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There are two kinds of demagogues—the poor man's and the rich man's. The poor man's demagogue is boisterous and harmless; the rich man's demagogue is subtle and dangerous. One plays to the galleries, the other to the boxes.

Congressman Burton read a paper before the Bankers' Convention at New Orleans in which he had much to say of Republican "prosperity." But he gave warning that "so great a prosperity cannot continue without abatement." Why not? If the Republican party can make prosperity, why can it not continue the prosperity without abatement as long as it remains in power? There is something about Mr. Burton's paper which suggests that while the Republicans demand all the credit for the prosperity that happens along while they are in power, they are at liberty to dodge responsibility for the collapse.

By all means let the railroad managers who are generously raising the wages of their employes be cordially acknowledged. Generosity is a virtue of a high order. But let us not become so enthusiastic over this manifestation of plutocratic generosity as to ignore the significance of the fact that after all it is generosity—just that and nothing else. What kind of industrial world is this in which the laborers get the worth of their work as matter of generosity and not of right?

An important decision with reference to office holding, one which may

have an extensive influence, has been made recently by a New Jersey judge—a member of the Supreme bench of his State—Judge J. Franklin Fort. Judge Fort has ruled that bi-partisan boards are unconstitutional in New Jersey. He says: "It is doubtful whether eligibility to office in this State can be restricted to any qualification other than that required for the right of suffrage, except when such restriction is found in, or its imposition is authorized by, the constitution of this State." If that decision is sound in New Jersey, and it seems to be generally so regarded by lawyers, its principle would be sound in any State where the State constitution does not place limitations upon qualifications for office. Bi-partisan boards in cities would, therefore, have no further validity.

It is reported that Assistant Postmaster General Madden officially recommends the establishment of a distinction in pound rates of postage. He would exact 4 cents a pound for all periodical publications except such as are published daily, tri-weekly, semi-weekly and weekly and are what are generally understood to be "newspapers." The principle involved here is a false one. It would leave it to the postoffice department to determine the delicate question of what are and what are not "news" papers, and thus open the door to flagrant favoritism. Let the pound rate be fixed at a fair amount, whether one cent or four or eight, and let it apply to all periodical publications alike. That is the only fair rule.

There is a great deal of truth in what Wm. J. Bryan said this week in a speech in Chicago on the subject of weekly newspapers. His idea ap-

pears to be that the daily paper must become more and more of a newspaper and less and less of an editorial paper, because its editorial writers will necessarily cease to be directors of the policy of the paper, as the expense of maintenance increases, and fall into the place of mere writing machines for capitalists. In place of the daily, therefore, Mr. Bryan thinks the weekly will become the principal vehicle of sincere editorial opinion. Already the first part of Mr. Bryan's idea is well-nigh realized. There are few daily papers now whose editorials express the thought of their writers. They are perfunctory or worse, and no one is influenced by them. Such influence as the daily paper does exercise is through the manipulation of its news matter—by means of coloring the facts. The weekly editorial paper is consequently making an important place for itself. The difference between the editorials of the daily and those of the weekly are that the former are dictated by the counting room, while the latter emanate as did the editorials of the type of daily that is now nearly extinct from the editorial chair.

One member of the Chicago school board has set an example to all public servants. We allude to F. J. Loesch. Mr. Loesch is attorney for one of the corporations which is interested in evading local taxation and consequently in crippling the finances of the Chicago school system. He has been charged, consequently, with allowing his professional relationships to interfere with a due performance of his official obligations. Whether the charge is true needs no discussion. True or false, it is of less than secondary importance. Human nature being what it is, the vitally important point is that no person should be appointed to an office

which brings his private interests into conflict with his public duties. By resigning his position on the school board Mr. Loesch now recognizes the impropriety of his original appointment and acceptance. Other members of the Chicago school board similarly situated should promptly follow his example; and in filling vacancies the mayor should not be again unmindful of the rebuke which is involved in Mr. Loesch's resignation.

Why is it that so many educated men are so feeble at distinguishing differences? An example occurs to us in connection with the recent proclamation of Mrs. Eddy, the Christian Science leader, in which she advises her followers to bow before hostile public sentiment to the extent of allowing the employment of physicians in the treatment of infectious and contagious diseases. It ought to be perfectly plain to any fair-minded man of intelligence that this is no recantation. There is nothing in the proclamation to indicate that Mrs. Eddy hasn't as much faith as ever in the efficacy of her teachings. On the other hand it is a manifest mark of respect for the rights of others. Since others than Christian Scientists fear these diseases and have no confidence in her theory regarding them, a persistence in her methods would subject them, at any rate in their own minds, to the dangers of sickness and death. She therefore proposes that their right to protect themselves by their own methods against infection and contagion, even though she thinks those methods superstitious, be recognized by her followers. Her conduct in this matter should command respect. It is infinitely more exalted than the narrow behavior of many of her adversaries who regard her teachings as superstitious. Yet it is made the occasion of fresh attack, and in at least two instances that have come to our attention she is grossly misrepresented. Two Chicago clergymen of education, and presumably honest, referred in their sermons last Sunday

to this action of hers as a recantation. Neither seemed capable of appreciating the difference between recantation and generous acknowledgment of the rights of others.

Although the election of Dr. Garvin to the governorship of Rhode Island is not unnaturally pleasing to single tax men everywhere, since the governor-elect is a single tax man of the most orthodox and intelligent kind and of long standing; yet his election at the head of the Democratic ticket is in no sense a single tax victory. There was no mention of the single tax in the platform upon which he stood, nor was it discussed upon the stump during the campaign. Several causes contributed to the gratifying result. One was popular indignation at the high-handed act of the Republican legislature in placing the police department of Providence in the hands of a commission appointed by the governor. Another was the resentment kindled against the present governor, the defeated candidate for reelection, because he sent troops to the city of Pawtucket to overawe the strikers in the street railway strike last Summer. Still another was a general desire for a change in the antique document which now serves as a charter or constitution for the State of Rhode Island. All these causes contributed in greater or less degree to Dr. Garvin's election. There is no reason for supposing that he could have been elected at this time on the single tax issue. Yet his election, should it be followed by a good administration, as it doubtless will be, will contribute in no small measure to the propagation and popularization of single tax principles.

One of those "understandings between statesmen," which, according to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, have existed between the Tory government of Great Britain and the Republican ringmasters of the United States, has come to grief. In 1899, by direct orders from London and Washington (vol. ii, No. 53, p. 5) British and

American war vessels wantonly bombarded native villages near Apia, in Samoa, killing many Samoans and ruining much European property in Apia. They did so in the face of German protests. It was evident to impartial observers at the time that this was an aggression upon the native Samoans, an insult to Germany, and a violation of treaty obligations; and now an impartial arbitrator, King Oscar II, of Sweden and Norway, so decides. He accordingly holds Great Britain and the United States responsible for the individual losses caused by their unwarranted bombardment. While it is to the shame of both countries that the imperialistic adventurers who have for five years controlled their policies were allowed to put them into this disgraceful situation, it is unfortunate that the other infamous exploits of these imperialistic freebooters, their unpardonable wars of aggression and conquest—one in the Philippines and the other in South Africa—in which they encouraged each other for the benefit of their common cause of imperialism, could not also have been tried before so high minded an arbitrator as King Oscar. Though they won in the forum of might they would have been condemned in a forum of right.

If Clarence S. Darrow fails to flay the hypocritical manipulators of the coal trust, when he finally presents the miners' case to the board of arbitrators and the common conscience of the country, it will not be for lack of inviting opportunities. These serpentine gentlemen have bared themselves well for the flaying process. What, for instance, could be more tempting to a man like Darrow than the plea of the trusts that the anthracite coal miners get more than they earn and are living in beautiful cottages luxuriously furnished with pictures and pianos which they improvidently buy with the extravagant wages paid by the poor people of the country in exorbitant prices for coal!

When it is remembered that the

ideal of these miners is only \$600 a year—less than \$12 a week—and that in fact they get hardly half as much, there is grim humor in the plea that they are already overpaid. Think of raising a family on \$7 or \$8 a week, or about the price of one plate at a man-of-leisure's banquet! It can be done. Oh, yes; it can be done. It can be done with even less. So can a horse be boarded at a livery stable for less. Then consider the touching plea that higher wages for mining coal would impose higher prices upon the poor for burning it. There's delicate sympathy for you. Exorbitant railroad rates and mining royalties must be paid by the same poor when they burn coal; but as these exactions go to the support of "widows and orphans" who own watered coal stock and watered railroad stock, it is no hardship on the widows and orphans who don't. But higher wages for mining coal—ah, that would be an outrage upon the poor! As much tribute as you please, but as low wages as possible. Such is the policy of these modern scribes and pharisees and hypocrites, who devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers, who contribute lavishly to churches and charities but bind heavy burdens upon their brethren, who outwardly appear righteous but like the whited sepulchers are full within of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

Prince John Van Buren, while sitting once in a court room during the trial of a case in which he had no personal or professional interest, noticed that the judge continually interrupted the proceedings with questions indicating extreme bias in favor of one of the parties. It disturbed Van Buren's sense of fair play, and, leaning toward the lawyer who was the victim of the judge's manifest partisanship, he asked in a stage whisper that reached to all parts of the court room: "I say, Mr. —, who is retained on the other side of this case besides the judge?" The story would have no interest at this time were it not for Judge Gray's

conduct as chairman of the board of arbitrators in the case of the anthracite coal strike. When the coal trust consented to an arbitration they stipulated that one of the arbitrators should be one of the Federal judges who sit in eastern Pennsylvania. It was in accordance with that stipulation that Mr. Roosevelt appointed Judge Gray, who misses few opportunities to make it evident that the trust made no mistake so far as he is concerned. His questions to Mitchell have revealed a bias against the coal strikers which must be peculiarly gratifying and reassuring to the coal trust.

