

The Public

Fifth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1902.

Number 241.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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

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

Republican leaders are at a loss to account for the "slump" in Wall street immediately after the recent great Republican victory at the polls. If the Democrats had won generally in the elections the explanation would be easy, but they didn't win. It is shrewdly suspected, however, that the "slump" was caused by Garvin's election as governor of Rhode Island and Tom L. Johnson's victory over Senator Hanna, in Cleveland and Cuyahoga county, O. Republican prosperity is such a tender shoot that the local victories of these two Henry George Democrats may have discouraged it in spite of the general Republican triumph.

A certain Democratic daily paper of Boston might find good material for reflection in that one of its campaign editorials which referred to Rhode Island as certain to go Republican because of "recent Democratic stupidity" in allying the Democratic party of the state "with Bryanism." This New England state whose Democracy allied itself with "Bryanism," has been wrested from the Republicans by a Democratic majority of 6,000 for the "Bryanistic" Gov. Garvin; whereas Massachusetts, whose Democracy contemptuously rejected "Bryanism," was easily carried by the Republicans.

In his speech at the dedication of the Chamber of Commerce building in New York on the 11th, President Roosevelt repeated his now familiar platitude about the wickedness of "plundering the fortunate." It is to be observed that Mr. Roosevelt

does not aim this bit of cheap philosophy at the unfortunate poor who envy the fortunate rich, but at the man who condemns the way in which the rich get rich. He assumes that inordinate wealth is simply a matter of good fortune, whereas it is in fact plain plunder, simple loot. The question which agitates society and upon which President Roosevelt pours his platitudinous oils is not one of plundering the "fortunate," as he calls them, but of preventing their plundering the unfortunate. Mr. Roosevelt should learn to know the difference between good fortune and legalized theft

A prominent Chicago clergyman, the Rev. R. A. White, who preached an able sermon on politics the Sunday before election, summed up the subject of partisanship in this accurate and admirable fashion:

If a man is a Republican because he believes intelligently in high protection, or a Democrat because he believes in free trade, well and good. The mischief begins when he is a high protectionist because he is a Republican or a free trader because he is a Democrat. Partisanship usurps the place of principle.

How many leading citizens who esteem themselves thoughtful, could bear that test of independence?

We commend to modern pharisees a prayerful consideration of the following words from the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, the defeated Democratic candidate for secretary of state of Ohio, in explanation of his attitude toward politics and of the political situation in Cincinnati:

I believe it is a mistake to attribute the defeat to the unpopularity of "Johnsonism." We stood for what was right and clean. If this had not been true we would have made a still poorer showing. As for the future, there is no choice. I should be glad to let politics alone. It is disgusting. But if all decent men were to do that, what

would become of popular institutions? The people by whose votes we were defeated, will one day indorse the principles for which we stand. Meantime we can but continue the work of education and abide our time. I am proud even to have had the honor of suffering a defeat for the cause to which noble and consecrated men all over this State and nation are giving their lives.

A thousand such clergymen would do more in a decade for vital Christianity in this country than the whole host of mammon-worshipping pulpiti-teers could do in a million ages.

Out in San Francisco they have a bishop of the name of Hamilton, who has the full courage of his mammon-istic Christianity. He unctuously displayed it at a meeting of the general committee of the Freedman's Aid and Southern Education society at Troy, N. Y., on the 11th. Some one had advised caution in expenditures, explaining that the country is now facing a financial crisis. Then up spoke Bishop Hamilton. He had no apprehension of any financial calamity, because, said he, "the country to-day is in the hands of a dozen capitalists who control affairs, and as a matter of self-protection will prevent any calamity." What a blessing it is to learn that a dozen capitalists own us all, and will save us from harm because we are valuable to them! And what a wise dispensation of Providence to furnish us with bishops who are piously content with that kind of thing.

As the mists of the Associated Press' election reports clear away and a better understanding of the Ohio campaign is obtained, Tom L. Johnson appears to have made gratifying progress instead of having been snowed under. Writing of the situation, John J. Lentz says that—no man ever worked against such odds in the state of Ohio as did Tom L.

Johnson. Almost lone-handed, he went into the business of clearing the forests and swamps of a trust-ridden Democracy extended throughout the State. He had traitors in his army in every county. Those who had been Democrats for revenue only were all against him. With such a handicap as this the only wonder is that he was able to make as much of a showing as he did. At this time I am advised that he carried Cuyahoga county by 3,000. That makes the fourth time within the last 18 months that Tom L. Johnson has been vindicated and his public service ratified by the people who know him best, the people of his own county. I am not discouraged. Let us go on with our work, remembering that "Truth loses battles but wins wars," that "Truth lost a battle at Bunker Hill but won a war at Yorktown."

It was by about 2,500 instead of 3,000 that Johnson carried Cuyahoga county for Bigelow—an increase over last year of 2,400; and he carried Cleveland by 5,000, while in the few counties that were systematically canvassed he increased the Democratic vote by 10,000. It was the combination of the two bosses of Cincinnati—McLean, the Democrat, and Cox, the Republican—that increased the Republican plurality in the State. Had Hamilton county been entirely out of the count, Bigelow would have reduced the former State plurality by 20,000. Not the least of the advantages Johnson has won is the control of the county government of Cuyahoga. With this advantage secured, he will be able now to carry on his taxation fight as a county matter. The "ripping" of the city government in the interest of Hanna and the railroad companies may therefore be somewhat barren as a corporation victory. The Republican papers and their Democratic coadjutors anticipated too much when in shrieking head lines they proclaimed that Tom L. Johnson was now "a dead one."

Congressman Norton, of Ohio, Democrat so-called, complains that Tom L. Johnson's campaign defeated him for reelection. Perhaps that was the intention. Norton can't understand why Johnson, who made his money out of monopoly as a business man, should assail monopoly as a public man. Norton is therefore

weak in the moral part of his structure. He denounces Johnson as a socialist because he advocates the Henry George idea, which is like confusing east with west or the north pole with the south pole. Norton is therefore weak in his intellectuals. He whines because Johnson told the voters of his district that representatives of corporate interests are unfit to represent any district in Congress, he himself, the said Norton, being at the time a representative of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Norton is therefore silly enough to pay Johnson a high tribute without knowing it. True Democrats the country over will rejoice to learn that Johnson did defeat such a "Democrat" as Norton. His confession that Johnson did so is further testimony to the fact that Johnson made good headway in the recent campaign in Ohio. To rid the Democratic party of responsibility for monopoly agents in public places is part of the work that Johnson took in hand when he resolved to devote the remainder of his life to the public service.

Having "ripped" the city government of Cleveland so as to obstruct Mayor Johnson in his efforts to secure just taxation, the Republican ring of which Senator Hanna is the head center has further served the corporate interests of which he is chief beneficiary, by trying to head-off Johnson in his attempt to use the county taxing machinery to accomplish the same purpose. Just as Hanna's Republican henchmen go out of office to make way for their Democratic successors, they settle the county's tax claims against the public service corporations of Cleveland, amounting to \$1,000,000, for \$80,000. It is profitable to be the "boss" of a Republican ring when you own corporate franchises. Mr. Hanna finds it so. Of a verity he is not in politics for his health alone.

It is impossible yet to give definite news of the voting in Colorado on the Australasian tax amendment.

The result is not positively known even to the local leaders in the reform. They believe that the amendment was fairly carried, but are equally certain that no matter what the vote may have been it will be counted against the amendment. This certainly can be done. For the election machinery is in the hands of the Republican and the Democratic organizations, both of which were opposed to the amendment. They can count as they please, and the delay indicates that they may be doing so. At the same time it must be conceded that a large proportion of the voting population of Colorado had been "buncoed" by the real estate speculators and land-grant railroad interests. To the agents for those interests the farmer always "looks like a fellow you can fool," and the probability is that the Colorado farmer not only looked like such a fellow but in fact was one.

The truth is that the Democratic party of Colorado was not equal to the opportunity to make itself democratic. Had it endorsed and worked for the amendment, the amendment could have been carried and the party could have won the election. As it was, the Democratic masses neglected the amendment while its advocates voted against the Democratic party. Thus both went down together. Senator Teller also missed an opportunity to identify himself with genuine democracy, and as a result will probably lose his seat in the Senate. It is absurd for the Democrats and Mr. Teller to excuse themselves on the ground that they did not believe in the amendment. A public man who opposes home rule in taxation has no claim to the name of Democrat.

Senator Bucklin and his faithful supporters, defeated though they are, have done a great work in agitating the subject of home rule in taxation throughout the large and growing State of Colorado. The time will come, and it may not be far off, when the record of defeat under Bucklin

will be a stronger recommendation of those who suffered it to public confidence than any certificates which those who caused the defeat can give. When the people of Colorado realize the fraud that has been perpetrated upon them, Bucklin will be the recognized and probably triumphant leader of Democracy in that State. This is not a prophecy, it is only a recognition of a characteristic of human nature.

Clarence S. Darrow, who was elected to the Illinois legislature from Chicago as a candidate of the Public Ownership league, will be supported by John J. McManaman, a candidate of the same organization, who was reported at first to have been defeated but is now known to have been elected.

By a vote of 42 to 16 the Chicago city council has placed itself in opposition to low tolls for public service corporations and in favor of high tolls with a heavy city tax on gross receipts. That is what the monopoly corporations wish for. If they must pay for their privileges, they prefer the gross receipts tax. There are many reasons for this. For one thing, it offers excellent opportunities for cheating the city in the levying of the tax. For another, even if the tax were fully paid, it would leave a larger net toll to be collected of the person served than if the tax were remitted and the corporations required to render cheap service. Evidently the majority of the present council are good men to defeat next Spring. They are either voting consciously in the interest of the corporations or are doing so ignorantly. In either case they are unfit. Any man who believes that city taxes ought to be collected in car fares is unfit to legislate in the interest of the people. He belongs on the side of the corporations and the real estate speculators and should be "spotted" accordingly.

In Texas a movement is under way for restricting the suffrage to poll-

tax payers. At the coming session of the legislature a constitutional amendment will be submitted requiring the production of a poll-tax receipt as a condition of voting. The amendment is almost certain to be adopted both by the legislature and by the people, because its real purpose is to disfranchise Negroes. That is no reason, however, why its advocates should advocate it upon false grounds. Their argument that the poll-tax is the citizen's contribution to the State for protecting his person is very old, very plausible, and absolutely false. Every citizen who pays for the State's protection to his person does so when he pays his rent, or when he buys land for himself. The proof of this is simple and convincing. In a state where everybody's life was continually unsafe, rent would be low and land cheap. But let the State make life secure, and rents and land prices would instantly go up. Nobody cares to rent or buy land where life is constantly in peril. It is not the poor Negroes of Texas who pay nothing for personal protection except when they pay toll taxes. Their landlords collect of them in rents their contributions for that purpose. If in addition they pay a poll tax they are taxed twice for protection—once by the State and once by their landlords.

