truth, which was a lantern to his feet and a light unto his path, forever shine upon him.

ST. CLEMENT'S PRAYER.
"US FOUR AND NO MORE."

By his report for 1900, Mr. Chamberlain, United States commissioner of navigation, furnished some data as to what ships would get subsidy, and how much each would receive. The situation meanwhile has not materially changed, except in directions that confirm the conclusion below noted.

Though Mr. Chamberlain's figures are used, it must not be understood that the facts are much more extreme than he thus admits:

First: By his previous report, dated October 18, 1899, at page 37, the commissioner himself estimates the subsidy earning capacity of only a part of those above noted (viz.; ships of speed 14 knots or above), at \$2,232,184.

Second: The commissioner's estimate above is made on the basis of ships in 1899. It so happens that in that year an extraordinary proportion of the vessels of such lines as Pacific Mail, Pacific Coast, and Oceanic were chartered to the government for transportation service.

Third: The United States commissioner omits to count the vessels in the Hawaiian and Porto Rican trade.

Fourth: In one case, that of Paris, his subsidy calculation is put at only \$85,000, instead of \$350,000 that she would more ordinarily earn—that ship having been disabled for the greater part of the year by grounding.

Fifth: Most important of all, the commissioner has assumed in his estimates that no more subsidy eligible ships would engage in the foreign trade, and that those that are in it would make no more trips with the subsidy than without it. If this were true it would be fatal to the bill. But of course it is not true.

The cool greed of the gentleman who drafted this bill cannot be better illustrated than by considering, in connection with the subsidy rates given, the list of eligible steamers in connection with their ownership.

I.—AS TO AMERICAN SHIPS.

Under the senate bill as reported the aggregate subsidy given American vessels is for 6,400 miles round trip (of a 3,200 mile voyage—the most common length)—

	Per Gross Ton.
On 21-knot vessels.....	\$2.26 each voyage
On 20-knot vessels.....	\$2.07 each voyage
On 19-knot vessels.....	\$1.94 each voyage
On 18-knot vessels.....	\$1.81 each voyage
On 17-knot vessels.....	\$1.68 each voyage

On 16-knot vessels.....\$1.56 each voyage
On 15-knot vessels.....\$1.49 each voyage
On 14-knot vessels.....\$1.43 each voyage
On 13-knot vessels.....\$1.11 each voyage
On 12-knot vessels.....\$1.11 each voyage

—and for shorter voyages similarly graded but somewhat higher rates.

A list of the vessels reported by United States Commissioner Chamberlain as eligible to receive full rates, classified by their speed, with gross tonnage in parentheses after each, is as follows:

Twenty-one knots: New York (10,674), Paris (10,668), St. Louis (11,629), St. Paul (11,629).

Nineteen knots: None.
Eighteen knots: None.

Seventeen knots: China (5,060), Havana (5,667), Mexico (5,687).

Sixteen knots: Queen (2,727), St. Paul (2,240), Senator (2,409).

Fifteen knots: City of Puebla (2,623), Alameda (3,158), Australia (6,901), Mariposa (3,158), Seguranc (4,033), City of Washington (2,263), El Sud (4,659), Admiral Dewey (2,104), Admiral Sampson (2,104), Admiral Schley (2,104), La Grande Duchesse (5,017), Friesland (6,824).

Fourteen knots: Saratoga (2,820), Vigilancia (4,115), Orizaba (3,496), Seneca (2,729), Caracas (2,877), Philadelphia (2,520), Curacao (1,503), City of Peking (5,079), City of Rio Janeiro (3,548), Victoria (3,502), Admiral Farragut (2,104), City of Seattle (1,411), Concho (3,724), Peru (3,528), Pomona (1,264), Yucatan (3,525), Kensington (8,699), Southwark (8,607), Westerland (5,994), Michigan (4,982), Manhattan (8,004), Mohawk (2,784).

Thirteen knots: Ohio (3,967), Allianca (2,985), Atlas (1,942), City of Sydney (3,017), Columbia (2,772), Santiago (2,358), Umatilla (3,069), Walla Walla (3,069), Zealandia (2,730), Noordland (5,398), Waesland (4,856), Belgenland (3,873), Rhyneand (3,868), Manitou (6,849), Marquette (7,057), Menominee (6,919), Mesaba (6,833), America (5,158), Europe (5,302).