It is because class-biased judges so generally occupy the judicial bench that labor unions object to being incorporated. This objection is exploited by corporation lawyers as an excuse for refusing to deal amicably with unions. They contend that while unions are unincorporated they cannot be held to contracts. For that reason it is argued that the unions should be incorporated so as to be persons in law whose contracts can be enforced by the courts. Mr. Gompers has made a reply to this argument which is unanswerable so long as the bench is filled with cronies of the rich monopolists of the country. Of requiring labor unions to incorporate Mr. Gompers says:

On the surface this proposition seems fair, but when we bear in mind the fact that often judges have a deep-seated prejudice against organized labor, and the far-fetched interpretation in the Taff-Vale case, where an organization of labor in Great Britain was mulcted in damages for the action of an individual member, under the law passed by the British parliament as a "concession to labor," it is not difficult to divine the purpose that the advocates of compulsory incorporation of trades unions have in view.

One blow has now been delivered by the Supreme Court of the United States against the autocratic policy of the postal department. The question came up from Missouri. A magnetic healer at Nevada, Mo., was denounced by the department upon charges of fraud and his mail stopped.

As usual in these cases, though the legitimacy of the man's business was at issue and its prosperity at stake, he was denied every right that is involved in the principle of "due process of law." He was not brought into court upon charges of fraud and subjected to a jury trial, but his property rights in his business were arbitrarily confiscated by a bureau clerk at Washington, a thousand miles away. This clerk decided that the business of magnetic healing is fraudulent, and ordered all the advertiser's mail to be withheld from him, to be stamped "fraudulent," and to be returned to the senders. In other words, the department clerk, upon his own say-so, stopped a business which, upon its face, is as legitimate as any other healing business. This advertiser promptly did what every other person who has been arbitrarily outlawed from the mails ought to do. He sued the local postmaster. The lower court decided against him, but the Supreme Court has reversed that decision. As the contest was upon a demurrer which did not raise the question of fact as to whether or not the business was carried on fraudulently, the final decision in this particular case is still in abeyance. But the Supreme Court does decide that injunctions will be granted to prevent the stoppage of mail matter until the question of fraud in each case has been duly tried. This is a long step in the direction of enabling innocent people to protect themselves against the Russianistic methods of the American post office department.

With strange simplicity the New York Times finds in Mr. Roosevelt's speech at the Chamber of Commerce banquet in New York evidences of his hostility to protection. Because he complimented those commercial gentlemen upon possessing "to an eminent degree the traditional American self reliance of spirit which makes them scorn to ask from the government, whether of State or Nation, anything but a fair field and no favor"—because Roosevelt said this in New York, the unsophisticated

Times imagines that he is prepared "to throw protection to the dogs." Bosh! Upon his Western tour he made as orthodox protection speeches as the most vigorous infant industry could ask for. Has he changed so soon? The true inference is not that Roosevelt has changed from protectionist to free trader, but that he has never been either the one or the other. From the time of his membership in the Free Trade club of New York, which he left to "go with his party" when that became identified with protection, he has never been anything more admirable in politics than a successful poser. Whether he makes free trade speeches before the New York Chamber of Commerce, or protection speeches in the West, or dodges as he did in New England, or admires his own portrait bravely striding the picture of a vaulting horse, his central thought is always the same. It rests admiringly upon Roosevelt in a pose.

Some idea of the flimsy moral fiber of the man may be had from a comparison of his former utterances about official corruption with his present close affiliations with Quay, and Platt, and now with Addicks. "There must be no compromise with official corruption;" "we cannot trust those base beings who treat politics only as a game out of which to wring a soiled livelihood;" "the real and dangerous foe is the corrupt politician;" "no man who is corrupt, no man who condones corruption in others, can possibly do his duty by the community." These nuggets of thought that Roosevelt once supposed he was thinking, we quote from the New York Evening Post. They were originally uttered by Roosevelt, and are fine expressions of civic virtue. But they do not stand in Roosevelt's way for an instant when the delectable Addicks looms up as a political factor. Roosevelt at once strikes hands with this corrupt player in the game of politics and places at his disposal the Federal patronage of Delaware in order to secure his election to the United States Senate. That sort of

thing is not only bad morals, it is bad art—bad posing.

Canadians have no fear that the large American immigration into their country will result in annexation to the United States. The Canadian director of immigration has recently put the matter well in an interview in which he says:

It has been my experience with Americans who come into Canada that they readily change their allegiance. They come to understand our laws, and realize that really we have a more representative government than they had in the states. For instance, we cannot change our constitution more readily than the Americans can. You change yours by stretching it. I understand that, but the American coming to Canada finds just as much freedom. He finds that England has little or nothing to do with the dominion, and that we are left strictly to our devices. I have found that these American emigrants become most steadfastly opposed to annexation.

That is a fair statement. Americans who suppose that Canadians are restless for annexation, or that there is any reason why they should be so, are greatly mistaken. With the exception of the figurehead governor general, appointed by a foreign power, the government of Canada is much more democratic than our own. It is responsible directly and immediately to the people. A discredited ministry cannot retain power, and a newly elected one comes into power almost as soon as the popular vote is counted. Objection might be made, to be sure, that all authority in Canada is centralized, coming down from the general or Dominion government to the Provinces, which correspond to our States. But there is getting to be very little practical difference between the two governments in that particular. In Canada there is a noticeable tendency toward the distribution of local authority among local officials—in other words, away from centralization; whereas in the United States there has been a pronounced tendency ever since the civil war in the direction of centralizing all local authority at Washington. As to the advantages which might ac-

crue from political annexation to the people on either side of the Canadian boundary, there are none whatever that would not result as fully if both the Canadian and the American tariffs were repealed. Free trade would give all the benefits of political annexation with none of its burdens.

The first serious contest in the opening fight between the people of Chicago for municipal ownership of street railways, and the traction companies for an extension of franchises, came off in the city council on the 17th. What seems to have been a test vote was then taken; and in fact it was a test the corporations have won. The vote was over the question of referring to committee a series of resolutions offered by Alderman Smulski providing that no franchise extensions shall be granted until the legislature has given the city authority to establish municipal ownership. In offering these resolutions Mr. Smulski explained that the franchises could be extended from year to year, if the legislature delayed action, but that a declaration of policy ought to be made now. A hostile motion being offered to refer the matter to the committee on local transportation, Mr. Smulski intimated that this motion was in the interest of the corporations. "It would seem," he said, "from the actions of the committee on local transportation that there is a disposition in that committee and in the council to extend existing franchises without waiting for any opportunity for the exercise of the right of municipal ownership so overwhelmingly voted for by the people at the recent elections;" and to secure an expression of the sense of the council, he moved that the resolutions be referred instead to the judiciary committee, which is understood to be friendly to municipal ownership. This was the test motion, and Mr. Smulski was defeated by an overwhelming vote. What may be the possible significance of this ambiguous action of the Chicago council, only the members themselves

can know, each for himself. But it is not too early to give fair notice that every councilman who votes against the policy of withholding franchise extensions until the legislative policy on municipal ownership shall have been declared, or who facilitates in any other way the extension of existing franchises, will be regarded, and reasonably and justly so, as a bribed man.

We had occasion last week to comment (p. 498) upon the complaint of Congressman Norton, of Ohio, "Democrat," that Tom L. Johnson had defeated him for reelection. It seemed to us then that in doing this Johnson had really served the best interests of the Democracy of his State. We are still more strongly of that opinion after reading the following special correspondence from Washington, published in the Chicago Evening News of the 14th:

There is general mourning among the Western members of Congress over the defeat of James A. Norton, who for three terms has represented the Thirteenth Ohio district in the House of Representatives. The regret is not confined to the Democrats, to whose party the defeated statesman belonged, but it is felt keenly in the Republican ranks. "Doc" Norton was one of the handy members of the House. In his early days he was a practicing physician. This profession did not prove as lucrative as the Ohio man desired, so he studied law, was admitted to the bar and secured a position with the Baltimore & Ohio railroad as its tax attorney. Norton is known in the capital of every State through which that railway system runs, as he makes annual visits to the taxing powers to see that "his road is treated right." Notwithstanding that he had abandoned the practice of medicine he always had his medical case with him and when a member, clerk or page showed up sick on the floor of the House "Doc" Norton could be depended upon to give him medical relief gratis. Again if any of the aforesaid members or employes of Congress became involved in any legal difficulties Lawyer Norton only had to be apprised of the fact to make certain his appearance in the police court the next morning to defend them. The convenient points about the Ohio statesman tended to make him a host of friends, but his legal and medical knowledge did not bring

nearly so many to his train as did the fact that he had a book of blank passes over the railroad he represented, and that he could always be depended upon to furnish transportation when others failed. His popularity among the politicians extended beyond Washington and covered the entire State of Ohio. When the Republicans recently apportioned the State there was a terrific clamor raised over the action of Senators Foraker and Hanna, who refused to permit Norton's district, which was regarded as safely Democratic, to be cut up into small parts and distributed between the Republican strongholds adjacent to it. When the time for making the nominations came last spring, the Republicans continued their friendly treatment and nominated A. H. Jackson, of Fremont, who used to be a shoestring peddler, to be their candidate for Congress. Norton carried the district in 1900 by 6,610 plurality, and as Jackson had no apparent political strength it was thought the Democratic physician-lawyer-statesman had a walkaway. Tom Johnson pitched his tent in the Tiffin district for several days, and when he had finished his attacks on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad for not paying its taxes he had ruined the chances of the Democratic nominee for election. Norton's connection with the railroad reversed his 6,000 plurality into a deficit of 500 votes and Jackson was elected, to the great surprise of all concerned. "I don't care so much for myself," said Norton, jocosely, "but I am sorry for the boys. How are they going to get home now when they lose their passes?"

Norton's defeat is another feather in Johnson's cap. By defeating Norton he to that extent defeated Hanna whose Democratic tool Norton is.

Tariff reformers are men who have too much sense to be protectionists but not enough to be free traders.