A curious reader of the Chicago Record-Herald, a Republican paper though exceptionally independent of party dictation, has asked it to explain why the United States is short of gold notwithstanding our much-boasted favorable balances of trade. He doesn't understand why we should be borrowers if we are creditors. Neither does the Record-Herald, apparently; for while it furnishes its curious correspondent with much valuable information on the subject of international trade, it utterly fails to explain the paradox that excites his curiosity. The obvious explanation is, of course, that we have had no really favorable balances. Our enormous excess of exports is largely not a basis for credit against which

we may draw, but a drain upon our resources in the nature of tribute.

One of the stock objections to woman suffrage is the assumption that voting can be done only in places where it would not be nice for women to go. But experience knocks out this objection. In Colorado, where women are voters, their disinclination to going to cigar stores and barber shops is resulting not in their staying away from the polls but in their demanding better voting places and getting them. One of the finest homes in Denver was selected this year for the polling place of one of the voting precincts.

In affiliating with the Federation of Labor, the school teachers organization of Chicago may or may not have made a mistake. That is for the members to decide. But some of the criticisms upon their action are only calculated to excite contempt. One of these is the objection that teachers belong to a profession and ought not to affiliate with hod carriers. The man or woman who makes that objection is a snob. To object to the adoption of trade union methods raises a legitimate issue for discussion. But to object to the affiliation of teachers with the fathers of the children they teach and by whom their salaries are paid, when those fathers earn their incomes by manual work, is to argue the incapacity of the objector for the duties of a teacher.

On the question of the methods of trade unions, it is not fair to condemn them without consideration of the circumstances out of which they arise, as the president of Harvard, for instance, has done. In that attitude toward trades unionism there is a degree of imbecility which merits the scorn of thoughtful men. If laborers were at liberty to make free contracts, there would be force in the objection to organizations of labor unions for the purpose of coercing employers. But for the man who has nothing but his labor to bring to market there is no free contract. He

must accept the terms that are offered him or starve. He cannot "higgle" for a price. That being so, common fairness demands that it should be considered when the union question is discussed. The point is not whether labor union methods are justifiable in the abstract; it is whether they are excusable when institutions and laws have produced conditions that deprive individual laborers of freedom of contract.

There is an evident reaction in the courts against the recent tendency to abrogate legislative powers, in favor of public service corporations. A recent decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois has completely baffled the street railroad ring of Chicago. It sustains the rights of the city council to compel street car companies to give transfers over the whole length of their lines. It also decides that the city council may regulate fares in its own discretion, the only limitation being that it shall not make them so low as to amount to confiscation. To the same effect is the decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa, made within a few days, in the case of the Cedar Rapids water company. The most important feature of both decisions is the point that the courts, while they will prevent confiscation, will not guarantee profits on watered stock. A quotation from the conclusion of the opinion in the Iowa case shows the significance of this judicial reaction:

The court cannot undertake to guarantee the company any fixed or certain return upon its investment. The exercise of such a power would work an utter destruction of the legislative right to regulate rates of water companies and other corporations operating works of public utility. We think the decisions have already gone to the verge of safety in nullifying legislative acts of this character—and to go farther and say that the courts will not only preserve property from confiscation and destruction by legislative power but will also assure to its owners a definite and fixed rate of profit upon their investment, would be an act of judicial usurpation.

Germany is beginning now fairly to experience the inevitable result of

her protection policy. Since the early '80s she has been building up "home industries" by means of the protective tariff, and now her people are suffering the agonies that our protective tariff brought upon us in the '90s and will soon bring upon us again. Trade in Germany has never been at so low an ebb as now. Bankruptcies are increasing. The towns are crowded with workingmen out of work and wages are falling. Meat is so dear that it has vanished from the tables of the poorer households. Misery haunts the empire and the future looms up darker even than the present. Protection is doing the same deadly work in Germany that it does wherever it gains a foothold.

APROPOS OF COAL.

There is an old adage about the disastrous effect of giving a dog a bad name. It is strikingly illustrated in the case of Political Economy, which somebody—who manifestly knew little of the subject—called "the Dismal Science." The world in general seems to have accepted the description as reliable, and as a consequence the average man, even the average newspaper writer, considers this branch of the tree of knowledge a negligible thing, if not, indeed, a very good thing to avoid.

Now, if the epithet is strictly understood to apply only to Political Economy as that subject is set forth in a good many books, it is accurate enough, for the writers of not a few "authoritative" works on the subject have certainly made a dismal affair of it. They have accomplished this by divesting it of all human interest; and so long as it remains true that "the most interesting thing to man is man" such writers must fail of popularity. "Economic man," as depicted by Dryasdust, is a creature as fabulous as the Phoenix or the Dodo—for he is an alleged human being who exercises but two functions—those of producing and consuming. He is destitute of all the faculties, affections and passions which characterize man in actual life, and it is little wonder that the casual reader feels no interest in

him, or in the alleged world in which he lives—a place made up entirely of percentages, increases, decreases, and other statistical properties, but utterly without blue skies, smiling landscapes, and the other familiar surroundings that real people love.

It is not astonishing, then, I say, that the average man knows little of Political Economy, but it is unfortunate, because in truth there is no subject in the whole realm of knowledge that, properly understood, comes closer to mankind, or is more worthy of his study. There is scarcely a great question before the people of any civilized country to-day that does not involve principles which it is the function of the political economist to elucidate, and the elucidation of which, if intelligently done, could fail to be of the deepest interest at least to all thinking men.

The widespread discussion which has been forced upon the inhabitants of this continent by reason of the coal strike is nothing more nor less than a discussion of Political Economy, and it has certainly served to show that most people are innocent of a knowledge of that science, or, at all events, that very many of those who have felt called upon to take part in the discussion through the newspapers and magazines, are in the least careful in the use of terms. We find, for example, that the trouble in the coal regions is almost universally referred to as a dispute between Capital and Labor. Without affirming that there could not, under any circumstances, be a conflict between opponents so named, I am quite certain that the Pennsylvania case—or any ordinary case—cannot be correctly so described. This will be manifest at once when the meaning of the words is considered.

The term Labor is, of course, sufficiently understood; but what is Capital? To confine oneself to this interesting "modern instance," what is the capital of the coal operators of the anthracite regions? Their capital consists of shafts, engines, wheelbarrows, sheds, tanks, cars, rails, and a number of other things, necessary to the business of producing and hauling coal. Every item of this property is man-made, and shares the quality of perishability with the product

of human hands in general. Capital is defined by the economists as "stored up labor"—that is, labor products which are devoted, not to consumption, as products ordinarily are, but to the production of other forms of wealth. It is clear that there does not and could not reside in this capital of the mine operators any power of tyranny; and hence, as capitalists, those gentlemen would not be able, however despotic their disposition, to dictate to the miners' union, much less to the people of the United States and Canada. The miners, with the assistance of their fellow artisans of other callings, could almost have reproduced the entire capital of the coal trust during the period devoted to the strike, in so far as that capital consists in the paraphernalia of coal production; and this, with certain pieces of paper called bonds, stocks and moneys, is all the capital the trust does possess.

But if Capital can thus be produced by Labor, how comes it that there is a conflict between them? and especially, how can there possibly be the "irrepressible conflict" that we are constantly hearing of?

The explanation of this apparent paradox is simple. The conflict in Pennsylvania—like similar troubles in general—was not between Labor and Capital, but between Labor and Monopoly—a very different thing. The power in the hands of the trust was not and is not that involved in the ownership of the tools and materials of the coal mining and coal carrying industries, but in the legal possession of the mines themselves, and of the exclusive rights-of-way of the railroads running from the mines, reinforced by the further legal ownership of the coal deposits as yet unworked. Under these circumstances, to reproduce the capital of the trust could have done no good as a measure of relief, for that capital could not have been employed. The key to the situation is the ownership of the land; and this the trust holds, not as a capitalistic, but as a monopolistic corporation.

It is a mere abuse of terms to call a monopolist a capitalist, for the raw material of nature is not in the same category as the products of human

toil. Though so clear and simple, this distinction is rarely made by writers of the day, who have apparently fallen into the fashion set by the socialists of ignoring the difference between two things which are utterly unlike.

J. W. BENGOUGH.

NEWS

Reports from the elections of last week (p. 485) are still far from complete, and no returns from the official count are yet available.

Unofficial returns, however, are full from Rhode Island. This state has not had a Democratic governor since 1900, but for governor, Dr. L. F. C. Garvin (Henry George Democrat) defeats Gov. Kimball by 6,358 plurality; for lieutenant governor, Archambault (Dem.) defeats Shepley (Rep.) by 1,273 votes; Bennett (Rep.) was elected secretary of state by 4,200 majority; Stearns (Rep.) was elected attorney general by 611 plurality, and Read (Rep.) was elected general treasurer by 1,644 plurality. In the general assembly the Democrats made great gains, the lower house being a tie; but in the senate the Republicans have 27 and the Democrats 11 members. In the First congressional district Mayor D. L. D. Granger (Dem.), of Providence, defeats Bull (Rep.) for reelection by about 600 plurality. Capron (Rep.) was reelected in the Second district by about 1,000 plurality. Augustus S. Miller (Dem.) was elected mayor of Providence by 2,000 plurality. The other cities of the state elected Democratic mayors with the exception of Woonsocket, where a Republican defeated the chairman of the Democratic state central committee for reelection.

In Illinois the vote for state treasurer, the highest officer balloted for, appears to have been 849,416 with a Republican plurality of 86,771. In 1900 the Republican candidate for governor had 580,198 and the Democratic 518,966, a total of 1,099,164, with a Republican plurality of 61,232. It would appear, therefore, that the Republicans of Illinois have increased their plurality by more than 25,000 in a vote reduced by over 250,000.

The Iowa pluralities by counties are in the aggregate approximately

78,744 for the Republican candidate for secretary of state, the highest office voted for, and 4,372 for the Democratic, a net plurality in the whole State of 74,372. This reduces the Republican plurality at the gubernatorial election of 1901 by no more than about 8,782.

Full unofficial returns from Cuyahoga county, Ohio, the home county of Mayor Tom L. Johnson and Senator M. A. Hanna, are as follows:

	Dem.	Rep.	Plu.	
Sec'y of State.....	36,449	33,947	2,502	Dem.
Cong. (20th Dist.).....	14,839	15,486	659	Rep.
Cong. (21st Dist.).....	16,791	24,423	7,632	Rep.
Circuit Judge.....	35,662	34,011	1,651	Dem.
	32,279	36,846	4,567	Rep.
Other Judges.....	36,628	35,698	930	Dem.
	36,477	33,663	2,814	Dem.
	36,429	32,279	3,150	Dem.
Probate Judge.....	30,393	40,394	9,941	Rep.
Clerk of Courts.....	36,124	35,248	776	Dem.
Sheriff.....	32,296	39,621	7,326	Rep.
County Clerk.....	36,510	33,488	3,022	Dem.
County Prosecutor.....	33,996	36,667	1,671	Rep.
County Solicitor.....	36,804	34,471	2,333	Dem.
Coroner.....	35,796	34,668	1,128	Dem.
Surveyor.....	32,821	37,410	4,589	Rep.