Twelve knots: George W. Elder (1,709), Advance (2,604), City of Topeka (1,057), Corona (1,492), Finance (2,603), Maverick (1,561), Oregon (2,335), San Marcos (2,839), Willamette (2,562), Cherokee (2,566), Penland (3,867), Appomattox (2,875), Chickahominy (2,875), Greenbrier (2,875), Kanawha (3,884), Rappahannock (3,884), Shenandoah (3,886), Anselm (1,562), Olympa (2,837), Tuscarora (6,117), Chesapeake (4,557), Lackawanna (3,855), Potomac (3,868), Delaware (3,855), Weehawken (2,784), Genesee (2,830), Suwanee (2,736).

Comparing this classification with Lloyd's statements of ownership of the vessels scheduled, we find that the International Navigation company alone will receive the total full subsidies paid for ships of above 17 knots speed.

Or, if we take the whole list, group according to ownership the vessels that are eligible to full subsidy rates and then take Mr. Chamberlain's own figures as to the yearly subsidy that each would draw even if it made no more trips with subsidy than it did in 1899 without subsidy, we find that about nine-tenths of all full subsidy

in the near future would be drawn by just four of the patriotic subsidy beggars who are behind this bill, viz:

THE INTERNATIONAL NAVIGATION CO.

(Mr. Griscom's Pa. R. R. Standard Oil Aggregation.)

Ship.	Tonnage.	Subsidy.
New York.....	10,674	\$257,841
Paris	10,668	93,708
St. Louis	11,629	408,596
St. Paul	11,629	357,522

Total\$1,117,667

THE N. Y. & CUBA MAIL CO.

Ship.	Tonnage.	Subsidy.
Havana	5,667	\$68,106
Mexico	5,667	66,802
Seguranc	4,033	45,915
City of Washington.....	2,663	23,438
El Sud	4,672	2,214
Saratoga	2,820	29,469
Vigilancia	4,115	51,355
Orizaba	3,496	32,839
Seneca	2,729	30,046
Yucatan	3,525	44,732
Santiago	2,358	18,892
Matanzas	3,094	26,696
Niagara	2,265	7,642

Total\$442,638

PACIFIC MAIL S. S. CO.

Ship.	Tonnage.	Subsidy.
China	5,060	\$71,179
City of Peking.....	5,079	53,431
City of Rio de Janeiro.....	3,548	32,642

Total\$157,252

AMERICAN MAIL S. S. CO.

Ship.	Tonnage.	Subsidy.
Admiral Dewey	2,104	\$27,673
Admiral Sampson	2,104	25,306
Admiral Schley	2,104	22,693
Admiral Farragut	2,104	26,595

Total\$102,267

ALL OTHERS (NINE).

PACIFIC COAST S. S. CO.

Ship.	Tonnage.	Subsidy.
Queen	2,727	\$16,493
Caracao	1,503	14,080
Umatilla	3,069	15,897
City of Topeka.....	1,067	49
Walla Walla	3,069	15,897
Alameda	3,158	28,422
Mariposa	3,158	35,517

PLANT.

La Grande Duchesse.....5,017 6,999

A. & C. NAV. CO.

Caracas
 2,877 | 15,017 |

Philadelphia
 2,520 | 4,725 |

A. T. PRITCHARD.

Victoria
 3,502 | 36,841 |

N. Y. & TEXAS S. S. CO.

Concho
 3,724 | 7,820 |

STANDARD OIL CO.

Atlas
 1,942 | 1,063 |

Maverick
 1,561 | 505 |

OREGON NAV. CO.

George W. Elder.....1,710 472

CLYDE S. S. CO.

Cherokee
 2,556 | 8,435 |

UNITED FRUIT CO.

Olympia
 2,837 | 18,469 |

Total\$226,716

Of the full subsidy cream, therefore,

there goes even under the grossly inadequate estimate of Commissioner

Chamberlain—

To the International Navigation Co.....\$1,117,667 or 54.5 per ct.

To the N. Y. & Cuba Mail S. S. Co..... 440,474 or 21.5 per ct.

To the Pacific Mail S. S. Co..... 157,252 or 7.5 per ct.

To the American Mail S. S. Co..... 102,267 or 5.0 per ct.

To all others (nine)..... 226,716 or 11.5 per ct.

—the four first-named receiving nine-tenths of the whole.

II.—AS TO FOREIGN-BUILT STEAMERS.

Taking the statement in this regard furnished in the recent report

of the United States commissioner of

navigation, we find at pages 273-276 the results of his investigation, from which it appears that of "American citizens" eligible to receive one-half rate subsidy under this bill in respect of foreign built ships owned by them, there were the following with subsidy swallowing capacity as below noted—even should they not make any more trips under subsidy than last year they made without it:

(It is of course understood that notes "First," "Second," "Third" and "Fifth" at head of this article are also applicable here; and that the subsidy estimates given are ridiculously small.)