#### AN ECONOMIC EXPLORATION.

To know how a loaf of bread is made and distributed is to know more of political economy than all the text books and all the statistics can teach. That was Emerson's idea, and Emerson was right. But his idea does not imply that one must know all the chemical and mechanical processes. They are manifold and complex, and it would be impossible for one head, large or small, to hold so much. Even if there were a hu-

man brain of this extraordinary capacity, it would very likely be incapable of intelligently using the knowledge it held. Fortunately, therefore, what is necessary is not comprehensive knowledge of technical processes, which is impossible, but intelligent apprehension of familiar economic phenomena, which is easy.

#### I.

A child who knows how to get candy can be inducted into the economic mysteries.

Isn't candy got at the store with pennies? So is bread. A child can understand that. But the same thing is true of everything else with which the human family satisfy their material wants. Whether their wants be of the stomach for food, of the body for clothing and shelter, of the taste for superior qualities of food and clothing and shelter, or of any of the desires for any other of the infinite variety of material things, those wants are all satisfied by buying objects as candy and bread are bought —by buying them, so to speak, at the store with pennies. In civilized society every material desire can be satisfied as it arises, simply by giving money for the things that satisfy it.

But why is that true? Why do pennies so easily fetch us candy or bread or other good things? They wouldn't if we were not living in civilized society. On a desert island no amount of money could procure satisfaction for even the least of human desires. It cannot be, then, that money is the final explanation of economic processes. It is evidently only a superficial expression of something more fundamentally characteristic of civilized life.

#### II.

What that thing is should appear upon a moment's reflection. If money will procure satisfaction for any want, in civilized society where trade is a universal phenomenon, and only for a few in savage society where there is but little trade, and none at all on a desert island where there is no trade, then money must be merely a trade token. It must be something, that is, which passes current among civilized people not because anyone wants it for itself, but because it will buy other things—

things that are wanted for themselves. And isn't this a fact which every intelligent man knows? It is not money but trade that enables the child to buy candy, and his mother to buy bread, or his father to buy a house. If the child's penny couldn't serve the storekeeper in trade when he goes to buy what he wants for himself, he wouldn't take it in trade when he offers to sell candy to the child. He does not want it except to trade it again. It is simply a token whereby he swaps what he sells for it for what he buys with it. And this is true of all money. The economic phenomenon, therefore, which is more fundamental than money, without which money would be of no use and the object of no one's desire, is trade.

Of course we know that trade consists in swapping things. But why is anything swapped for another thing? Why are things traded? You can't trade the free air. You can't trade the waters of the great lakes. There are kinds of things, certainly, which cannot be traded. Yet there are other kinds of things in great abundance and bewildering variety which not only can be traded, but are in continual process of trade. Why? What is it that distinguishes the tradeable from the untradeable?

Isn't it obviously value? Things having no value are not tradeable, but things having value are tradeable.

### III.

As value is commonly expressed in terms of money, it being customary to say of a valuable thing that it is worth so many pennies or so many dollars, it might seem that we had now got back again to money. But that is not the fact. Though value is expressed in terms of money, it does not depend upon money. Things would have value all the same even if there were no money to express their values. Money bears much the same relation to value that the alphabet bears to language or to thought. It furnishes convenient symbols for expression, but is not the thing expressed.

Value is the expression of a comparison. As exemplified in trade it is the name of the ratio at which tradeable things are exchanged. If,

for illustration, one loaf of bread exchanges for five sticks of candy, the ratio of bread to candy is as one to five. It follows that if you give one penny for your stick of candy you must give five for your bread; or, expressing these values in terms of money, that bread loaves are worth five pennies and candy sticks are worth one penny.

Yet it is value, and not its capability of expression in terms of money, that makes things tradeable. The immediate cause of trade is value.

It cannot be, however, that value is the final explanation of economic processes. There must be something still more fundamental. To say that value is the economic base, is almost as weak as to say that money is. Value is not economically self-existent. It in turn must have an economic cause.

### IV.

The cause of value is serviceability, in the restricted sense of capability of serving a human purpose. Unless an object is capable of ministering to some human desire, unless, that is, it possesses the quality of serviceability, it cannot exhibit the phenomenon of value. Value rests upon serviceability.

But serviceability plus something else. For the air is incalculably serviceable, the waters of the great lakes and of the oceans are immensely serviceable, the sunlight is indispensably so; yet none of these have value. It will be observed, however, that while they are serviceable they are not difficult to get. They are not scarce. On the other hand, serviceable objects which are difficult to get, serviceable objects which are scarce, invariably exhibit value. The cause of value, then, is serviceability in a condition of scarcity. But as normal desire for scarce things is not because they are scarce, but because they are serviceable, the inciting cause of value is not scarcity, but serviceability.

True, however, as this obviously is, we have not yet reached the end of our economic exploration. For serviceability, though the inciting cause of value, is itself an effect of anterior causes. If bread were not valuable it wouldn't be tradeable. If it were not serviceable it wouldn't have

value. But if it didn't exist it couldn't be serviceable. So its serviceability, its value, and its tradeability, depend upon its existence. This seems rather obtrusively obvious, but the most obvious facts are sometimes ignored.

### V.

Now, bread does not exist naturally. It is an artificial thing. And that is true of the great mass of tradeable objects. They are artificial. Some tradeable objects, it is true, are not artificial; but these are tradeable for a secondary reason—because they are capable of securing in some way service from articles that are artificial. It is the serviceability that is embodied in artificial objects that makes anything tradeable. We find, therefore, that beneath all the economic phenomena we have thus far explored—beneath money, trade, value and serviceability,—beneath all these in the sense of being their cause, are the artificial objects which possess the quality of serviceability, to which value therefore attaches in conditions of scarcity, which are consequently tradeable, and which may for that reason be bought with money.

What technical name we give to such objects is of no moment, provided we always use the same name to designate those objects, and use it for nothing else. Then why not distinguish them as "wealth," which is a good old economic term? Using the term strictly in that sense, we are able to say that all the economic processes thus far passed in review are caused by wealth.

### VI.

But the end is not yet, for wealth is not self-existent. Consisting of artificial objects it cannot be. As the term "artificial" implies, such objects are produced (which means drawn forth) by human art. If man didn't exist, they would not appear. If man didn't labor, they would not come forth. Without human exertion of brain and brawn, there would be no wealth. Wealth, therefore, is properly called a labor-product. So we trace all economic processes back to labor.

Every material thing is brought to us by human labor—our own labor or some one else's; and if at any stage

in the process labor were to stop, our desires would forthwith begin to go unsatisfied. At first we should have to stint ourselves, perhaps, only a little; but soon a little more, and then more, until almost every want would plead in vain for even the least satisfaction. The whole process of production and distribution is a process of labor. The raw materials are produced by labor; the tools and machinery, simple and complex, little and big, are made and repaired and remade by labor; the transportation facilities are constructed and operated by labor; the factories and store buildings are erected and utilized by labor.

In the loaf of bread there are the labor of the farmer who raises and harvests grain, and of the miller who grinds it; of the mechanics who make the tools and machinery for both farmer and miller, and of those who make the tools and machinery for these mechanics; of the miner who unearths the metals and the woodmen who cut the lumber; and then again of those who make miners' and lumbermen's tools; of the labor that builds railroads and the labor that operates them; of the labor of the baker and that which equips bakeries; of the labor of the bankers and bankers' clerks in giving mobility to capital, and of that which constructs and cares for their buildings, as well as that which through other complexities of trade furnishes them with stationery and with business furniture; and so on to the labor that slices the loaf at last and that which produces the knife with which it is sliced. From beginning to end it is all a labor process. Nor is it the labor of the past that keeps the process going, but the labor of the present.

The wealth we buy with money, then, for the satisfaction of our desires, is in the last analysis the product of current human labor.

#### VII.

We have now reached a final explanation. Beginning with the economic phenomenon next at hand, and therefore most familiar, that of buying satisfactions with money, we account for it by the phenomenon known as trade, and for that in turn

by the phenomenon of value. Value is found to rest upon serviceability, and serviceability upon artificial objects, while artificial objects come from labor. It is as if in making a subterranean exploration, we had first laid off the surface soil and then cut through the layers of different material, one after another, down to rock bottom. For human labor is the rock bottom of economic research. It supports all the superincumbent layers—wealth, serviceability, value, trade and money.

Unlike the other economic phenomena through which we have picked our way, labor is economically self-existent. It has no anterior cause on the economic plane. For labor is a technical term descriptive of the human family producing satisfactions for human desires. And while that phenomenon is indeed an effect (as what sort of Omnipotence is not?), yet its cause lies beyond the field of economic inquiry. It is not an effect of anterior economic causes. On the economic plane it is itself the cause of all effects.

#### VIII.

Nevertheless, labor cannot create. It cannot make something out of nothing. It cannot say, "Let there be bread!" and there is bread.

So far from creating, labor has only the power to produce. That is, it can draw forth artificial objects by so adapting the matter and forces which nature supplies as to fit them for serving human purposes. It can change the shape and place of natural things.

For instance, it can produce coal by changing its shape from the mass in the vein to broken pieces in the mining chamber; it can still further produce it by changing its place from the bottom of the mine to the mouth; it can produce it further yet by changing its place from the mouth of the mine to the coal bin, and finally to the stove or grate of the distant consumer. Or, it can produce houses by changing the forms of trees, rock, sand, clay and ore, and marshalling them at one point and in one form or shape from many distant points and different shapes.

But labor can do none of these things without natural resources.