In the city of Cleveland the plurality for Bigelow was 4,608. The heavy plurality against the Democratic candidate for probate judge is attributed to his having been identified with the "gold" Democracy of 1896.

By the election of the Democratic candidate for county commissioner of Cuyahoga county, noted above, the Democrats acquire a majority of the county board and thus come into control of the county government. Mayor Johnson has therefore begun extending his tax crusade to county affairs. The first step in this direction consisted in the abrogation of the contract with what is known as the tax inquisitor. Under a law of Ohio, counties are empowered to make contracts for the ferreting out of unreturned personal taxes. The contractor for Cuyahoga county has long been a man of the name of Morganthaler. His contract did not expire until next August, but in anticipation of a change in the county government the outgoing Republican authorities made a new one with him for three years. It is this new contract that the new county board has abrogated. They did so upon the authority of an opinion of the Republican attorney general, Mr. Sheets, given recently in a similar case under the same law. Mr. Sheets's opinion on this subject advised that—

as the law does not provide for the employment of a tax inquisitor for any particular time, he could be discharged at the pleasure of the appointing power; also that one set of county officials could not employ a tax inquisitor

beyond their term so as to bind the subsequent body.

Upon the abrogation of the Morganthaler contract the county board made a new one upon the same terms with Echo M. Heisley, one of Johnson's leading supporters and a well-known lawyer of Cleveland. Heisley took steps immediately to reach the evaded taxes of the public service corporations of Cleveland, amounting, as Mayor Johnson claims, to more than \$1,000,000. But he soon found that he had been headed off by the retiring Republican officials. These officials had made a settlement with the corporations the day before the Republican auditor's term of office expired, October 18 last, and had given receipts in full of all claims for such taxes upon payment of \$79,093.78. The corporations so favored were the electric lighting and gas companies and the street railway companies. Legal proceedings to oust Mr. Heisley, the new tax inquisitor, are now in progress, but regardless of them the corporation managers make no secret of their feeling that by settling their tax liabilities of \$1,000,000 or more for less than \$80,000 they have scored a victory against Johnson.

Immediately after the elections, notwithstanding that they resulted satisfactorily to the partisan leaders who had predicted financial trouble in the event of their resulting otherwise, a tremendous fall in the values of stocks occurred. This "slump" began in Wall street on the 7th, three days after the election. It became worse on the 8th, was worse still on the 10th, and on the 11th had produced conditions bordering on a panic. Later reports are somewhat reassuring.

In the labor field the coal strike is still the most important subject of interest, though the arbitration (p. 486) is for the moment at a standstill. On the 6th the arbitrators dispersed, having finished their inspection of the mines. They are to meet again on the 14th at Scranton, when the taking of testimony is to begin. On the 7th the recorder of the commission was notified by the independent coal operators of the Wyoming and Lackawanna region that they had agreed to become parties to the arbitration and to be bound by the award. The answer of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron company (Baer's company), to the de-

mands of the strikers (p. 486) was filed with the arbitrators on the 11th. It describes the demand for higher wages as "arbitrary, unreasonable and unjust," as it does the further demand for shorter hours; asserts that no question of weighing coal arises in this company's mines, as measurement is there the usual method of determining quantity; and as to an agreement with the United Mine Workers' union, it denies the power of the arbitrators to make such an award. Five other replies, from the different corporations respectively, and to the same effect, have been filed.

Two threatened strikes have come to a peaceable and satisfactory conclusion during the week. One is that of the railroad switchmen from Chicago westward, some 60,000 in number. After they had decided by referendum to go upon strike if their wages were not increased, the roads granted the increase required and a settlement agreement was made on the 11th. The other strike settlement resulted from an arbitration between the street car companies of Chicago and their employes. Early in the Summer (p. 138) a strike between these parties was settled through the Civic Federation; but very soon the employes charged the companies with bad faith, and in accordance with the terms of the settlement an arbitration agreement was made. On the board of arbitrators Clarence S. Darrow represented the men and Wallace Heckman the corporations. W. J. Onahan was selected as arbiter. After a full hearing of both sides the board made its award on the 6th. It allows an increase in wages and recommends the abolishment of an "employes'" benevolent organization which the companies had organized. The increase in wages is to be in effect from September 15, 1902, to May 31, 1904.

The arbitration of the coal strike in France (p. 471) has not been so successful, at least from the point of view of the strikers. Coming to the conclusion that the rates of wages were already proportionate to the selling price of coal, the arbitrators decided against an increase of wages, and the strikers refused to abide by the award. Violence in the French coal regions has consequently been renewed, and the French government is meeting it with a military force. Several clashes between the military and the miners have since occurred.

On the 7th a resolution for the appointment of a commission of 33 deputies to investigate and report upon the condition of the miners was adopted by the chamber of deputies by a vote of 367 to 148.

One of the members of the new chamber of deputies in France, Count Boni de Castellane, son-in-law of the late Jay Gould, of Gould and Fisk fame, was expelled from that body on the 7th for having secured his election by disreputable campaigning. The vote on his expulsion stood at 278 to 238. He had been elected from the department of Basses-Alpes, in southeastern France, as a royalist.

Spain is passing through a cabinet crisis, the nature of which is not clearly defined by the cable dispatches. It appears, however, to involve the democratic leanings of the premier, Sagasta. On the 9th, at a cabinet council, all the ministers placed their resignations at the disposal of Sagasta, and on the 10th he presented them, along with his own, to the king. He was invited by the king on the 11th to form a new cabinet, which it is believed will be more democratic than the one that has just resigned.

Germany is coming under the shadow of hard times; Finland is rising against Russian domination, and her people are making affiliations with Russian revolutionists; Ireland is virtually under martial law and her leading men are in jail for exercising the right of free speech; while a majority of 119—222 to 103—in the British parliament has agreed upon a system of closure under which the pending education bill can be rushed through by the end of the month. This bill is objected to as providing for the support of denominational schools—most of which are attached to the Church of England—out of the public funds, and as being calculated to subject the public schools to the dominion of that denomination.

Parliament voted \$40,000,000 on the 5th for the relief of South African sufferers by the war. Of this amount \$15,000,000 is a grant to the Boers; \$10,000,000 to British sufferers; and \$15,000,000 for loans to Boers as promised them in the terms of surrender.

Relative to the report (p. 471) that Portugal has by secret treaty ceded

her possessions in East Africa to Great Britain and Germany, the Portuguese minister to France was reported on the 11th from Paris as making a positive denial. His denial is cabled in these words:

There is not one word of truth in the report. I am convinced such reports are put into circulation for speculative purposes. Portugal has not the slightest intention of parting with her colonial possessions, nor any portion of them, either to Britain or to any other power. Furthermore, to prevent any possibility of error or misunderstanding, I may assure you that the British government has never made any proposition directly or indirectly concerning Portuguese territory in Africa.

In Somaliland, Col. Swayne has been displaced by Gen. Manning as commander of the British forces against the "mad Mullah" (p. 471). Col. Swayne returns to England while Gen. Manning is preparing to make an advance against the Mullah about the 27th of November.

Mail advices from Australia are to the effect that the long tariff fight in the parliament of the Australian Commonwealth (vol. iv., pp. 441, 488) has come to a conclusion which satisfies no one and threatens the perpetuity of the federation. The bill was introduced in the parliament on the 8th of October, 1901, and was under discussion until the 1st of October, 1902, when it finally passed. The ministry being protectionist, the bill was framed as a protection measure; but as the lower house, while nominally protectionist, was subject to the balance of power of the Labor party, composed in part of free traders, the bill was necessarily made somewhat moderate in its protectionism; and as the free traders were in control of the upper house, many reductions of rates have been conceded, which still further moderates the protectionism of the measure. Consequently, in its final form, it pleases nobody. The rates are still too high to satisfy free traders, while no protectionists are protected as much as they want to be and some are not protected at all.

News about the Venezuelan insurrection, which was reported last week (p. 486) to have been at last suppressed, is conflicting. About all that can be affirmed is that Gen. Matos was not captured, as at first reported, but that his army has disappeared, and that President Castro re-

turned on the 9th to the capital, Caracas, in triumph.

A naval battle took place in the Colombian war on the 11th off Panama, between the government fleet and two insurgent schooners. The government fleet was commanded by an American, Capt. Marmaduke, and the principal vessel was manned by Americans. This vessel was originally the "Jessie Banning" of Seattle. About two months ago Capt. Marmaduke, who had served in the Confederate navy, arranged with the Colombian minister to the United States to equip and man the vessel for the Colombian government. The offer was accepted and the Banning was fitted up and equipped at San Francisco and renamed the "Bogota." She arrived at Panama on the 27th of October. Capt. Marmaduke was at once put in command of the fleet and began cruising for insurgent vessels and on the 11th the battle already mentioned occurred. One American, Richard Kane, armorer of the "Bogota," was killed.

NEWS NOTES.

—The American Bankers' association met at New Orleans on the 11th.

—A Federal judge in San Francisco granted a permanent injunction on the 11th against the salt trust under the Sherman anti-trust act of Congress.

—Mrs. Maria Fox Smith, one of the Fox sisters once famous as the originators of the Rochester spirit rappings, died at Newark, N. Y., on the 4th at the age of 85 years.

—On the 6th the time for ratification of the treaty between Denmark and the United States for the transfer to the latter of the Danish West Indies (p. 472) was extended until November 19, 1903.

—The Swedish government has decided to convert the 4,200 miles of government owned railways in that country into electric traction systems for the purpose of utilizing the natural water power of the country.

—An investigation at the war department sustains the accusations of the anti-imperialistic committee (p. 391), charging cruelty inflicted officially upon a Catholic priest in the Philippines, who died under the ordeal. The report of the department was made public on the 8th.

—By a temporary injunction order the auditor and the treasurer of Cleveland, O., have been forbidden to pay the expenses of Mayor Johnson's tax bureau, under the management of Peter Witt, which has disclosed the

inequalities of taxation that prevail in that city. The question of making the injunction permanent is still pending.

—The monthly statement of the treasury department for October shows on hand October 30:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash balance.....	203,421,878 30
Total.....	\$353,421,878 30
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902.....	358,574,115 85
Decrease.....	\$2,152,237 55

—At the election in the Territory of Hawaii, as reported by mail at San Francisco on the 12th, the Republicans elected "Prince Cupid," a native royal Hawaiian, as delegate to Congress in place of the present incumbent, Robert W. Wilcox, by a majority of 2,000. The Territorial legislature will be strongly Republican. This is a victory for Gov. Dole, who represents the idea of centralized government.