Company and No. Ships.	1/2 Rate Per Ct. Subsidy.	Total.
International Nav. Co. (Pa. R. R. & Standard Oil Interest) *	11	\$350,000 37.7
Atlantic Transport Co. (Pa. R. R.).....	21	\$34,000 35.9
Chesapeake & Ohio R. R. 8		108,000 11.1
F. E. Bliss (Standard Oil Co.'s London factor).....	8	71,000 7.6
All others (T. Hogan & Sons, Wm. R. Grace, United Fruit Company).10		72,000 7.7
		\$930,000 100

That is, four concerns get more than nine-tenths of this subsidy.

III.—AS TO SHIPS NOW CONSTRUCTING IN AMERICA.

Again, from the report of the commissioner of navigation, we find that of all ships building for foreign trade in American shipyards of full capacity and speed sufficient to earn subsidy, there were just 15 ships building, aggregating 129,434 tons gross register, and that these were being built at shipyards and for owners, and with subsidy capacity as follows:

Shipyards.	No. of Ships.	Owners.	Subsidy.
Cramp & Sons.....	2	International Nav. Co.....	\$467,840
Newport News.....	2	Pacific Mail S. S. Co.....	433,412
Cramp & Sons.....	3	Oceanic S. S. Co.....	212,220
Cramp & Sons.....	3	N. Y. Cuba Mail S. S. Co.	184,855
Cramp & Sons.....	2	Wm. P. Clyde & Co.....	61,560
Neafie & Levy.....	1	Bolton Bliss & Dallett....	9,945
Eastern Shipbuilding Co. 2		Great Northern S. S. Co..	312,000
Total	15	Total	\$1,681,832

*Above estimate of Standard Oil subsidy receipts is peculiarly modest. In the first place it omits all mention of the Queen of the Avon and the Elbruz, which it is understood were as much a part of the fleet of the Anglo-American Oil company as were the Tuscarona, Chesapeake, Lackawanna, Potomac, Delaware, Weehawken, Genesee and Suwanee. Again, this company is but one of the four companies main ownership of which is in Standard Oil Interest, and therefore (the Standard Oil company, and its managers being "American citizens," under the subsidy bill) entitled to subsidy. The others being American Petroleum company, Antwerp, with five ships; American Petroleum company, Rotterdam, with five ships, and Deutsch-Amerikanische Petroleum Gesellschaft, Hamburg, with 15 ships; and the total subsidy, therefore, coming to the interests represented by Mr. Bliss, being probably not far either way from \$400,000 (instead of \$71,000).

Or, just four ship yards and seven ship owners interested. Of these one, the Great Northern Steamship company, speaking by its president, Mr. Hill, repudiates all need for subsidy, denies the propriety of any on the plan proposed by this bill, says he ordered these ships in America because they could be built here more cheaply than abroad; and that if the iron and steel trusts would let up on the price they charged Americans for steel plates, it would help ship building more than subsidy. Said Mr. Hill:

We can build ships in this country as well and as cheaply as they can be built anywhere in the world. Now I had figures within the last year furnished from the best builders on the Clyde and figures from as good builders as there are in this country and to my utter amazement the American figures on a single ship were £80,000 to £100,000 under the best Clyde builders, and when we get the ship subsidy that is promised see how happy we shall be (laughter).

The subsidy scheme is an excellent thing if it is not abused. I believe that if we could pay a tonnage on the actual commodities of a certain kind based on the distance carried, there would be some justice in a subsidy. I analyzed carefully the first bill that was drawn and found that out of \$9,000,000, about \$7,500,000 went to what is known as "the American line"—a good friend of mine and nine gentlemen. They are always very kind to me when I am crossing.

They have set apart 30 per cent. of the apportionment for the Pacific ocean. No doubt some of my friends thought they were serving me, and in a money sense perhaps they were, but I would much rather see them take the duty off the plates that are to go into the ships when they are built.

This leaves our four friends—the International, the Pacific Mail, the Oceanic and the New York & Cuba Mail to pocket about 98 per cent. of the remainder that they are not giving Mr. Hill without thanks from him therefor.

IV.—AS TO SHIPS NOW BUILDING ABROAD.

On this point, also, Mr. Chamberlain reports: Of American contractors and owners of such ships (eligible to half subsidy) there were as follows:—

No. Ships.	Aggregate Estimated Tonnage.	Subsidy.
4 International Nav. Co.	44,000	\$396,600
4 Atlantic Transport Co.	53,120	510,524
6 T. Hogan & Sons.....	16,100	85,590
2 Wm. R. Grace & Co....	9,400	32,900
16	132,620	\$1,025,614

Or, just four ship owners interested. It may be possible for a subsidy bill

to be so-drawn as more accurately to limit and define its beneficiaries, but, until some one succeeds in doing it, this one will hold the record.