Tools it does not need. For labor, considered as a cooperative whole, makes all its own tools. They are artificial objects—wealth. But it does need raw materials and working places upon the earth. To use the inclusive economic term, it does need "land." Land is the one thing, the only thing, that labor must have. Land is the sole condition of all the economic processes that labor generates. For mining, it must have access to mining land; for farming, to agricultural land; for urban building, to urban land sites; for railroad-ing, to rights of way over land; for sailing, to harbors, and so on. Labor without land, even if life were possible, would be utterly powerless to generate the economic processes. On the other hand, land without labor is unproductive of artificial satisfactions. It only furnishes the natural storehouse and workshop for labor, leaving labor to do the rest. Though labor generates the economic processes, it must have access to land to do so. And land it cannot produce. Land is not an artificial object, but a natural one. But with access to land, labor produces in abundance all those artificial objects having value, which we have called "wealth."

Labor is fundamental and land is fundamental. They are the prime factors of all economic processes, labor being the initial or active force, and land the responsive or passive condition. Thus labor produces wealth from land, and land yields wealth to labor.

#### IX.

Land, Labor and Wealth, then, are the three subjects of first importance in all economic problems. Land passively yields matter, space, and energy to the knowledge and skill of man. The active application of that knowledge and skill to those yielding elements is Labor; and its product—the natural matter and energy so shaped and adjusted as to satisfy the desires that stirred the laborer to activity—is Wealth.

From this starting point the steps we have taken may be retraced, and the way be more minutely surveyed. Back to money and its functions, through all the mazes of serviceability, value and trade, it is now possible

to go, with a certainty born of confidence in familiarity with the route. We have discovered the most fundamental of elementary principles, and in their light problems otherwise perplexing may be easily and correctly solved.

## NEWS

The award by King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway, in the Samoa arbitration, which was announced last month (p. 457), is now published in detail. To understand this international event it will be necessary to turn back to the news from Samoa of nearly four years ago (vol. i, No. 42, p. 11; No. 50, p. 9; No. 52, p. 7; and vol. ii., No. 53, pp. 5, 9), when Great Britain, the United States, and Germany became involved in a dispute over a native election, and warships of the former two nations bombarded native villages near the Samoan city of Apia.

Samoa, formerly known as the Navigator Islands and consisting of 14 volcanic islands in the southern Pacific, has a population of about 34,000 persons, nearly all of whom are natives. Nominally, they are Christians. In 1887 the native king, Malietoa, who had reigned since 1880, was deposed upon charges of robbing and otherwise maltreating Germans, and King Tamasese took his place. A year later Tamasese was overthrown by the native chief Mataafa; but Germany, to prevent Mataafa's taking Tamasese's place at the head of the native government, declared war against him. As this involved the Samoan interests of British and Americans as well as Germans, a treaty was signed at Berlin, June 14, 1889, between Great Britain, the United States and Germany, in which these powers joined in assuring the independence of Samoa and in guaranteeing equal rights of trade, residence and personal protection to the citizens of all three powers. Under that treaty the natives were to elect a king pursuant to their own customs, and a supreme court consisting of one chief justice was to be appointed by the treaty powers, which were also to administer the municipal district of Apia. At the time of the disturbances that necessitated the arbitration in which an award has now been made, the chief justice was an American, Will-

iam L. Chambers, while the municipal president of Apia was a German, Dr. Raffel.

Pursuant to the Berlin treaty Malietoa Paupepa was restored to the throne upon which Tamasese had been placed; but a new rebellion was raised by Mataafa in 1893, upon the failure of which the three treaty powers condemned Mataafa and his immediate followers to exile. They were allowed to return, however, when King Malietoa Paupepa died, which was on the 22d of August, 1898. Mataafa thereupon became a candidate for the vacant throne to be filled at a popular election to be held in the Autumn. His opponent was Malietoa Tanus, son of the late king and then a boy of 15. At the election Mataafa received 75 per cent. of the votes, Tanus receiving the remainder. The latter thereupon contested, and the American chief justice decided in his favor on the ground that Mataafa had been disqualified by the treaty of Berlin. He certainly had not been disqualified in terms by that treaty, but the judge reasoned that his rebellion and condemnation had operated to effect the disqualification. Upon the announcement of this decision, Mataafa declared war against Tanus, who was supported by Tamasese, whom the judge held to have been elected vice-king. In January, 1899, Mataafa conquered both, and they took refuge on board a British war ship. In this struggle the German representatives at Apia favored Mataafa while the British and American representatives favored his adversary.

Provisionally, the local representatives of the three treaty powers recognized the new government which Mataafa now established, but this provisional arrangement was soon reversed under orders from the home governments at London and Washington. In March, 1899, Rear Admiral Kautz, of the American navy arrived at Samoa in command of the warship "Philadelphia," evidently instructed, and at a conference on board the Philadelphia it was decided to put down Mataafa's government. Accordingly, on the 15th of March, 1899, Admiral Kautz proclaimed an ultimatum commanding Mataafa to submit by one o'clock that day and threatening bombardment in case of refusal. Mataafa responded (so it was reported at the time,

but the arbitrator finds otherwise) by crossing the bay and invading Apia in the direction of the British and American consulates. The allegation that he had done this was made the pretext for attacking him. The "Philadelphia" and two British war ships opened fire on the outlying native villages and continued their bombardment for more than a week, destroying several native villages and much human life. Finally, March 23, 1899, Tanus was crowned king under their protection. In this assault and the subsequent crowning of Tanus the German authorities at Samoa took no part. The German consul general had issued a proclamation at the outset, saying that the facts asserted by Admiral Kautz as the basis for his ultimatum were false, and announcing that he would uphold Mataafa's provisional government. Two weeks later Mataafa ambuscaded a detachment of American and British marines near Apia and after a terrific fight drove them back to the beach with loss.

Soon after the bombardment mentioned above a joint high commission of Great Britain, the United States and Germany was formed (vol. ii., No. 53, p. 9), which arrived at Samoa on the 13th of May (ib. No. 61, p. 11). Both Mataafa and Tanus appeared before the commission and agreed to abide by its decision, each laying down his arms (ib. No. 62, p. 10). The commission decided (ib. No. 65, p. 9; No. 68, p. 9) against Mataafa's claim to the throne: evidently as a compromise, however, for Tanus immediately resigned the kingship, and the commission agreed to recommend the abolition of the office. Pending the adoption of their recommendation by the powers the official duties of the king were reposed in the consuls. An amended treaty was accordingly ratified (id., No. 90, p. 10; No. 94, p. 9) which completely altered the relations of the three powers to the Samoan islands, dividing up the group between them; and in a supplemental treaty they referred all private claims growing out of the military operations against Mataafa, waged by Great Britain and the United States, to the arbitration of the King of Sweden and Norway. It is under that supplemental treaty that King Oscar now makes his award.

This award, which is too lengthy for reproduction here, sustains Ger-



many and decides against the United States and Great Britain upon every point. It holds that there was nothing in the treaty of Berlin or any subsequent agreement to authorize one of the powers or a majority of them in taking any action to enforce the decision of the American judge against Mataafa. It also decides that as the three powers had recognized Mataafa's provisional government they were bound on principles of international good faith to maintain the situation until by common arrangement they agreed to change it. The German consul is exonerated for his opposition to Admiral Kautz's proclamation; and in answer to the British-American contention that their military action was warranted because necessary for the protection of lives and property, which it was their duty to safeguard, the arbitrator says:

We have found nothing in the evidence before us to show that the general condition of affairs was such as to render the military action necessary for the protection of lives and property.

He then goes on to show that Mataafa never intended to cross the bay at that time and make an attack on the consulates, and on account of the state of the tide could not possibly have done so. Continuing, the decision recites that Tanus had been completely defeated before the arrival of the "Philadelphia," but that the United States admiral and the British authorities brought back his warriors and armed and provisioned them, giving them ammunition which under the treaty should have been issued only at the unanimous request of the three consuls. The decision concludes as follows:

That the military action in question, viz., the bringing back of the Malietoans and the distribution to them of arms and ammunition, the bombardment, the military operations on shore and the stoppage of the street traffic cannot be considered as having been warranted; and that, therefore, his Britannic Majesty's government and the United States government are responsible under the convention of the seventh of November, 1899, for losses caused by said military action.

The award reserves for a future decision the question as to the extent to which the two governments, or each of them, may be considered responsible for such losses.

In the anthracite coal arbitration

the taking of testimony began at Scranton on the 14th. Clarence S. Darrow represented the strikers. John T. Lenahan asked leave to represent the non-union miners, and his request was granted against Darrow's protest that Lenahan was appearing really for the employers under a false cover. The several capitalistic interests were represented by their respective lawyers, ex-Attorney General Wayne MacVeagh being one. After brief preliminaries, Mr. Darrow called John Mitchell as the first witness. Mr. Mitchell read a written statement. He was then questioned, though at no length, by Mr. Darrow, after which he was subjected to cross-examinations, day after day, by the attorneys for the employing interests, each in their turn, until the 19th, when he gave place to another witness. This was the Rev. Dr. Peter Roberts, a Congregational clergyman of Mahanoy City, the author of a book on the anthracite coal industry.

The 22d annual convention of the American Federation of Labor met on the 13th at New Orleans. In his reply to the address of welcome, President Gompers, alluding to a recent speech of President Eliot, of Harvard college, said: "I must fling the lie into the teeth of a would-be public educator, who said that a strike-breaker is a hero. Then Benedict Arnold is a martyr and Judas Iscariot is a saint." At this the convention broke into a storm of applause. In the same connection he referred to what he called the "bankers' union" as "pampered pets of the government," and compared with labor unions the unions of lawyers, which have, said he, "their apprenticeship, their working card, and every other form of a union." There were in attendance delegates from 69 national associations, 9 State organizations, 59 central bodies, and 54 local bodies, besides four fraternal delegates from abroad. On the 15th a resolution denouncing the ship subsidy bill now pending in Congress was carried with only one dissenting vote, while a motion declaring against the construction of the Isthmian canal by the American government was laid upon the table. Among resolutions adopted on the 18th were one opposing legislation against railroad ticket brokers and ticket scalping, and one pledging the aid of the Federation to secure better pay for letter carriers. A socialist resolution,

petitioning Congress to provide a pension for wage workers who reach the age of 60 years without having had an annual average income of \$1,000, was defeated, though by a vote of only 90 to 85.