—The Chicago Teachers' Federation decided on the 9th to affiliate with the Federation of Labor. The vote at the meeting was reported as unanimous, but a diversity of opinion on the subject and no little bitterness has since developed. The president of the teachers' federation, Ella A. Rowe, has resigned in consequence, and Miss Louie L. Kilbourne has taken her place. Miss Kilbourne favors the affiliation.

—The Referendum League of Illinois, of which Daniel L. Cruice is president, and which has managed so successfully the campaigns under the advisory referendum law, is preparing for a referendum campaign in Chicago next spring upon the following proposals: (1) The immediate ownership and operation of the street railway system of Chicago by the people; (2) direct election of members of the school board by the people; and (3) the opening of the school buildings to the public for the discussion of economic, social and taxation questions.

—The October treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government for the four months ending October 30, 1902, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff.....	\$103,950,452 19
Internal revenue.....	79,410,114 51
Miscellaneous.....	14,492,550 89
	\$197,853,117 59
Expenses:	
Civil and misc.....	\$42,339,261 42
War.....	46,845,803 77
Navy.....	27,375,266 62
Indians.....	5,046,222 73
Pensions.....	47,409,086 44
Interest.....	16,228,233 78
	\$184,325,969 81
Surplus.....	\$13,527,147 78

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE OHIO ELECTION.
Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Nov. 7.—It is a safe guess that the Democrats of Ohio will take no backward steps. Mr. Johnson or someone standing for the great principles for which Mr. Johnson stands

in all political likelihood will be nominated for governor of Ohio next year. We believe Mr. Johnson himself will be the man. And we believe that in the great struggle which his nomination will bring on the powers of plutocracy will not be strong enough to prevail against him.

Farmers' Voice and National Rural (Chicago. Agr'l), Nov. 8.—The fact that Mr. Johnson fought the machine Democracy with even greater vigor than he did Republican policies—in short, that he fought solely for principles, caring naught for results so long as the people had presented to them right ideas—will go far toward holding him high in the esteem of that wing of the Democratic party known as the "New Democracy," whose chief slogan is human rights.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Nov. 8.—Let it not be forgotten that Tom L. Johnson lives in Cleveland and that the election results in Cleveland and Cuyahoga county are eminently satisfactory to Tom L. Johnson as well as to all true Democrats. Let it not be forgotten that throughout the northern tier of counties where Johnson devoted a considerable amount of time with his tent, Democratic gains were general. Let it not be forgotten that John R. McLean controls all over the state a large number of erstwhile politicians and he has also a large number of sincere but misguided friends who have not yet found him out, and these were thrown into the balance against the Democratic ticket. . . . But Tom Johnson has shown that he could cut down the Republican plurality where he controlled the organization.

THE RHODE ISLAND ELECTION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, Nov. 10.—The first outright single tax governor ever chosen in America has been elected in Rhode Island on the Democratic ticket by a phenomenal majority in the person of Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, a veteran in the Henry George ranks. He has been prominently identified with the single tax agitation almost from its very inception.

Omaha World Herald (Dem.), Nov. 11.—The Lincoln (Neb.) Journal "points with pride" to the fact that Rhode Island was the only Northern State that elected a Democratic governor. The Lincoln Journal, and other Republican organs, might learn something to their advantage if they understood the fact that the Democratic governor of Rhode Island was elected on the Kansas City platform.

THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

Kansas City (Mo.) World (Dem.), Nov. 6.—From a Democratic standpoint the result is better as it is than it would have been had the Democrats elected a majority of the lower house of Congress. The Republicans now have everything in their own hands and must stand or fall on their own record. If they fail, as the World believes they will, to solve the trust problem; if they fail to check the imperialistic tendencies of the present national policy; if they fail to give the people a more equitable and just tariff, they will be swept from power in 1904.

DAVID B. HILL.

Albany (N. Y.) Argus (Dem.), Nov. 11.—In justice to our own reputation for party fealty, in justice to the Democratic party of the State, we must, if we hope ever again to participate in the affairs of the nation, be rid of David B. Hill as our State leader. Overboard with our Jonah!

"Well, hasn't Busyman the necessary conscientious scruples to keep him from serving on a jury?"

"No. The trouble is he has conscientious scruples about having conscientious scruples."—Puck.

MISCELLANY

MY COUNTRY UP TO DATE.

For The Public.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Land of monopoly,
Of thee I sing—
Land where the young and old
Worship the God of gold,
And do as they are told
By the political ring.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Land of monopoly,
Here's to your health—
Land where the tariff's wall
Protects us one and all,
From the enslaving thrall
Of Europe's wealth.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Land where the noble free
Their race have run.
They are supplanted by
Bosses and barons high,
Who live and preach a lie,
And take the bun.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Land of democracy,
That flourished here.
Gone are our equal rights;
Replaced by civil fights.
Ye gods! What fearful sights
Surround us here!

My country, 'tis of thee—
Forever more with thee,
I take my stand.
How can there freedom be
Where men must bend the knee?
There's no equality
Without the land.

My country, 'tis of thee—
Rise from thy lethargy,
And man the heights.
Rise in thy glorious power,
This very day and hour,
And to thy sons restore
Their natural rights!

MALCOLM H. M'DOWELL.

THE SOCIAL THIEVES.

From advance sheets of "The Game of Life," a new book of fables, by Bolton Hall, to be published soon by the Wessels company.

"Morality nothin'," said the Artful Dodger; "it's how to make a livin'; it's for revenue only. I've always supported the grand old Fagin party. Why, the people doesn't even feel what we takes; but Bill Sykes wants to rob 'em."

"Rob!" said Nancy, "it's an income tax we collects; when Bill cracks a crib the blokes pays accordin' to their ability."

"Inheritances is fairer," said Noah Claypole; "I knocks down the children and grabs their pennies. They don't earn what they have, and we swipes only a part of it."

"But Bill don't give no accidental protection," said Charlotte. "Now,

our tariff makes work, takin' the names off the handkerchieves."

"Well," said Oliver Twist, "of course I pick pockets, but I've no share in this wickedness. I act only in an administrative capacity. I'm a mere tax collector. It's the foreigners pays the taxes, anyhow."

ABOUT TWENTY-FOUR YEARS FROM NOW.

It was high noon in the palatial offices of the Hot and Coal Air Trust Operator, No. 1.

The great man himself had just come in, and, after carefully drawing his day's profits from the safe, sat reading his morning's mail.

A messenger approached.

"Sir, there's a man outside to see you."

"Who is he?"

"The president of the United States." The great personage frowned.

"That fellow," he said, ominously, "has been hanging around here for a week. Tell him to be off. I have nothing for him!"—Life.

TRUE LIES.

For The Public.

The editor of that Luminary which shines for Oil, and if you see it in it, it may be so, looked black; his table looked black; the floor looked black. On his table, weltering in a continent of ink which bore a semblance to a map of Darkest America or the Anthracite Region, lay his editorial on "Why the Rich grow Richer and Editorials Poorer."

"Nixie!" he yelled in a charge-up San-Juan-Hill tone of voice; "Nixie!"

There was a gleam of light in the room. It was Nixie's head.

"Will I come in?"

"God knows," said the editor, still retaining his hold on the English language.

"Nixie, I suppose the cat did that?"

"Nope; I done it," said Nixie, allowing the English language perfect freedom. "You said I wasn't never to touch nothin' on your desk, no matter wot happened; and as I was a-sweepin' out, and a-practicin' a walz wit' de broom, I stubbed me toe and butted over yer ink well. I seen it looked bad, but ye told me I'd never make a new style editor if I thought fer meself; but jist to draw me pay and foller orders. An' that's wot I done."

The editor sat thoughtful, with his toe in the Stygian lake upon the floor, and the going out of Nixie was as the fading of the twilight.

C. E. S. WOOD.

SACRED RIGHTS.

An extract from a sermon delivered by Jenkin Lloyd Jones in All Souls church, Chicago, October 12, as published in Unity of October 23.

"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." This has been, in the estimation of the ages, high poetry; it is now coming to be estimated as cold science. It has been a line from a great hymn of praise; it is becoming an affirmation of sociology, a principle in economics. The Almighty, or Nature, if you prefer, never issued a quit-claim deed of the coal mines or any other of the great fundamental necessities of life to the coal barons of Pennsylvania or to any other set of individuals or corporations. Earth, air and water are the physical essentials of life, as they are the great universal bounties of nature; and the ultimate foundation of any claim to a right to possess or control any part of these by individuals, must rest in the assumption that they can thus be better administered for the public good than they could be by the body politic or collective control. And when any presumptive owner fails to administer these fundamental necessities of life to the advantage of the entire community, the commonwealth, the great original inheritors of the earth and "the fullness thereof," his title becomes clouded. And when he refuses or fails to administer this bounty, and claims the right to deny it to helpless women and children, homes of honest workers, school rooms and public institutions wherein are confined the helpless wards of the public, his claim becomes not only insolent, but criminal. We hear much said in these days about the "sacred rights of property." All rights are sacred. Civilization has largely depended upon the recognition of the rights of the individual to conserve his energies, his morals, his sagacity and his wisdom, in short, to hold property. But there is a more fundamental right, the sacred right to life, and whenever the rights of property stand in the way of this prior right to life, it must stand out of the way. Particularly is this principle true in regard to the ownership of that which man has not created and cannot duplicate, aye, which God Himself, so far as this world is concerned, is not creating any more, for Nature has gone out of the coal-making business; she is planting no more fern forests, and the crust of this old earth has become too stiff to give the

subsidence and elevation necessary to produce coal.

The title to real estate, either legal or moral, as every great jurist and moralist is prompt to recognize, is a short and at best a dubious one. At the farther end of every deed on mine or forest, oil well or prairie, there is darkness, cruelty, wrong; there is the selfishness of grab, the savagery of conquest, the treachery of invasion. These clouded titles are made good only by the intelligent consent of the most conservative government on the score that the present administration is justified by its utility to the state, its service to the whole. But whenever the individual possessor of any wealth forgets his trusteeship, violates the confidence imposed in him, perverts his privileges and uses his power to the hurt of society, he forfeits his title. It is a high and delicate question for the state to decide how far such perversion shall be allowed to go on before it asserts its primal right of "Eminent Domain," reclaims the stolen goods and restores them to the original and fundamental owners—the whole public, the great onward flowing stream of life, the elevation of which is the goal of all the travail of nature and of human nature.

TYPICAL AMERICAN SLANG.

The following choice bit of slangy eloquence, spontaneous and sincere, is credited by the Chicago Chronicle to William Devery, ex-Superintendent of Police, of New York city.