In view of Mr. Whitelaw Reid's anxiety to know just who would benefit by this subsidy bill, and Senator Frye's unsatisfactory answer, a copy of the above has been sent to the editorial office of the New York Tribune.

Secretary Root is unable to discover signs of the joyous peace that was to accompany the election returns to the Philippines. He assures the senate that if more troops are not sent promptly we shall have to abandon large portions of the islands where we have been giving the Filipinos "the best self-government that is possible." "Self-government" is a new term for military occupation, and the credit of its invention belongs to the secretary of war.—Philadelphia North American.

A GLEAM OF LIGHT.

A woman in a tattered shawl rang the bell of a stately mansion.

"May I die on your doorstep, here?" she asked, respectfully, of the butler, who presently appeared.

"No!" was the brusque reply.

The woman was turning sadly away, when a beautiful child, with golden hair, cut in:

"Oh, papa!" cried the child; "please do let the woman die on the doorstep."

"Very well," said the father, for he could deny his little daughter nothing.

So the woman died on the doorstep, feeling that the world was not altogether dark, after all.—Detroit Journal.

"It must be just awfully expensive to bring those Filipinos to this country and educate them," said the interested young woman.

"It is," answered the expansionist, "but we must do something to conciliate the objectors who are making

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such an unreasonable outcry against the cheaper and surer method of disposing of the brown burdens."

G. T. E.

Duty and destiny may force the powers to take slices of China, but they will have to be good-sized slices, or there will be trouble. The powers will not stand for shabby treatment from duty and destiny if they can help it.—Puck.

"I have been a teacher in China for the last 20 years," said the strenuous missionary, "but I must confess that I am unable to determine the cause of the late atrocities committed by the Chinese people."

"I have often heard," remarked the stupidly innocent listener, "that Chinamen are very imitative."

G. T. E.

"The Boers don't know when they are beaten."

"No. They seem to be misled by the fact that they continue to capture British detachments."—Puck.

BOOK NOTICES.

"The Gospel According to Nature," together with certain references to the kingdom of Heaven and other matters, by a North American Indian (Des Moines, Ia.: P. O. Box 443. Price 10 cents in silver), preaches a new gospel of competition, and proposes to put it into immediate practical operation, without political action, by engaging cooperatively in competitive enterprises for wages without profit. Railroadng is suggested for the initial experiment.

"Tolstoi" (Chicago: Alice B. Stockham & Co.), a neatly printed and inviting little volume, contains two very interesting essays about the great Russian. The first, by Alice B. Stockham, M. D., entitled "Tolstoi, a Man of Peace," is a graphic pen picture of the man, as the author observed him upon the occasion of a visit to his home. The second, "Tolstoi the New Spirit," by H. Havelock Ellis, describes in an outline of Tolstoi's life the development of his character as a modern disciple of Jesus.

JANUARY MAGAZINES.

—The Social Unity (New York, 70 Bible House: The Social Reform Union. Price 50 cents) comes out with its initial number under the editorship of W. D. P. Bliss. It stands for what may probably be best described in a single term as transcendental socialism.

—The Columbia Law Review contains an interesting and instructive constitutional article by Edward B. Whitney, of New York, an assistant attorney general in Cleveland's administration, on the authority of congress to delegate legislative power to the president. Its immediate bearing is upon the colonial question.

—Social Ideals (Elgin, Ill.: The Social Ideals Co. Price \$1 a year) enters the monthly magazine field under the editorship of George H. Gibson and Carl D. Thompson. The contributors it announces are George A. Gates, Ernest Howard Crosby, Gustavus Tuckerman, J. Stitt Wilson, Vida D. Scudder and Charles M. Sheldon.

—The Locomotive Fireman's Magazine, organ of the order of Locomotive Firemen (Peoria, Ill.: Price \$1 per year), opens the first number of its thirtieth volume with a series of illustrated editorials on the Nicaragua canal. Its principal technical article is on the retaining valve. Besides minor technical articles there are stories with a trade flavor, answers to trade questions, reports of labor organizations and economic discussions.

—The Iron Moulders' Journal (Cincinnati: The Iron Moulders' Union of North America. Price 50 cents a year), begins the first number of its thirty-seventh volume with the paper on arbitration and conciliation in labor disputes read by President Martin Fox, of the moulders' organization, at the National Civic Federation conference in Chicago last month. Considerable space is given to an account of the twentieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. The leading technical article describes the making of a 55-ton casting. It is followed by one on gating a mould in brass founding.

The edition of "The Public" this week is 6,000.

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