A storm which has long been brewing between Mr. Gompers, president of the Federation of Labor, and Mr. Shaffer, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, broke in the convention at New Orleans on the 17th, when the following resolution was offered:

Whereas, President T. J. Shaffer, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, at the last convention of that organization, held in Wheeling, W. Va., made charges against President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, which impeach his fidelity to the principles of unionism; therefore, be it resolved, that this convention appoint a committee to investigate said charges and report the findings to the convention in order that the truth may be known.

The resolution was adopted, and a committee at once selected, two members by Mr. Gompers, two by Mr. Shaffer, and one by the other four.

The controversy between Gompers and Shaffer rises out of the steel strike of 1901 (vol. iv., p. 394) and is reported to have included originally President John Mitchell of the mine-workers and Frank Sargent of the locomotive firemen, but President Shaffer has never pressed his charges against them, claiming to be without satisfactory evidence. This he asserts he has in the case of Gompers. He has summed it up in a circular, part of which reads as follows:

When we had almost completed arrangements with the representatives of the American Tinplate company for a scale of rates and conditions we were in fairly good condition to win without help, but looked for aid from other labor bodies, and especially relied upon the American Federation of Labor. As the strike went on the newspapers lied about us, the Federation gave us not a cent. Perceiving that lack of money, loss of public approval, desertion by hundreds of our own people, and neglect of other organizations would make it impossible to gain a decision, we endeavored to save what we could. I arranged for Mr. Gompers to meet J. Pierpont Morgan to effect a settlement. Mr. Morgan gave up his vacation, went to New York, and waited for Mr. Gompers, who failed to

appear, nor has he since explained why he neglected our interests.

Mr. Gompers has been reported as making the following reply to Mr. Shaffer's circular:

Mr. Shaffer says he especially relied on the American Federation of Labor for financial assistance. I assert that he never asked for any. No request, written, telegraphic or verbal, was ever received from him or his organization. Yet I venture to say that nearly every dollar of financial assistance he received came from affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor. His version of the Morgan interview is absolutely false. That interview was arranged by Ralph M. Easley, and it was due entirely to Mr. Shaffer that it failed. What Mr. Shaffer really wanted and did not get was this: He asked that a meeting of the executive officers of every national and international union of the country be called for the purpose of considering ways and means to help the steel strike. That I would not do. I felt confident that the committee ought not, and would not, break contracts or agreements with their employers throughout the country. Hence, there would not and ought not to be a widespread sympathetic strike.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The emperor of Germany concluded a visit to his uncle, the king of England, on the 15th.

—The new papal delegate to the Philippines, Archbishop Guidi, arrived at Manila on the 18th.

—President Roosevelt closed a Southern hunting trip for bear, with a speech on the 19th at a reception at Memphis.

—On the 19th a judge of the Ohio supreme court granted an injunction against Mayor Johnson, prohibiting the removal of derelict policemen.

—On the 14th the German reichstag substituted card voting for roll call voting. The change saves time and prevents much of the delay of obstructive tactics.

—An assassin fired three shots at King Leopold of Belgium on the 15th, in resentment for the king's ill treatment of the late queen. The king escaped unhurt.

—A life-saving globe was successfully tested in the British channel on the 18th during a gale. The inventor is a Norwegian sea-captain of the name of Donvig.

—Eugene E. Schmitz, mayor of San Francisco, was given a reception in Chicago on the 17th by trade unionists. He addressed the Federation of Labor at New Orleans, on the 19th.

—Since Elizabeth Cady Stanton's

death it appears that she had given her brains by will to the department of neurology of Cornell university, over which Prof. Burt G. Wilder presides.

—Mrs. Fanny J. Clary, of Williamsburg, is the first woman ever nominated for representative in Massachusetts. She received 493 votes at the recent election, while the Democratic candidate polled 588.

—After January 1, the selling, carrying, or keeping of parlor matches will be an offense in New York. They are to be regarded as dangerous combustibles. More than 1,300 fires are said to have been caused in New York last year by these matches.

—Marconi's wireless telegraphy has been subjected to a severe test and proved successful. An Italian steamer, the Carlo Alberti, completed on the 19th the ocean voyage from Cornwall to Nova Scotia without once breaking communication with the shore.

—Eleven aldermen of Denver were arrested on the 18th for contempt of court. In the face of an injunction, but under the advice of the assistant city attorney, they had voted for the extension of the franchise of the Denver street car company.

—During the consideration of the German tariff bill in the reichstag at Berlin on the 13th, the paragraph authorizing the German government to retaliate against countries placing discriminating tariffs upon German goods, was adopted by a vote of 192 to 71.

—A mail vote of Irish landlords on a proposal to call a conference of Irish landlords and tenants with a view to the sale of their land by the former to the latter has resulted favorably by a vote of 1,128 to 578. The announcement was made from London on the 17th.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the four months ending October 31, 1902, as given by the October treasury sheet, are as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$142,191,874	\$333,188,756	\$190,996,882 exp.
G	11,937,237	14,989,741	3,052,504 imp.
S	17,432,130	9,584,056	8,848,074 exp.

\$471,561,241 \$357,562,621 \$113,998,620 exp.

—The convention of the American Bankers' association, in session at New Orleans (p. 503) voted unanimously on the 13th to create a commission of "seven representative citizens" to investigate the currency question and make a report thereon at the next annual meeting. These "seven representative citizens" are to include not only bankers but some well known economist, a constitutional lawyer, and one or two business men outside of the banking business.

—Sagasta, the Spanish premier, who was called upon to form a new Span-

ish cabinet (p. 502) has accomplished the task by making the following appointments: Prime minister, Senor Sagasta; minister of foreign affairs, Duke of Almodovar; minister of war, Gen. Weyler; minister of marine, the Duke of Veragua; minister of the interior, Senor Moret; minister of public instruction, Count Romanones; minister of justice, Senor Puigcerver, and minister of finance, Senor Equilior. With the exception of Senores Puigcerver and Equilior all the ministers were members of the preceding cabinet.

#### PRESS OPINIONS.

##### THE COAL STRIKE ARBITRATION.

Chicago Chronicle (Ind.), Nov. 19.—That a lawyer who has been attorney general of the United States can on occasion descend to the level of the pettifogger is manifest from the attitude of Wayne MacVeagh, retained by the coal trust to represent it before the strike arbitration commission. The tone which Mr. MacVeagh assumes in questioning John Mitchell and the whole line of policy which he pursues is a reflection upon his own shrewdness and an affront to the intelligence of the high-class men who compose the arbitration tribunal.

Cleveland (O.) Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), Nov. 18.—Yesterday it finally leaked out! The coal miners' strike of 1900 was settled for political reasons. Bryan's election was to be prevented at all costs. These are the statements which were made before the coal strike arbitration commission yesterday. What does it mean? It means this, that the best thing labor could have done for itself in 1900—yes, even in 1897—would have been to vote for the man for whom these trust magnates, fearful of nothing else, have such a wholesome dread that they would rather make almost any sacrifice than to allow him—that man—to become President.

##### THE DEMOCRACY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Nov. 15.—The Democrats of Pennsylvania were very decently licked in the recent election and it is not certain that they did not deserve what they got. They studiously ignored their own principles and wantonly discredited their best leadership in the futile effort to placate traitors who had twice aided in electing Republican tickets. The Erie platform was a mere tirade of abuse. It pledged the party to no constructive policy. It simply "jumped on" the other fellow and swelled mightily over the superior virtue of a party afraid to declare its purposes and too cowardly to stand by its previous deliverances.

##### THE DEMOCRACY OF OHIO.

Cleveland (O.) Recorder (Dem.), Nov. 11.—What is to be gained by a Democratic victory when it is known that Lewis Bernard, Doc Norton, John McLean, and men of that sort are going to manage the victory? Here in Cleveland we got rid of that sort of horned cattle and immediately there were ten to one of Republicans and others who really want something decent and who came into the party to take their places. It was probably a large undertaking to expect to kick all these men out of the party in the State at large in a single campaign, but it was praiseworthy that the attempt was made at any rate and that a big start was made in encouraging.

##### THE FATE OF DEMOCRACY.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Nov. 14 (weekly ed.).—There seems to be

a greater chance that the Democratic party will be radicalized than that it will break up into the building of a new party—though its present chaotic condition may seem to promise a repetition of the political experience of 1862-6. As the nation grows larger it becomes increasingly difficult to break down old parties and build up new; and, as in England, reform is more apt to capture and work through the established mechanism of an old party than to substitute a new one for the achievement of its immediate ends. This question of the fate of the Democratic organization will not long remain in doubt.

**TOM L. JOHNSON.**

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Nov. 12.—Johnson is a millionaire in his own right and there is little reason to doubt that he could have a place of honor in the party of the millionaires if he chose to align himself with them. Because he has chosen to take a radical stand, and strike out with a boldness and rare courage of conviction against the gross and grievous wrongs Republican legislation has fastened upon Ohio, he is made the brunt of personal attacks, his motives are impugned and his honor maligne.

Hartford (Conn.) Examiner (Ind.), Nov. 15.—When the New York Post undertakes to represent Tom L. Johnson of Ohio as a political "charlatan"—a man whose political character while in Congress proved him the most frank, sincere and outspoken of statesmen, it serves to most distinctly mark the animus of that publication, and shows to what power it owes allegiance.

**MISCELLANY**

**FRIENDLINESS.**

For The Public.