"Some time ago," remarked "Big Bill" Devery recently in discussing the election, "I said that David B. Hill was a political holdout man who wouldn't go into the game unless he could feel the marks on the cards through a pair of boxing gloves. He had the cards marked this time, all right, but one night after he had been smoking political dope and was shaking hands with himself in the white house somebody stole the deck from under his liver pad and changed the marks.

"I ain't playing no searchlights on myself as a prophet, but Hill's finish was as plain to me all through this campaign as the Flatiron building is to a man in front of the Fifth Avenue hotel. He rung the bell at the front door of the morgue the day he passed me along in the convention at Saratoga. After this his address is 'D. B. Hill, Deadhouse, Compartment No. 13; Handle With Care.'

"Ever since he has been in politics Hill has held a red hand, consisting of four diamonds and a heart. The Democrats have thought all along that in Hill they were holding five diamonds. Sometimes they have carried off a bluff with it and sometimes they have stayed out and let the other fellows chip along, but this year they had to show their four-flush when Odell called them and the Republicans won with a pair of nines.

"It's a funny thing," Mr. Devery went on, "how a human refrigerator like Hill has been able to make people think he was a real live one for so many years. Ever shake hands with Hill? No? Ever go into a market on a cold morning and pick up a fish? Yes? Then you've shaken hands with Hill.

"Up there in Saratoga I stood out on the platform and told Dave Hill that I demanded justice from him. I looked right at him when I said it. Did he look at me? It ain't necessary to give the answer. He looked into Tom Grady's ear like a boy looking into a picture machine. He couldn't look anybody in the face.

"When I said you couldn't elect a bald-headed man president I spoke the truth, but I was talking particularly about a bald-headed man like Hill. Whenever you see a man get bald in front first, so his forehead looks like half of a football, it's a bad sign. And when you scramble that up with a pair of eyes that work like the pendulum on a clock there's a combination to run around a corner and hide behind a tree from.

"Of course Hill won't stand pat and admit that he lost. He is doing the old stunt—hollering fire from under the bed. When Bryan was 'it' in the Democratic party Hill got into his cage up in Wolfert's Roost, locked the doors on the inside and the only time people knew he was alive was when they heard him snore.

"This year he thought there was a chance to get busy. He gets his 'I am a Democrat' sign out, puts some axle grease on his peanut cart and goes up and down the State telling people that he sets a better table at his house than Ben Odell sets. I don't think anybody believed him at that. He looks like he lived on cracked ice and olives.

"The picture men will have to revise Dave now. They'll have to put crape on his peanut hat and hang a sign on him reading: 'I am a load for a hearse.'"

THE ELECTION IN OHIO.

From the Cleveland Recorder, of Wednesday, November 5.

Tom L. Johnson has, for the fourth consecutive time, been handsomely indorsed by the people of Cleveland. He has every reason to be happy over the result. It should be remembered that when he began his campaign for mayor less than two years ago, there was not a Democrat in the courthouse, and it had been demonstrated that it was impossible to elect a Democrat in the city on a straight issue. Johnson was elected mayor, and he has carried with him the city and county ticket four times in succession. This is a record which ought to be very gratifying and of which any man ought to be proud.

Never, at any time, in the history of the county, have the Democrats had more than one of the common pleas judges. In a very few months there will be five judges of that party on the bench, four on the common pleas bench and one in the insolvency room. For 54 years there has been a succession of Republican county treasurers. Now there is a Democrat in that office and a clerk of the courts, two county commissioners, the county auditor and county solicitor. This is a record which is wonderful to contemplate when it is understood that the county has been Republican for generations.

The combination which was against the Democrats in the state of Ohio this year was a very hard one to meet and that the Democrats did not win out with no money and no organization is not at all strange. Tom L. Johnson went forth to fight the combined railroad interests of the state on the question of taxation. He antagonized the street car interests and all the other vested special rights. He not only had Boss Cox against him in Cincinnati, but also hand and hand with Cox was Boss Bernard and his master, John R. McLean. It was attempted to do in Cincinnati to Johnson what was done in Cuyahoga county to McLean. That the elements of evil there succeeded is no more than what was to have been expected.

That a brilliant preacher, who has been storming the castles of evil for a long time in Cincinnati should have found serious antagonism among the bosses and beer guzzlers of the wickedest city in America no more than was to have been expected. It was

not strange, either, that the hypocrites who parade under the cloak of religion should fight him. The slaves are not yet ready for redemption. The brave preacher made the fight alone and single handed and he will be on hand to do some more fighting when the occasion arises.

Men are much in any battle, but they are not by any means all. The truth of a cause is the real thing which must make it finally win or lose. A change so radical and gigantic as is involved in the adoption of the ideas of Henry George into our civic life and government cannot be brought about in a minute. The forces of evil, the money which has been stolen from the people by the special privileges which entrenched conservatism has enjoyed, all join hands to fight the adoption of a new idea. Walter Bagehot declares that the "greatest pain to the human mind is the pain of a new idea." It is so disturbing to all that has been in the mind before. It must fight its way and make room among the rubbish which has lodged there. But if it is true it will finally find a permanent lodgment. If it cannot demonstrate its truth there is little use in promulgating it.

When a cause gets far enough along to make it seem likely that it will be able to win some victories at the polls there are always a swarm of hirelings who see nothing in the whole business except that they may foist themselves upon the public in the capacity of office holders. These men only clog the advance chariot wheels of truth. It is only what has always been and what must always be that all things must be proved and only the good will be held fast.

Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and
within the dim unknown
Sitteth God behind the shadow, keeping
watch above His own.

Those who see in the movement in Ohio only the personal ambition of Tom L. Johnson and his desire to be president, mistake both his motive and the cause for which he stands. They have never had any reason to thus regard the situation. He has given no encouragement to anything of that sort. If he had been personally ambitious, he would doubtless have compromised with evil. He would have coddled Democrats wherever he has found them. He would

have made friends with McLean and all the Lewis Bernards in the state and would have defended all the Democratic auditors who have favored the railroads. But the cause is greater than the man and the man is himself great enough to dare to do right. The people do not now comprehend it all but they will vindicate it some time.

After all how small a thing it is to be this or that, to hold this or that office. There are men who have been in the greatest positions which the world has known and are simply contemptible, while the men who have dared to stand for the right and to defy the powers of evil are honored and loved by mankind. It is a great deal better to be right than to be president.

A VISIT TO THE STRIKE REGIONS BEFORE THE STRIKE WAS SETTLED.

For The Public.

On October 8 I took train for Wilkesbarre, Pa., the heart of the striking coal mine region. I went to see with my own eyes and taste with my own taste the condition of the striking miners. I wanted to reach a conclusion also as to whether or not the miners could hold out until next fall, if necessary; and I also wished to know concerning the exigency of their just demand for an increase in wages and for an honest weight of the coal they mined.

I reached these conclusions: If the donations of the supporting unions continue in their present amount, the miners can continue their strike (as they will not starve to death) almost indefinitely—"until next summer," as some of the poor fellows put it. The week I was there each man received \$1.25, and each child 35 cents—the total, \$1.60, supporting the father, mother and child; and if more children, an addition of 35 cents per child. But I did not base my conclusions entirely on these figures; to really know how near a family is to starving to death you "must eat with the family," and you must eat with it unexpectedly. I did that.

Landing in Wilkesbarre at 6:30 a. m., I applied for admission at the gate of the coal breaker as a newspaper correspondent. The gatekeeper said "No," and he emphasized it by giving me an opportunity to look down the barrel of a revolver held extended by his right hand. I told him the gun was a nice looking one, etc., and then asked him if he would be kind enough

to direct me to the office of the coal company. He dropped the gun, gave me the direction and an hour later I was told by the superintendent of the company "to come around again in a day or two," and I took that medicine quietly and spat it out after I had left the office, as I knew it meant "No." Failing with the operators, I had but to affiliate with miners to discover as to whether many miners were at work. I went to Nanticoke, 44 miles below Wilkesbarre, where the miners said the condition was the worst in the district. Nanticoke is a city, or borough, as they call it, of 14,000 people, about one-half Polocks and their families—the lowest class of miners. One of the miners, a foreman whom I employed as guide, admitted me to dinner at his home, and the menu his wife had prepared was, in their nomenclature, sowbelly and beans, bread and warmed-over coffee; no sugar, no milk, nothing else.

After dinner he took me to the company house, where exist the thousands of Polock miners and their families. The Polock localities are designated as "Scalpertown" and "Boartown," the former a settlement of huts on a few contiguous streets, about 600 huts in number. Each hut is built of upright planks, battened and whitewashed on the outside, now yellow or gray with exposure. The huts are about 12 feet high in front, possibly 12 feet wide, with roof sloping to within a few feet of the ground; 30 feet back, and upstairs about one and one-half rooms; downstairs not three decent rooms. The coal companies provide about as good quarters for their mules in a big barn 500 feet from the human quarters. I ate supper with one of these Polock families, wife, husband and four children. The menu was bread, warmed over coffee, water, a modicum of milk.

The excellence of the above menu consists in the sharp appetite one always has just after eating. "You rise from the table," as the physical culture people say, "hungry." The above four little ones looked as if they had been hungry for five months.

No, the miners will not be starved to death. Yes, they can hold out, if necessary, till next summer, provided they don't freeze to death; and they will not freeze to death, I can assert most emphatically. On the other side of an alley wall in the rear of the huts and back of nearly all the company huts, is a coal box about 6x6x7, made of rough boards and roofed over, some smaller and some larger. These were

the miners' outside coal bins, and each bin, 600 about in all, was nearly filled to the top with coal. I could see it through the cracks of the weather-beaten boards. In the back room and sometimes in the cellar the miners also have a ton, a half ton, or two or more tons of coal. A humane superintendent has permitted these miners, men, women and children, for the last five months to pick the coal from the great culm heaps, a mile in circumference at the base, and 500 feet high—refuse slate, dust, now and then a piece of coal—all coughed up by the big, black coal breakers.

At noon hundreds of men, women and children climb down from the sides of these big black mountains, carrying baskets, coal scuttles and bags full of coal. Many a baby wagon drawn by the father and pushed by the mother and children, loaded with bags and baskets of coal, passed me on the way home. Night and day, for five months, the miners and their families have been picking out patiently, piece by piece, the coal from these great heaps of refuse. A family of four can on an average pick possibly a quarter of a ton a day. On pleasant evenings the black culm heaps are dotted with more stars than the skies above—the fathers, mothers and little children are picking coal till midnight by the light of the miners' lamps.

No, the miner will neither starve nor freeze. In the winter and during the wet weather, the condition of their homes is awful; and the long, sloping roofs leak like griddles; mud is everywhere about them. They pay in rent for these huts \$5.50 or \$6.50 per month, according to location. Five months' rent is due. When settlement of the strike comes, as it now seems to be approaching, a new problem will confront the poor miners. How much from their wages must they yield weekly to make up rent arrears? It seems to me they can yield nothing, as they are now living so close to the starvation line. When the father works he will need more food, and then he will have the rent as well as the back rent to meet. I pity the rest of the family.