The following verses were suggested by an incident, to me very touching and beautiful, which occurred during one of my visits to San Francisco. It was quite a warm day, and the passengers about to take their places on a cable car, when transfer was made from one line to another, were all naturally anxious to secure outside seats. I was just about to step into one, when a lady passed rapidly before me and secured the place. Upon which, as there was no more room, I passed on into the inside car. A short time afterward, the car came to a stop and the conductor announced that, owing to disarrangement, there would be a delay of about 15 minutes. Upon this, many people, not choosing to wait, got off, and after a few moments I noticed that there was but one passenger—a lady—remaining in the outside car. I therefore resolved to change my seat, as I had still some distance to go. To my surprise the lady turned quickly towards me as I took my place, and I then saw that it was she who had anticipated me about the seat before. She colored a little and then impulsively addressed me, saying: "I am very sorry I took your seat; it was very rude."

"Oh, no," I answered, "not at all. It was first come, first served, and you had surely an equal right."

"Well, no matter for that," she answered, "it was a selfish thing to do, and I am sorry."

I was very much touched by her candor. We fell into desultory talk, and when we parted I left her with a strong sense of sympathy and respect, and of renewed faith in humanity.

**FROM ALTRURIA.**

A little glimpse of heaven upon our wearied earth;

Like sunshine and like music of some remembered mirth,

It lingers with my spirit, and gives our souls a claim

Of sisterhood, though strangers we were in even name.

Oh, beautiful unlifting above the narrow plane

Of self and selfish striving, we count our living vain.

I felt as if a gateway had opened, wide and free,

To that bright land of "Nowhere," the poet showed to me.

We drifted with Time's current that bore us far apart;

But still that voice of kindness is pulsing in my heart.

It kindles inspiration when hope is faint and wan—

Like the first fresh wind of morning that stirs before the dawn.

A little glimpse of heaven upon our wearied earth;

A sweet assurance given of days that shall have birth:

When the plaint of helpless sorrow, and the wild revolt of wrong,

Shall pass before the coming of the Loving and the Strong.

When our souls shall learn the secret of the turmoil and the pain.

And we know the tie that binds us is a tie for loss and gain,

That time nor change can alter though blindly we withstood

The law of life eternal—the law of brotherhood.

FRANCES M. MILNE.

**THE RENT VALUE OF A CHANCE TO STEAL.**

For The Public.

A dispatch from Akron, O., says:

"The discovery that two landlords were charging high rents on the ground that the houses were near the railroads, and the tenants, therefore, would not need to buy coal, has started an investigation of coal stealing from railroad cars, which at once resulted in seven arrests. In several cases the thefts were so great that whole cellars have been filled."

The chance to steal also causes high rents in Wall street.

BOLTON HALL.

**PREJUDICED.**

Ondes Quare—Good morning. Mr. Stockson Bonds. Have you seen the papers this morning?

Stockson Bonds—No; anything interesting?

Ondes Quare—Yes; Folk has got a

lot of those St. Louis boodlers in limbo.

Stockson Bonds—Say, that man Folk makes me tired. Just because a lot of business men have turned a great financial deal in St. Louis he must jump in and cause 'em trouble. I know what's the matter with Folk. He's a jim crow, narrow-minded failure as a business man, and he's after those captains of industry in St. Louis because he has allowed the dark and evil vices of hatred and envy to eat into his nature. What our big cities need is attorneys who will safeguard the people's interests by making it easy to secure paying investments.—Will M. Maupin, in The Commoner.

**"THE FATHER, LABOR; THE SON, CAPITAL."**

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

Again the Interpreter took me by the hand and showed me two that contended together for the ledge of a hill that had been narrowed by digging away the bank, and the Interpreter said: "They are father and son."

And one took the other by the throat and pressed him, with intent to throw him down.

And as I looked, behold, he that was pressed gave ground and stumbled where the earth was cut away, and both fell together and lay groaning in the abyss.

Then said I, shuddering, to the Interpreter: "Who be these?" And the Interpreter said: "The Father is Labor, and the Son is Capital, and they struggled together, for each thought that if the other fell, himself would rise."

**THE GREATEST PATHOLOGIST OF THE WORLD HAD TIME FOR PUBLIC DUTIES.**

In the death of the venerable and illustrious Virchow the medical world has lost its most brilliant light. This is universally acknowledged in every civilized country. He was the father of modern pathology, and as we all know, pathology is the basis of the modern concepts of disease and its cure. He was not only a pathologist, but a broad man of science as well; as an anthropologist he was a leading authority. "His works, over 125 large volumes, and a thousand pamphlets, give the history of medicine and anthropology during the past 60 years." This sentence,

quoted from an elaborate article on his life and work, illustrates his immense work in these two fields.

What I wish to call attention to in this connection is, that amidst all this stupendous work, he found time to be what we might term the model citizen of his city and his country. For 42 years he was a member of the Berlin municipal council, and for many years he was also a member of the Prussian lower house and of the German reichstag. In all these positions he was a leader, and by his voice and pen took a leading part in agitating the public questions of his time. In 1849 he was dismissed from his position in the Berlin university on account of his political affiliations, but in 1856 he was recalled and given a professorship, in spite of the fact that his political activities did not cease. At one time his criticisms of the war policy of the government were so caustic that Bismarck challenged him to fight a duel.

Let the life of the great Virchow be an answer to, the little croakers that we sometimes hear say: "I am doing scientific work. I haven't time for politics or the discussion of public questions. They are quite out of my line."

In examining the life of Virchow I find a very interesting fact. I thought that I was the only one that ever combined politics and medicine in the same magazine. I find that "in June, 1848, with Leubuscher, he edited a paper, both medical and political, called *Medicinische Reform*." Let only men who confess themselves not large enough to be both a medical man and a citizen be only a physician. At the same time, let such men confess that they are not fit to live in a country like this. They ought to go to Russia or China, where they would be prohibited, if necessary, from taking any active part in public affairs. —The Medical World.

#### IS DARWINISM ON ITS DEATH-BED?

An article in *The Literary Digest*, of October 18. The translations in the article were made especially for the *Digest*.

The persistent opposition of the late Prof. Virchow to the teachings of Darwinism has usually been of late years the most important feature of the international conventions of European scientists, of which he was the leading spirit. His recent death has again brought into public prominence the attitude of German and other continental scholars toward this school

of philosophy, with the result that the opponents of Darwinism claim that it is practically on its death-bed. One of the prominent advocates of this view is the well-known Christian representative of the natural sciences, Dr. E. Dennert, perhaps the most pronounced representative of that class who maintain that perfect harmony exists between the teachings of the Scriptures and those of nature correctly interpreted. His latest work on this subject is entitled "Vom Sterbebeger des Darwinismus" (At the Death-bed of Darwinism), a pamphlet of 83 pages, which contains the views of dozens of naturalists, zoologists, biologists, etc., who are opposed to the Darwinian philosophy. Of the actual status of the present controversy on the continent, Dennert has this to say:

Some 20 years ago it was perfectly justifiable to identify the ideas of Darwinism and the doctrine of the descent of man, for at that time Darwinism was the only theory of descent extant. The few who would not accept this could easily be numbered. Only occasionally a scholar, such as Wigan, Kolliker, Nagel, and a few others dared to raise their voices in protest. Now all this has been changed. Practically all naturalists now make a sharp distinction between Darwinism and the doctrine of descent. A survey of the field shows that Darwinism in its old form is becoming a matter of history, and that we are actually witnessing its death-struggle.

A fair examination of the leading naturalists of the continent justifies the claim that the doctrine of descent or evolution is now generally accepted as a demonstrated theory by nearly all scientists. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that Darwinism, in the sense of natural selection by means of the struggle for existence, is being crowded to the wall all along the line. The bulk of modern scientists no longer recognize it, and those who have not yet discarded it at any rate regard it as of subordinate importance. In place of this, older views have again come into acceptance, which do not deny development, but maintain that this was not a purely mechanical process.

The comments made on the position of Virchow by many periodicals are of the same character, so the *Germania* says. The same journal adds:

The great bacteriologist, Pasteur, was an outspoken opponent of the materialistic explanation of the origin of things known as the *generatio aequivoca*, or the development of organic beings out of inorganic, in the Darwinian philosophy. He stated his opposition in these words: "Posterity will one day laugh at the foolishness of the modern materialistic philosophers. The more I study nature, the more I stand amazed at the works of the Creator. I pray while I am engaged in my work in the laboratory."

Virchow was not a professed Christian, but he was as much opposed as was Pasteur to the theory of Darwin-

ism. At the last convention of anthropologists, held in Vienna, Virchow said: "The attempt to find the transition from animal to man has ended in a total failure. The middle link has not been found, and will not be found. Man is not descended from the ape. It has been proved beyond a doubt that during the past 5,000 years there has been no noticeable change in mankind."

Other naturalists have also raised their voices against the Darwinian views. Notably the zoologist, Prof. Rute Meyer, who has written a special work directed against Haeckel, the alter ego of Darwin in Germany. In this book, he charges Haeckel with "playing with the public and with natural sciences."

The Strassburg professor of zoology, Dr. Goette, has published in the *Unschau* a natural history of Darwinism, which he depicts as having passed through four stages of development, namely (1) the beginnings, when it was received with great enthusiasm; (2) the period in which it flourished and found general acceptance; (3) the period of transition and sober second thought, when its principles and teachings were called into question; (4) the final period, upon which the scientific world has just entered, and when its days will evidently soon be numbered, while the germ of truth it contained will become a permanent possession of modern science.

#### THE DOUKHOBOR PILGRIMS: A LATTER-DAY QUEST FOR THE HOLY GRAIL.

An article written by L. L. Knefelter for the November number of the *Farmers' Institute*, published in the *Herald*, of Mason City, Ia., from which we copy it. Since this article was written most of the Doukhorbor Pilgrims have been returned to their homes by the Canadian police. The article opens with an extract from a Winnipeg daily paper.

Sixteen hundred Doukhobors, men, women and children, reached Yorkton to-day.

They are a part of the Swan River colony, and have come for an entire distance of a hundred miles on foot. They say they have set forth in search of Christ, and expect to march onward until they find him.

At various places on their journey, here and there, large stones have been found overturned by them, evidently with the thought that it might be the stone before the sepulcher.

Among the pilgrims are a number of old people and several sick, who are too feeble to walk. These are carried on rude stretchers by their fellow travelers.

The Doukhobors are strict vegetarians, believing it to be sinful to eat anything that has ever lived. They come from Russia, and there are seven or eight thousand of them in various counties in western

Canada. It seems that several "missionaries" from Russia have been holding a religious revival among them, with the result that 1,600 enthusiasts have set out on a search for Christ, whom they hope to find almost any time.

They have left comfortable homes in the colonies, and whole families together have tramped thus far in their crazy quest. When they came to Yorkton, the government procured suitable quarters where the women and children will be cared for, while the men will be allowed to continue their journey.

They are a harmless lot, one of the religious tenets being non-resistance. They will not wear any article of clothing that is made from wool or leather, use no tobacco or liquor. The men carry their provisions, which consists wholly of bread, in a sort of knapsack. When they come to a stream they hold a sort of religious service, after which they dip the bread in water, a very necessary operation, before eating.

There was a great deal of mourning among the women because they were not allowed to continue the march, because they believed that their husbands would find Christ and they wanted to be with them.

Before starting out on their journey these Doukhobors turned all their horses and cattle loose upon the prairie, saying that they had no right to use dumb beasts against their will. The government rounded the live stock up and sold it at auction, and now has some \$20,000 as the result of this sale, which will be used to take care of the women and children.

After the authorities had gathered in the women and children, the men went out of town about a mile into a small grove, where they sang and prayed until late into the night, after which they lay down on the bare ground and slept until morning, when they resumed their journey along the railroad in the direction of Winnipeg. No alarm is felt, as the amiable and peaceable character of the Doukhobor is well known. The ladies of Yorkton are doing everything in their power to help the authorities in taking care of their rather unwelcome guests.

The foregoing is an account in plain, newspaper correspondent's phrase of what is really one of the most striking and most pathetic movements that the world has seen in centuries. Striking, because it presents the remarkable spectacle, in this hard-headed money grabbing twentieth century, of nearly 2,000 human beings renouncing all their worldly possessions except the barest necessities and setting out at the beginning of the winter season upon the search after an idea. Pathetic because of the suffering which must follow as the inevitable result of the movement.

At the dinner table in Winnipeg the other day I asked a man at my right: "What kind of people are these Doukhobors, anyway?" "Oh, they are a lot of dirty foreigners that the government has brought over from Russia and given some of

the best land in Canada. They are a curse to the country and the present government ought to be turned out of power for bringing them here." It was plain that he belonged to the opposition, which is trying to make political capital out of the Doukhobor incident as out of everything else, for our Canadian cousins are just as bitter partisans as any of us Yankees.

Finding he was hopelessly prejudiced, I turned to the man at my left, who seemed to be a fair-minded sort of fellow. "Do you know anything about the Doukhobors?" I asked. "Yes, I have been running a saw mill on Swan river for seven years and have had them work for me," he replied, adding: "I have no particular time for them, though." "Well," I said: "I am a stranger up here and wish to find out what I can about these people. Are they industrious or lazy?" "Oh, they are not lazy, they are good workers." "How are they as to honesty?" "Oh, you can trust a Doukhobor for any amount he agrees to pay. His word is perfectly good anywhere." "How about his personal habits? Is he cleanly or dirty?" "Oh, he is clean. Their villages are kept nice and clean."

"Are they moral in their relations as to sex?" "I guess they are a good deal straighter than most people about that."

"Are they intelligent or ignorant?" I asked. "As to that I can't say. I don't understand their language and they don't understand mine. It's about a standoff. They may be more intelligent than I think." This was probably the real reason why he "had no time for them."

I excused the witness at this point, feeling that he had somewhat reluctantly given the Doukhobor a pretty good certificate of character. I was also told that people like to buy cord wood that has been cut by a Doukhobor because every stick is exactly four feet long. In one case a wood contractor who had employed about 40 Doukhobors one winter made a mistake in settlement and overpaid them by \$50. When the head men of the colony went over the accounts they found the error and at once started a man back with the money. He went the whole distance of 80 miles and back on foot. Merchants trust a Doukhobor at any time. They say he will pay it with the first money he gets if he has to walk 100 miles.

So much for the worldly side of

the Doukhobors. But this world is the smallest part of the Doukhobor's trouble. His chief concern is about the world to come. He is by nature or education intensely religious and being also simple minded he believes that religion is a thing to be actually practiced instead of merely professed. He seems to be deficient in the matter of imagination and takes everything in a literal sense. When he sings "I'm but a stranger here, Heaven is my home," he backs up the sentiment by refusing to file on a homestead even though the government offers to remit the filing fee. Neither could he sing "I give my all to thee," and shut his eyes when the contribution box comes around to him. With him, to believe is to do. He believes it is wrong to eat of anything that has ever lived, and therefore is a vegetarian. He believes it is wrong to own land and therefore will have none of it.

This self-abnegation is probably due to the centuries of persecution which he and his ancestors have suffered in Russia. His doctrine of non-resistance and his devotion to the principles of peace have drawn on him the hostility of the military system and made him easy mark for the oppressor. Under such conditions it is not unnatural that his faith should lead him to seek his highest happiness in another world than this. Certain it is that his chances are not good in this world, whatever they may be in the next.

A thousand years ago men rode forth in search of the Holy Grail. Ancient legends told that the vessel in which Joseph of Arimathea caught the blood of Christ upon the cross had been brought by him to England and that it had been kept for centuries by guardians upon the one condition that they must themselves be pure in thought and chaste in deed. At one time the guardian had failed to "make good" in these respects and the cup or "Grail" disappeared. Afterward, "when knighthood was in flower," it became the fashion for helmeted knights to ride forth in quest of the Holy Grail. No knight could hope to find it unless his own life was blameless, and a thousand years later Tennyson immortalized Sir Galahad in his poem, "The Holy Grail," because that virtuous knight had achieved the purpose of his quest and had found the Grail.

In those days, when men must needs have everything expressed in

symbol the Holy Grail meant the personal presence of Christ.

The plain, simple-minded enthusiasts upon the plains of Saskatchewan dispense with the symbol and seek for the Christ himself. Who shall say that in a thousand years from now the striking drama enacted beneath clear autumnal skies in western Canada by the 1,600 sincere and devoted seekers of the Master may not form a fitting subject for the pen of the laureate of that distant day.

Let us hope that as the world grows older it will grow more charitable toward the meek and humble in spirit and that some day the great mass of mankind will appreciate that high devotion to an ideal which the simple Doukhobor is so sincerely though perhaps clumsily seeking to express.

#### ANTHRACITE COAL, AND OTHER THINGS.

An extract from a personal letter to a young friend, published by permission of the writer of the letter.

The ideas herein expressed are not new, but they seem pertinent. Whether they are evolutionary or revolutionary is not as important as whether they are sound or unsound.

The anthracite coal operators say in effect: "We have a right to do as we please with our own. Give us federal troops to protect us in our rights." The miners say: "We are a species of serf chained to the soil, and have a right to a better life out of our labor in mining coal—and no one shall come between us and our right." The public say: "We have a right to the bounty of nature—coal."

In my opinion the miners and the public are nearer the truth in their "rights" than are the operators. If the coal operators actually own the coal lands in fee simple, they have by the feudal law of a thousand years ago, which we have preserved till to-day, the actual and exclusive ownership and control of a pyramidal wedge from the center of the earth to the coal area, with a base at the earth's surface of the size and outline of the coal area, or not exactly a base, but a cross section, for, by the extravagant liberality of the feudal law of a thousand years ago, the owner of a piece of land owns also all that section of the air and the firmament which rests upon it, even to Arcturus, the Milky-way and beyond.

By the law of to-day, therefore, if the coal operators chose to bite off their noses, they could shut down all operation and say to the inhabitants of the earth: "The coal is ours—trespass not—even though we refuse to work the mines at all." The operators are not likely to do this for selfish reasons—but a true right fails nowhere; therefore in testing a right we ought to view the outcome when that right is pushed to an extreme. It becomes instructive, therefore, to consider that, by their present legal title and so-called "right," the anthracite coal operators could, if for any reason they saw fit, put a paper fence about the coal fields, and refuse to work the coal mines themselves or permit anyone else to do so to the end of time.

I believe the anthracite coal area of this globe is about 500 square miles in the states of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, principally in Pennsylvania, and is all owned by some four or five sets of men. If instead of anthracite coal this were a lake of fresh water, and the people of Pennsylvania and New York had no other water supply and must take from this lake or die, the "right" of private ownership would be brushed aside in a minute; yet the difference is only one of degree, and we feel instinctively an absurdity in applying to these valuable natural deposits an antiquated law made for feudal barons, in a state of society that was radically different from ours, and when what was below the earth's surface was a matter of no consequence to anyone.

The remedy oftentimes spoken of is socialism, or government ownership—a most undemocratic theory advocated by the Democratic convention of New York. This seems to me so unsatisfactory an alternative that I, in common with a mass of others, pause. To me government ownership seems the worst "trust" of all, and I believe, attracted by rich spoils, a scheming few would control that socialistic government in their own interests, just as they control this one whenever it becomes worth their while to do so. For example, the great prize in every country is man's inheritance—the earth; and I'll venture to say this country and its people would be better off to-day if congress had never had any control over the public domain. The land bounties, railroad grants, swamp land acts, desert land acts, have all resulted in the valuable bulk of the public domain go-

ing into the hands of scheming rings which stood back of each of these ostensibly public and general acts. The stone and timber act gives every citizen 160 acres of land valuable only for stone or timber. What does a citizen want with an isolated 160-acre tract of such land? Obviously not to use it himself, but in practically every instance he secures it only to sell it at once to the timber speculators, who thus have gathered at nominal prices about all the timber land not in railroad grants (often calling perjury and fraud to their aid, and taking up the land by their own employes). President Cleveland, to preserve river sources, set aside certain mountain areas as timber reserves—a worthy act; but the grafters by their willing friends in congress passed an act permitting any person having land in a forest reserve to exchange it for an equal quantity (not value) out of the reserve. This exchange being wholly optional, railroads (and others) have kept all their good timber land inside the reserve, but have exchanged all their stony or burnt or otherwise worthless sections inside the reserve for choice timberland outside the reserve, till now there is but little good timber left in the public domain. What the babies to be born 50 years hence will say to this question of private ownership of all the timber, we cannot tell. It is a favorite axiom of the modern feudal baron that everyone has an equal opportunity. Obviously the babies to be born 50 years hence will not believe this as to timber, coal, iron, water power and other natural foundation stones of wealth. But let the babies give their own answer in due time. I digressed merely to give one instance from many, showing that wherever a government, national, state or municipal, has held lands, franchises or other rights of value, that government has been controlled by the shrewd few who coveted these things; and I cannot believe in government ownership till human nature be wholly changed to perfection.