A. P. POTTER.

LAND AND REFORM IN ARGENTINA. For The Public.

A brief glance at history may be useful in finding the cause of the present land distribution in the Argentine Republic. After the conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro, the conquered territory was distributed among his sol-

diers according to rank. To each of these estates, or "repartimientos" of land, were attached a certain number of aborigines as serfs. The feudal system was thus inaugurated with few of the checks to excessive oppression that existed in Europe. The repartimiento system, inaugurated in Peru, was before long extended into Argentina as far as the territory of the semi-civilized tribes extended, or the northwest arid region. The fertile, well-watered valley of the River Platte, and the desolate uplands of Patagonia, were then ranged by savage Indians, who were not finally conquered till long after the throwing off of the Spanish yoke, in 1810. For the semi-civilized tribes the Spanish conquest meant only a substitution of a European soldier for the native cacique as taskmaster; but the former exploited for personal gain alone, while the latter's mastery was as a social service.

The feudal land system, begun in monarchical days, was continued with the republic, though serfs and slaves have long since become free. The conquered land in the provinces* was already mostly held as private estates, the remnant, as it was won by degrees from the Indians, was sold off in blocks, with a square league (10.42 square miles) as a unit, at a nominal price. Army officers and speculators were often given "an inside track" at these sales. After the conquest of Patagonia by Gen. Roca in 1885, the army received a vast grant, to be selected at pleasure. Gen. Roca had 100 square leagues, colonels, five; lieutenant colonels, four; majors, three; captains, two, and lieutenants, one, with lesser areas to lower ranks. These grants were exempted for two generations from taxation, if held in the family of the recipient. There are some tracts yet held in common by Indian tribes in the provinces, as well as on the reservations in the territories.

The system of "colonies" is the method adopted by the nation to encourage agricultural settlements, and there were 735 colonies in 1895, against 53 in 1872. Outside of the 29 colonies of the government they are owned by speculators who handle tracts obtained cheaply from the government or from estancieros (estate owners). Each settler obtains a farm of 20 to 34 hectares (2.47 acres) in the provinces, or 100 hectares in the territor-

*At present there are 14 provinces, nine national territories and one federal district.

ies. The payments for the land extend over ten years, and the speculator usually loans tools and seeds, to make the first crop. The improvements of the first settlers in a colony cause the remaining land to be more valuable, and the speculator gets the benefit. In the provinces land now sells for five dollars (gold) to \$60 a hectare, with lower prices in the territories.

As to the size of holdings, in 1889 in the 14 provinces (exclusive of the capital city), there were 355,934 proprietors, owning 161,371,904 hectares, an average of 454 hectares (1¼ square miles) each. If the figures of the small colonial holdings and the town lots in cities and towns were subtracted, the average individual holding of the bulk of the land would be greater than three square miles. In recent years the government has rented some of its land. The rented area in 1900 amounted to 1,092 square leagues.

Two industrial advantages can be claimed for the large estate system of land ownership, namely, preservation of natural fertility and increased productivity, through intelligent and wealthy owners. These advantages apply more especially to pastoral estates, as in soil cultivation only the latter has any significance, and its value is usually largely outweighed by the increased returns from small holdings by the cultivator himself, as the tenant system in feudal countries shows. In the western United States, the government land remained open to all stockmen on equal terms, until gradually fenced in by the advancing farms of homesteaders. This has resulted (largely through overcrowding of the ranges) in the destruction of the pasturage, many regions formerly feeding 300 cattle per square mile, now grazing barely 30, or perhaps rendered a complete desert. Long ago, before extensive European emigration, the ownership of an estate was an inducement for educated families to go to Argentina, and with their new power they were enabled to introduce scientific stock raising and improved breeds of live stock, by the importation of European thoroughbreds. These advantages, however, could have been all gained by the leasing of the land in large tracts (with the privilege of fencing) to the estancieros, such leases to continue until the land was needed for agricultural homesteaders.

The principal evils produced by the feudal land division in recent years are four, namely, (1) social caste; (2)

disastrous speculation; (3) restriction of immigration; (4) high railroad rates.

1. Whatever advantage the feudal caste system may have had in the early semi-anarchical days of a few whites among many Indians, it is an anachronism, in the modern republic of Argentina, bidding for immigration as a refuge from European aggression. And the estancieros, with a feudal nobility's contempt for honest toil, are an obstacle to industrial progress.

2. The disastrous speculation culminated in the early nineties with the Baring Bros.' failure. The story of national and provincial mortgage banks, loaning cedulas (land bonds) to land holders, on their estates, at inflated valuations, with the subsequent unloading of these cedulas on credulous European investors, is well known. Less well known is the long continued subsequent industrial paralysis; the resulting government debts. The national debt alone in 1900 was \$440,000,000, which is 15 per cent. of the national wealth* as compared with two per cent. for the United States, 12 per cent. for France, and eight per cent. for Australia; and a per capita debt** of \$100, as against \$26.50 for the United States, \$157.50 for France, and \$115 for Australia. Of Australia's debt, a large part represents railroads and other productive enterprises, which form an insignificant factor in Argentina. The total public debt (including provincial and municipal) was \$763,338,352.85 on December 31, 1900, or about \$173 per capita.

3. The occupation of the Plate Valley by great estates entails a scanty population where used only as stock ranges, and where rented to agricultural tenants the immigrant finds he has but changed from the control of a European baron to that of an Argentine estanciero, or has jumped from the frying pan into the fire. The land of the agricultural colonies is usually too high priced in the provinces, and in the territories too remote, arid or unhealthy, to compete with the average colonist against the cheap lands of Canada, or South Africa. This fact is noticeable in the immigration returns. An undue proportion of recent arrivals remain in Buenos Ayres, causing a phenomenal growth, while the sparsely settled country districts received a minority of the 292,281 immigrants (net) entering from 1895 to 1899. Of these 60 per cent. were

Italians, 25 per cent. Spaniards, 3 to 4 per cent. French, and 2 per cent. each of Russians and Turks. The civilization hence tends to remain Latin, with Italians predominating.* Land monopoly also tends to keep down wages, here as everywhere. On the farms of South Cordoba, peons receive \$7 to \$12 per month (with board), and in the wheat and flax districts, around Santa Fe, \$10 to \$13. During harvest \$28 to \$45 a month is paid labor, and this attracts Spaniards and Italians, who come out annually and return after the crops are gathered. In the agricultural district of Mendoza in 1902, a wine cultivator received only 21 cents a day and board (against 15 cents per day that he had formerly received in Italy); and in the sugar region of Tucuman, Italian peons receive 45 cents, and natives 30 cents (both with rations). Foreign carpenters, blacksmiths and other skilled trades receive \$1.75 to \$2 a day in Buenos Ayres and Rosario, and \$1.58 in Cordoba. These wages compare favorably with the southern United States, but production per capita would raise wages to the Dakota level, if land was not monopolized.

4. The sparse population of course makes traffic per mile of railroad light, and accounts for high freight charges. The government made the economic mistake of allowing private capital to own the railroads of the fertile districts while its own lines were through deserts, when the ownership of both would have made the profits in the former pay the deficit in the latter. It may be said in passing that the charters of the privately owned railroads safeguard the public interest much better than similar documents in the United States. The government has usually guaranteed five to seven per cent. interest on average costs of \$50,000 per mile for a period of 20 years after completion; the interest advanced by the government, to be repaid from subsequent profits. The rates for freight and passengers are to be fixed by the government, if the profit exceeds a certain (usually 10) per cent. on the first cost. Land grants (except for right of way) were given only to the "Central Argentine," one of the pioneer companies, which received 900,000 acres. The companies all import supplies duty free, and are also

*In 1886 was \$3,080,000,000 (Mulhall).

**Population, 1900, 4,400,000 (estimated).

*The 1895 census gave 2,950,384 Argentines, 492,636 Italians, 198,686 Spaniards, 94,086 French, 21,788 English, 17,143 Germans.

exempt from taxation for a certain period.

An example for American cities are the public safeguards in the Buenos Ayres street railroads, for each charter requires the company to pay the city 6 per cent. of gross receipts; \$50 per square of single track on paved streets; 33 1-3 per cent. of cost of paving whole width of streets; 0.5 per cent. of total value property tax; right to fix fares retained by the city.

The Argentine Republic is now suffering from an immense burden of debt, a lack of confidence in new enterprises, a chronically depleted treasury, and insufficient immigration. Drought and locusts, physical calamities, have been somewhat responsible for the above conditions. The remedies suggested below, will, in the writer's opinion, cure the complaints of the nation so far as they are curable.

The reforms needed are four, viz.: Fiscal, Political, Educational and Industrial.

The present taxation, like that of most governments, is a patchwork of inconsistencies. Of the total* national revenue of \$59,500,000 in 1901, \$28,000,000 came from the import tariff, \$14,000,000 from internal revenue, on spirits, tobacco and matches, nearly \$3,000,000 from stamped paper, while only \$800,000** came from a direct property tax. The national taxes are 70 per cent. of the total. The provinces have merchant licenses,*** provincial stamped paper, court fines, and a general property tax of 0.5 of one per cent. usually. The municipalities tax public franchises, and charge separate rates for use of public water, police, etc. The latter are the fairest of all.

The introduction of the Single Tax is the solution of the fiscal problem. This will require no sudden changes, or new legal machinery, but simply the assessment of the present national and provincial property taxes on unimproved land values only, and the gradual increase of the tax rate to absorb a sufficient proportion of the total economic rent to permit the abolition of all other taxes. Import

*Excluding revenue of railroads and other productive enterprises.

**From land in the national territories and federal district only.

***These vary from \$50 to \$1,000 each. The most ridiculous is the license of traveling drummers. For example, Salta province charges \$200 license every six months to each trader for every house represented.

duties on all necessities not produced locally should be speedily abolished, and primarily those on lumber, fuel, iron and machinery, which throttle building and manufacturing. The duty on luxuries and the internal revenue taxes, except the absurd trade licenses, can be retained until the land tax becomes adequate to warrant their abolition. As for the tariff for protecting "infant" industries,* it could be preserved until either these were strong enough to walk alone, or being unsuited to the country, had best be left to die a speedy death.

The increasing land tax would cause not only the sale of speculative holdings, but also the rapid transformation of the pastoral estates (wherever land is suitable) into cultivated fields, and this would cause a tremendous influx of immigrants to take advantages of either** the cheapest land, or the higher wages produced therefrom. The lowering of railroad freights made possible by increased traffic would yet more accelerate prosperity, as it would render desirable territorial lands now too remote for profit.

The government treasury, then filled to overflowing from a source now almost exempt, could not only easily meet current expenses and interest charges on its debt, but would be able to rapidly reduce the principal. The rapidly increasing producing population would hasten the process.

In politics, the most pressing need is to induce immigrants to become Argentine voters,*** for the European,

*The sugar industry of Tucuman is a curious example of an entirely artificial business, as the land used, formerly covered with vineyards and orange groves, is unsuitable for economic sugar raising. The protective duty of 1.2 cents per pound (which Argentine consumers pay) has stimulated domestic production beyond the market needs, so prices are becoming unprofitable through competition. It has been seriously proposed by a government leader to destroy 20 per cent. of the sugar lands, compensating the owners at \$5 the hectare, and raising the necessary funds by an extra tax of one cent per Kg., to be paid by the Argentine consumer. This is a remedy of that school of economics that advocates war to produce prosperity.

**Under the Single Tax the immigrant would gain as much, whether laborer on a large plantation, or cultivator of his own farm; often the character of land, or population makes the former the most feasible system.

***In 1896, of over a million aliens, only 1,638 were naturalized. This undoubtedly springs from two causes: first, an expectation of many to return and die in their home land; second, a desire to escape conscription, and a distrust of the stability and fairness of the Argentine government. The naturalization movement needs for success the cooperation of prominent aliens.

even though Latin, would not as tamely submit to a military oligarchy as does the Spanish-American half-breed Indian. Civil service reform would soon establish economy and efficiency in administration, instead of their present opposite, as it has already done where applied in England and the United States. The collection of all the tax from land values will render even the poorer provinces independent of national grants for education, etc., which have been one of the main factors for the establishment of unlawful federal interference in local government. The extension of more self-government to municipalities and counties will also guard against despotism.

It is not surprising that elections are a farce where voters are largely illiterate, as in the interior provinces.* The free education system as established by President Sarmiento,** after United States models, has done wonders, but it should be made compulsory, and better provision made for children in the rural districts. Manual training in the secondary schools will tend to alter that contempt for manual labor among the upper classes which is the bane of Spanish America. The teaching of sloyd work, elementary civil government, and political economy, is advisable for the primary schools. The extension of the Protestant religious propaganda should be welcomed by Argentine patriots, for it will purify the Catholic church, which like all human monopolistic institutions is now corrupt. It will also tend to foster those twin children of Protestantism that have been such a powerful factor in true democracy—mental independence and the subordination of the material to the spiritual life.

In industry, the increase in population and the larger consuming power (due to increased earnings) of the present workers will enable many new factory***industries to be started, now

*In Santiago province only 13 per cent. of the population over six years of age were literate; in the whole republic, 50.3 per cent. were literate in 1899 (including aliens).

**Sarmiento was Argentine minister at Washington, D. C.; in the time of President Lincoln. Returning home, he was elected president of Argentina in 1868, and, infected by Lincoln's spirit, devoted all his power to reforms, of which the chief was free universal education.

***The production of pig iron for billets, as well as other important industries, will probably never be profitable, owing to a paucity of natural resources in those directions. For the weaving of wool and the fabrication of animal and many vegetable products, the country is peculiarly favored.

unprofitable on account of a restricted home market. The removal of the import duties will also aid in this extension.

The development of the immense Victoria Fall of the Ignazu river, in Misiones territory, will render possible factories where the cost is now prohibitive. The throwing open of the rich Plate valley lands to labor, by the Single Tax, would postpone the irrigation problem of the arid west for a generation, and then the public treasuries would be rich enough to supply the large sums needed for its solution.

The above reforms, more especially the Single Tax, would meet with the bitter opposition of all those members of the landholding and other privileged classes, who prefer private to public prosperity. But should another Sarmiento arise, gifted with the intellect and the power to achieve them, what an outdistancing of older and richer nations, accustomed to depend on traditional and makeshift legislation, would take place. The third decade of the twentieth century would not have begun ere would be found in the fertile Republic of the Plate a population of 20,000,000 of free, intelligent, prosperous people.

R. B. BRINSMADÉ, E. M.

BEHOLD THIS DREAMER COMETH.

The reply of the Red Wing Argus to the statement of the Minneapolis Journal, that "The Argus is a dreamy sort of sheet."

Occasionally the Journal has a word that is little less than inspired. To be called a dealer in dreams is the very designation we should have chosen, if it were not too presumptuous. Even with the Journal's sanction, we hardly dare think the Argus deserves such a flattering appellation.

And yet we know that the Argus has its dreams of the day to be when equal justice shall be the rule of the state and the brotherhood of man the basis of society. And not dreams only, but intimations in the happenings of to-day, signs and omens that had no significance, unless the dream came first.

Dreams, forsooth! Pity is it for the man with the muck rake who has them not. His vision fastened cross-eyed on the dollar before his nose, he misses the significance of living. The earth worm is indeed a useful institution, as Mr. Darwin pointed out, but the earth-worm gets precious little fun out of life. For its sensories are so constructed that it has no dreams.

The dreamer has to-day's fun and to-

morrow's hope, getting double measure for existence. Time and space, which so hamper one in what he would do, impose no limitations on the dreamer. He is the one untrammelled creature in the universe.

Now, there are dreams and dreams. There is even a compilation which sets forth that a red-headed girl and a white horse signifies 4-11-44, and a funeral with black-plumed hearse stands for 9-19-26. Those are the dreams that do not come true and the man who invests in them wastes his money. Dreams do not descend to details. We met a man but yesterday who had been consulting such a dream book, from which he learned that Van Sant's majority would be 7,398. He was willing to bet on it until he met a dreamer of opposite faith equally confident. They compromised on 5,000.

Members of the inner faculty of dreams regard such premonitions as spurious. The Argus cannot predict the precise result in a single precinct. Dream tickets issued from this office have no warranty of fulfillment or any certain day, but are stamped surely redeemable some time within a hundred years, or a thousand, as events, which dreams do not control, may determine. Dreams don't bother with immediate sequence, but leap to the terminus to which events drive. Dreams obey the laws of causation, else they had no existence real or fancied.

It is a wonderful company, the dreamers. Joseph is a dean of the inner faculty. And it must have seemed to him his gift was sadly askew when first fulfillment was that they stripped him of his coat and cast him in a pit, when they sold him into slavery and thrust him in prison to rot for years. That simply shows how the dream skips the disagreeable details, caring only for results. If Joseph had been counting the precinct returns he must have been reminded of the saying, commonly attributed to Tom Reed, but venerable as the time of Thotmes, that while one with God is a majority, many a man has died at the stake waiting for the returns to be counted.

Perhaps there were times when he doubted his dreams, for Joseph had not 5,000 years of history to teach him that all genuine dreams are true. There is no excuse in these days for such doubts.

There were the dreams of the French revolution, with their vision of fraternity and equality, eighteenth century

phrasing of brotherhood in society and equal rights in the state.

They too must have thought it was a bad dream when the guillotine began making its horrid hash of society and the reign of terror was the first fulfillment of the splendid vision.

Those were the days when the younger brother imagined he was to receive the obeisance of his elders. What happened but that society lost its cloak of elegance, and lay in the pit of anarchy? Indeed, there had to be a season in the prisonment of the empire's iron rule before the French nation could be enfranchised.

So closely history sticks to repetition of its text.

Martin Luther, the Huguenots, John Bunyan, the Puritans, Brown of Ossawatimie; the abolitionists, Henry George, Lassalle—all the noble army of dreamers have shared the same experience.

It is history's revenge on the dreamer for taking a short cut. If he is to see the result not yet attained, he must suffer things not foreseen.

On further consideration, the Argus does not feel warranted in setting up claim to enter the inner circle of the dreamers. The price for a box seat is too high. Standing room is good enough for us. It is something of a privilege to have a place where one may see what is going on even imperfectly, and hear, if not the finest passages, at least a few of the sonorous chords of the great symphony.

To be a dreamer thus of the second class is to live in the workaday world and to walk with eyes open, yet to have glimpses of the ends to which the confusion of phenomena leads. Phenomena—again one wonders how the philosophers from the beginning came to call events mere shadows.

Without these dream hints the world is a cloud wrack of phantasmagoria.

Blessed are those dreams, brought to earth by relation to current events, by which life becomes real and earnest, a life whose goal is not the grave.

THE BREAKER BOYS.

One of the features of the Labor day parade at Pittston, Pa., was a number of "breaker boys," many of them not over ten.

See them marching, O Nation, boys of ten—
See thy Shame and thy Doom in that human line!

How canst thou expect for the future, Men,
When their souls thou hast dwarfed in
a sunless mine?

Oh, those little tollers, with dragging feet,
Tell thy Shame and thy Doom as they
crowd the street!

—F. Spargo, in *The Whim*.

BOOK NOTICES.

DANTON.

Danton!—to most of us a mere name that rises in thought along with the guillotine and the Reign of Terror. How many of us have so much as heard his full name? Mirabeau, Marat, Robespierre, St. Just, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Églantine—it was between the last two that Danton stood as they faced the guillotine together—Barere, Brissot, Delacroix, Danton—these are names forever associated with the five most thrilling years of the world's history. In this brief epoch their words and deeds followed in such swift succession that out of the confusion the world at large has caught only the mingled echoes of vengeance and blood. To make any one of these names stand out with distinctness, to show that he had a definite, consistent policy, is a difficult task for the historian and biographer.

This is the task which Mr. A. H. Beesly has successfully attempted in his life of Danton, published by Longmans. The book might better be entitled a Defense of Five Years of Danton's Life; for it consists almost entirely in sifting evidence, and in rebutting the charges that have blackened Danton's fame.

No name in history has been more loathsome reviled. His very features have been made the butt of scorn. Some have written of him as though he were a beast and hardly human. "I looked," wrote Madame Roland, "at this repulsive and horrible face. . . I have never seen anything so absolutely the incarnation of brutal passion and astounding audacity." Madame Roland liked handsome men in her salon, and Danton cared neither for her nor for her salon. But, in spite of Madame's opinion, he had true affections, as the following will show.

Arcis was Danton's birthplace and home-place. His father-in-law had a house at Sevres, which Danton liked to visit. Mme. Danton was probably on a visit to her father at Sevres when she received this brief note, which we translate freely, as follows: "The messenger who brought me your letter, my dear Gabrielle, is to start at once, and I have only a moment to tell you how glad I was to get news from you. Don't forget to see about sending my trees to Arcis, and about getting your father to hasten the preparation of my room in his house at Sevres. A thousand kisses to my dear little Danton." Not much, and yet it came out of Paris during the Reign of Terror. The foremost man in the midst of it all could still be thinking of trees! Danton loved trees, loved the country, loved his family, loved the quiet fireside of home.