To return to the coal mines: The fact is, if we divest ourselves of our inbred habits of thought, and think down to the ground, we shall see more or less clearly that we have few absolute rights. Our unqualified rights are those inherent and natural: I should say the right to life and liberty, so long as we respect the same rights in others, and the right to maintain that life by the

actual use and occupation of so much of the earth's surface as (according to conditions) is required. All other rights are conventions, concessions, customs or, as may be said, gifts from society. They are generally supported by some existing law. But notwithstanding our various constitutions and judicial decisions to the contrary, I think there are philosophically no vested "rights" in any property, except that which we have ourselves created by our own labor. The value of the Broadway street car franchise lies in the fact that it is in New York. On the desert of Nevada it would be valueless. The street car company did not make New York, nor the people. It does not own the street. It has received the gift of a use from the people of New York, and the people of New York may, in fundamental good morals (court decisions to the contrary notwithstanding), take it back or modify it at any time. If the street car company paid value for the franchise it would not alter the moral relation, except that it ought always to be made whole in every respect.

I think the old feudal idea of the title to all the land being in the king, or, in our case, in the state, as an individual, to be given to this one or that as the state (that is, in reality, a few politicians) may choose, is as erroneous as the idea of an infeasible vested right in a franchise.

The discoverer of a mine, like the discoverer of anything else, is entitled to the use of his discovery. That is to say, he has a squatter's right at the point of discovery to so much as he can use. But the right of transfer or alienation must be denied. When once this is the accepted custom there is no hardship in it. In my opinion, if the right of alienation in fee simple were denied, and title depended on actual occupation and beneficial use, the anthracite, the timber, and many other "baronial" questions would be settled. For instance, if the people elected to say: "Vested rights, as given by will of the people, may be revoked by that same will; and we of this generation revoke the law of our ancestors as to fee simple ownership, and exclusive ownership in mines and mineral deposits, and declare that no one can hold title to any coal field, except as to so much as he and his employees are in good faith actually working, or reasonably require for a future fixed period, according to the custom of the district," the operators

could only hold those mines which are in actual operation, and the miners themselves, or anyone, could go to other parts of the natural deposit and open it for market. This would be the freest competition, the most perfect private ownership, and bottling the mines in idleness would be impossible. Their operation would be limited by the law of supply and demand. A less novel road to the same end would be the Henry George plan—the operators paying to the state the full rental value of every acre of coal land, whether they used it or not. No operator could then afford to hold, at such a price, more land than he could actually work. True, the operators in either case would in good faith feel outraged in their "divine rights." So did Charles I., and in good faith. But the world must move nevertheless.

The radical and essential fault in strikes is never with the day laborer; it cannot be. It lies always with the superior power engendered by some special privilege to a few. The striker strikes because of necessity. No matter what his faults, ignorances and misdeeds, the fact remains that the striker is without any special privilege whatever, save to earn a mere existence by his daily labor, and he strikes because his lot is unendurable—a sort of serfdom. To compare his position with that of the few specially and (as we all at heart feel) unduly privileged monopolists of a God-given bounty, is to rail at the fish for its struggles in the net of the fisherman. Strikes will not be ended till the private monopoly of valuable natural deposits be ended. This will undoubtedly be done in time. The question is: What is the best way?

C. E. S. WOOD.

Portland, Ore.

But the little Nation side-stepped, and, countering cleverly, rushed the Big Nation against the ropes.

"Foul!" roared the Big Nation. "You hit me below the belt!"

"I can't reach above it!" protested the Little Nation.

"Precisely!" retorted the Big Nation. "Haven't I insisted all along that the only honorable course for you is to yield?"—Life.

Mrs. Emma P. Ewing is treasurer of the "Dinner Delivery Company," lately formed at Pittsburg, Pa., with Mrs. Bertha L. Grimes as president, and Mrs. Maud P. Kirk as secretary. It cooks and delivers dinners

and other meals at private residences in any part of the city. By a recently invented apparatus for retaining heat, it is enabled to deliver meals warm, and in as good condition as those dished up in the average home kitchen. Each meal will be inspected by Mrs. Ewing or some other culinary expert, and none will be sent out that does not meet the inspector's approval. The company is already doing a lucrative business.—The Woman's Journal of November 8.

The Reformer could not help but observe that the Office, prior to seeking the Man, as was now again become its custom, always consulted a certain ponderous volume.

"What book is that?" the Reformer finally asked, for his sense of civic duty would not suffer him to remain silent, once his curiosity was aroused.

"Bradstreet's," replied the Office.—Puck.

Liveryman—Th' only thing this horse is afraid of is that he won't get enough to eat.

Smith—Why! Ain't that the same horse that ran away at an "auto" yesterday?

Liveryman—Certainly! But there wuz two millionaires in it that are trying to corner oats.—Puck.

### BOOK NOTICES.

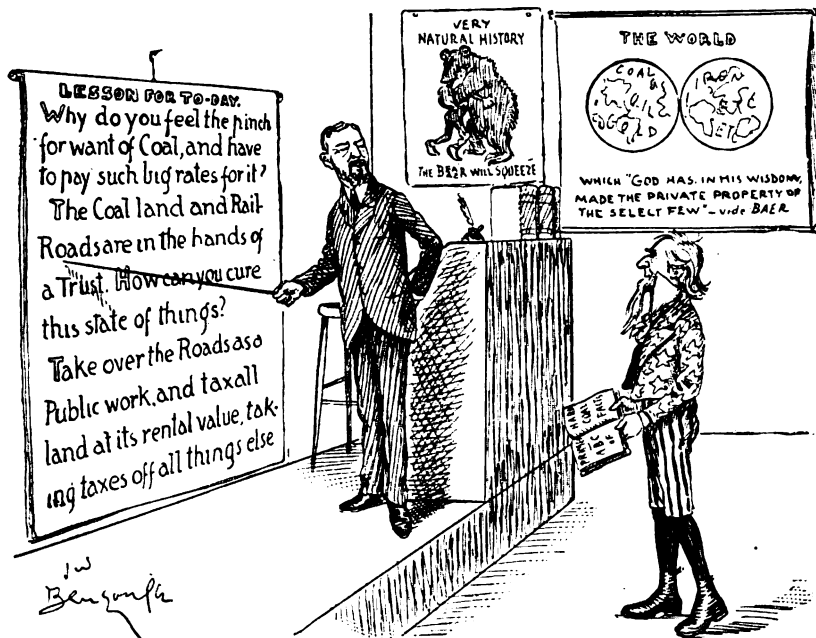
Bishop Spalding's "Socialism and Labor, and other Arguments, Social, Political and Patriotic" (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, 80c net) is a disappointment in almost every respect except its luxuriant eloquence. Instead of a thoughtful and fairly comprehensive, or at least profound, discussion of the relations of socialism to labor, we have one brief essay, platitudinous to a degree, which barely skims the surface of the subject. That Bishop Spalding must have written this opening essay without preparation is evident from his confusion of one of the most elementary distinctions—utility and value, or as socialists would say, "use value" and "exchange value." For instance, in one place he illustrates his contention that "values cannot be estimated in terms of labor," by asking: "How shall we determine the worth of the labor expended in perfecting a plan such as that which led Columbus to discover America? What is the worth of Newton's labor in evolving the theory of gravitation, of Shakespeare's in writing Hamlet, of Wagner's in composing 'Parsifal,' of Gutenberg's in making his type, or Watt's in building his steam engine?" The worth of these things in the sense of their usefulness, is very different from their worth in the

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**NOTICE** is hereby given that a petition for the pardon of George Damaglia, 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.  
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sense of their value in trade; but Bishop Spalding overlooks the difference. Such confusions of thought are typical of the entire essay. Though its general conclusions are what we should regard as sound, the course of reasoning leading up to them—if, indeed, there is any reasoning—is neither satisfactory nor luminous, charming as is the essay simply as a specimen of style. Other essays in the collection are better. Yet in one of them—"Charity and Justice"—an approval of the revolting idea of regulating human reproduction by law, which has been proposed by some "scientists," may well make the reader wonder how the democracy and religion of so democratic and spiritual a writer should have become polluted. From this shocking proposal, and such platitudes as that "the foe of labor is not capital, but ignorance and vice," it is a pleasure to turn to the thirteenth essay—the Bishop's splendid oration on Altgeld,—which is in no wise inferior in literary charm to the other essays and is in many respects far superior. If there were nothing else to distinguish it, this rugged sentiment—without a parallel for vigor elsewhere in the volume—would be enough: "It is better to be wrong, inspired by the sense and love of right, than to be right, inspired by motives of policy and the worship of vulgar success."

—The *Cosmopolitan* for November contains an admirable character sketch of Tom L. Johnson by Henry George, Jr.

—Fashion magazines are not usually promising for anything of interest outside of fashion subjects, but the Christmas number of *The Delineator* (New York: The Butterick Publishing Co. Price \$1.00 a year; 15c a number) is a pronounced exception.

—"Whim" for November (Newark, N. J.)

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