Here is the tragedy of his life; he loved peace and even ease, and yet fate and his hatred of oppression led him into bloody turmoil; he loved order and system, and yet fate and his hatred of the old order led him into dire disorder. It was the effort to get some sort of peace and order out of the confusion of the Revolution, of which he himself was a large part, that brought his neck to the guillotine, a victim of the jealousy, spite and insanity that filled the air.

Georges Jacques Danton was born in 1759. His father was a country lawyer of moderate means. The boy was duly put to school, and was distinguished for originality and independence. He chose law as his profession, and in 1780, when he was about 21 years of age, we find him in Paris, doing clerical work in a law office. After a few years he was called to the bar, and soon began to make headway and reputation in his profession. So he might have continued, and in course of time might have prospered sufficiently to return to his country tastes and spend a happy old age planting trees at Arcis.

See! dis alter visum—the gods would have it otherwise. The young lawyer had seen beyond the limits of the courts of law, and had been impelled to turn his mind to thoughts of larger problems than lay within the routine of his profession. All that we now read of the injustice, the oppression, the degradation and the utter neglect, suffered by the masses of the French peasants and workmen during the reign of Louis XVI., Danton saw with his own eyes. There are hints that even as a schoolboy he had radical feelings of revolt against the haughty injustice that he saw around him; and from his earliest public utterances it is evident that he had a genuine hate for the system of government that fostered at once all the extravagances of luxury and all the direst privations of poverty. To see an ostentatious nobility reveling in the pride of exorbitant wealth, and the masses of the people, half-fed, half-clothed, cunningly robbed by every device of taxation, this so-called government Danton saw to be a thing of evil, and as such he hated it. And so in 1789, as president of a political club, the young lawyer stepped upon the revolutionary scene.

The details of his advancement, by which, with his giant intellect and indomitable will, he became within a year or two the central figure of the drama, we need not pause here to relate. We shall rather find instruction in inquiring what were his principles of action, and why it was that within five years, almost to the day, from the time of his election as president of the Cordeliers District, that is, in April, 1793, he bowed his head to the guillotine in April, 1794.

There are two keys to Danton's character, love of justice and love of order. Love of justice brought him into the Revolution; love of order brought him to the guillotine. Let us add one other characteristic: he was more of a practical man than a dreamer. He was willing to move step by step, and not to expect a political and social millennium over night.

First it must be understood that Danton saw and detested existing conditions. In no uncertain tones he thundered to the privileged classes that they must disgorge their unjust privileges of public plunder. "One party in France," he said, "hates all liberty, all equality, all constitutions, and deserves all the ills which would have crushed it as it would like to crush the nation. With it I hold no parley. My one wish is to fight it to the death." Furthermore he saw, by the time he came on the scene, that the Revolution was on its way; and he was even ready to say that "if a choice had to be made between one of two evils, the license of liberty was preferable to a recrudescence of slavery." At the same time all his words and acts showed that he regretted avoidable license, while he saw that many excesses were inevitable. "I will say," he said, "and every eyewitness of those dreadful events will say, too, that no human power was in condition to dam the tide of popular vengeance."

Next we must understand that, the king being killed and the revolutionary party being in power, Danton's great object was to restore order and get a constitutional government established on a basis of justice and equal rights and with as few extreme measures as his wild associates would permit. In questions that were not vital he seems always to have been tolerant. For instance, while he himself had no use for priests, and said "the reign of the priests is passed", yet he opposed the reduction of the salaries of the clergy, saying that the peasants should not be deprived of the spiritual sustenance to which they were accustomed. In a word, he wanted to do what good sense and the immediate welfare of the people demanded, and no more. In one of his great speeches he said, "To apply precipitately philosophical principles which personally I hold dear would be to turn France topsy-turvy.

The people, especially the country people, are not ready for them." He was persistent in urging every measure that would tend to peace and enlightenment. "The children of the poor," he said, "should be educated at the expense of the state. Next to bread education is the people's first necessity." He wanted a republic with equal laws, equal chances of education, and equal opportunities of earning bread. He wanted a general amnesty, and the establishment of a normal government that would foster trade and industry.

But here Danton stopped. He was not a state socialist; his ideal of justice did not lead him to that. He was not an anarchist; his love of order did not permit it. So here was his fall, and here the fall of the Revolution. Many of the leaders of the Revolution, while not knowing these exact terms, were either extreme socialists or anarchists. Others, in wiliness and blindness, did not know what they wanted. Few were practical and moderate enough to adopt simple measures of order and justice.

At last Danton saw that his efforts were in vain and that the extremists would brush him out of their way. He protested against the farce trial by which he was condemned, but he accepted the inevitable with the bravery that became the "athletes of the Revolution." Many of his remarks at the time of his imprisonment, trial and execution have been preserved:

"I leave," he said, "everything in a frightful welter. Not one of them has the smallest idea of governing."

"My life! I am weary of it. I long to be quit of it. Our work is done; let us take our rest."

"My assassins will not long survive me."

It is said that during the few days of imprisonment he talked constantly of trees and life in the country.

When he and his doomed friends were standing on the scaffold, as the first of the victims was being led forward by the executioner's men, he tried to kiss Danton, but was prevented. "Fools," said Danton, "you cannot hinder our heads from meeting in the basket presently!" Danton was the last. He stood there and saw his friends die one by one, saying to each, as he passed, some word of consolation. Narrators report that it was near sunset of "a lovely evening of a lovely Spring," and that "the lilacs on the terraces of the Tuileries were in full blossom." Danton was still young, not quite thirty-five.

Ninety-seven years later, in 1891, his statue was unveiled near his boyhood home in Arcis. "It stands there," says his biographer, "bold and commanding as the man was in life, with one hand raised and the lips seeming still to speak." Could they speak, we fancy they would be saying to each generation of those who profess to love freedom, equality and brotherhood some such words as these: Learn the lesson that we taught from the platform of the guillotine. Do not separate yourselves into hopeless factions. Do not follow after flickering will-o'-the-wisps. Be reasonable. Unite, and follow where sober judgment shows any firm foothold on the road to justice.

J. H. DILLARD.

PERIODICALS.

—Persons who have acquired through partisan newspapers a distorted notion of the character of Herbert S. Bigelow, yet are

READERS—

of this paper who like it will do us a favor by promptly sending us the names and addresses of persons they know who might also be interested in it. Address:

PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.,

Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

The Public

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

TERMS.

Annual Subscription	\$2.00
Semi-Annual Subscription	1.00
Quarterly Subscription50
Trial Subscription (4 weeks)10
Single Copies05

Free of postage in United States, Canada and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

1641 UNITY BUILDING

CHICAGO, ILL.

All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

Payment of subscription is acknowledged up to and including the first issue of the month printed on the wrapper. The figures following the month, refer to the year in which the subscription expires.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

POST OFFICE ADDRESS:

THE PUBLIC, BOX 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

ATTORNEYS.

Chicago.

CHARLES H. ROBERTS.

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

ESTATES, CLAIMS, PATENTS.

618 Roanoke Building, Chicago.

Houston.

EWING & RING.

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS,

HOUSTON, TEXAS.

Presley K. Ewing.

Henry F. Ring.

New York.

FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER.

COUNSELLOR AT LAW,

BENNETT BLDG.

89 Nassau St., Borough of Manhattan.

Tel. Call, 1356 Cortlandt. Rooms 211-222.

NEW YORK.

NOTICE is hereby given that a petition for the pardon of George Damagala, who was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to 12 years in the penitentiary at the February term of the Criminal Court of Cook County in 1899, will be presented to the State Board of Pardons at the January term of said Board, in 1903.

MORTON A. MERGENTHEIM.

888 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.



"Who will deliver me from this dead body?"

too far from Cincinnati to drop into the Vine Street church and hear him preach, will do well to buy a copy of Willis J. Abbott's November Pilgrim, (Battle Creek, Mich. Price, 10 cents), at any news stand and read on the 30th page Mr. Bigelow's "Pulpit Talks on Current Topics."

—The Brooklyn Eagle has in a recent issue an appreciative notice of Frank Norris, whose death is lamented by all who value the literature that has a higher purpose than the applause of the passing hour. The "Octopus," his best known novel, told the story of the fight of California farmers against the Southern Pacific railway. "In a day," says the Eagle, "when successful novelists are content with little things, with charming portraits of afternoon teas and colonial lovelakings, a subject like that dignifies literature, and even the partial realization of it in the 'Octopus' rescues Norris from the list of merely entertaining and ephemeral story-writers." J. H. D.

—"Who killed Rudyard Kipling?" is the question that G. K. Chesterton asks in the London Daily News, and answers in an article characteristically clever and brilliant. All the world knows that Kipling was, just a few years ago, the hope of English letters; all the world knows that Kipling is now positively disliked by many, perhaps most, of those who once had high hope of him. How did it happen? This is Mr. Chesterton's question. From the spirit of his article it would seem that his question should rather have read: "What killed Rudyard Kipling?" And the answer in brief is Imperialism, which, deadened by ideals, made him hate the con-

quered, hate the weak, and virtually uphold "the rough that kicks a crippled child." Mr. Chesterton well calls imperialism a "decadent passion." With its inevitable worship of mere might it is sure to bring decay of moral vigor and noble ideals. So has it done to Kipling. J. H. D.

1903

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE PUBLIC

From persons not already annual subscribers, will run from date of receipt of subscription until January 1, 1904. Such persons subscribing now, will therefore receive the paper for 14 months for a 12 months' subscription.

REGULAR RATES:

Annually.....	\$2.00
Semi Annually.....	1.00
Quarterly.....	.50

CLUBS OF THREE:

To extend the circulation of The Public among new readers, and at the same time to relieve of expense such regular readers, or others, as take the trouble to procure new subscriptions, we will supply three subscriptions for the price of two, on the following terms:

A Club of Three Annual Subscriptions (at least two of them new)...	\$4.00
A Club of Three Semi-Annual Subscriptions (at least two of them new).....	2.00
A Club of Three Quarterly Subscriptions (at least two of them new).....	1.00

Any person soliciting new subscribers will be allowed the same terms. For every two new subscriptions for which he forwards us cash at regular rates we will honor his order for a third subscription free.

All annual club subscriptions procured before January 1, 1903, will begin at once and continue until January 1, 1904.

Make all Checks, Money Orders, etc., payable to

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.,
Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

A PRACTICAL CREED FOR PRACTICAL PEOPLE Being no creed at all, but simply a restatement of fundamental principles of human life and association. Ask for this and a few other "Squibs and Things" from The Straight Edge. Enclose 10 cents if you happen to have it. (17th Ave., N. Y.)

CHAS. F. CAMP WALTER S. LEVIN ALEX. GREGORY
Pres't and Mgr. Supt. Sec'y and Treas.

Camp Electric Construction Co.

41 West 24th Street, New York.

Telephone, No. 79 Madison Sq.

PRIVATE HOUSE WORK A SPECIALTY.