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The Thanksgiving season is an appropriate time to remind the people of their prosperity. Those who are prosperous will appreciate it, and those who are not will think themselves the unfortunate exceptions to a general rule.

But the Chicago prosperity touters have strained a point or two. They tell us that the demand for labor is greatly in excess of the supply. This is calculated to excite the suspicions of men, of whom there are plenty, who seek work day after day and find no place. When the demand for labor really exceeds the supply, no one has to seek work, for in those circumstances work seeks him. And when figures are exploited to verify the assertion that labor is scarce, while laborers find themselves in fact redundant, it is difficult to avoid repeating the aphorism that while figures won't lie liars will figure.

A strong sidelight is thrown upon this dazzling statistical prosperity by the statement that stenographers are particularly scarce. When it is noted that good stenographers can be secured in Chicago for \$20 a week, and poorer ones down to \$6 or \$7, the brilliancy of the prosperity begins to fade. It seems, at best, to be a kind of prosperity which stimulates demand mainly for underpaid labor.

One thing that makes it possible to show an excessive demand for labor when in fact there is much lack of opportunities for employment, is that special temporary demands arise in

certain directions and for certain purposes and are pressing. When these cannot be promptly filled they go to swell the statistics of unsupplied demand for labor. For illustration, 3,000 railroad hands are wanted quickly and temporarily. There might be twice 3,000 men out of work, yet not half 3,000 able to do this work or willing to surrender their little stake at home by going as day laborers far away. So the statistics will show a large unsupplied demand for labor, though the demand was in fact not large, nor for permanent employment, nor general, nor the supply of labor in general at all scarce.

Another thing that makes these prosperity statistics misleading to all who do not examine them in detail is the fact that demand for women and children inflates the statistics. The experience of the Chicago Y. M. C. A. is referred to as an example of excessive demand and deficient supply. For the months of August, September and October the applications for work through this agency amounted to only 681, while the applications for workers were 759. Here is an apparent excess in demand over supply of 78—not a large excess, but an excess nevertheless. Yet when the details are looked into, the excess is shown to be made up altogether of demands not for men but for boys. Only 182 boys had applied for work, while 339 applications for boys had been made—an excess in demand for boys of 157. Regarding men, however, the excess was the other way. Applications for work had numbered 499, while applications for workers were only 420—an excess in supply of 79. Is it, then, an indication of prosperity when the demand for boy workers is greater than the supply, while the

demand for men workers is less than the supply? Or does it mean that men are being displaced by boys?

Properly enough Pennsylvania employers have not kept places in their establishments open for employes who went into the coal regions as militiamen. Vague threats are made against them for not having done so. It is urged, for instance, that penal laws ought to be passed to meet such cases. But upon what theory? Why should any business man bear the burden of supplying soldiers for the protection of the coal trust? If young men wish to belong to the militia that is their right. If they are then ordered into the field it is their duty to go. But if in consequence they lose their jobs, they have no just claim, neither has the State, against their employers. Losing one's job under such circumstances is part of the sacrifice that militiamen should expect to make. And in these times of statistical prosperity it is not much of a sacrifice. What if a man does lose his job? Aren't other jobs fairly yawning to swallow him up? The prosperity statistics make it so appear. Why, then, should any one, militiaman or not, worry over such a trifle as loss of a job?

President Elliot, of Harvard, has responded to the criticisms of his speech on trade unionism. He is not opposed to the organization of laborers for the purpose of benefiting their condition. He only opposes their methods. Much that he says in this connection is quite sound, or would be if he had coupled it with a frank recognition of the fact that the objectionable methods of labor organizations are incited by worse methods practiced against workingmen by organized society under the sanction of its predatory laws and institu-

tions. President Elliot is as amiable in his feeling toward individual workmen as the president of Princeton in the 50's was toward individual slaves; but as the latter stood by the institution of chattel slavery so the former stands by the institution of economic slavery.

One of the best utterances in connection with the growing Irish agitation was made in Chicago on the 23d by Michael Davitt when he said that "those who own the land of a country will own its government, too, either directly or indirectly." Those words truly diagnose the political troubles in Ireland. So long as British landlords own Ireland, there can be no government of Ireland by the Irish people. Unfortunately the agrarian change now likely to be made is not from ownership by British landlords to ownership by the Irish people. It is from ownership by British landlords to ownership by Irish tenants. The old tenants are to become the new landlords, and consequently the governors of Ireland; but the working class among the Irish will be no better off than before. Individuals among them may become landlords, but as a class the working people will have no rights to the land of Ireland and therefore no real voice in its government.

The New York Nation sees in the late elections a notice to the Democratic party that "in order to retain the confidence of the country, it must address itself to the questions of social injustice and class favoritism which are pressing for solution." Yet the only Democratic leader of national prominence who has been addressing himself sensibly and effectively to those questions—Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio—is stupidly and falsely, not to say maliciously, discredited by the Nation in the same article as "grotesque," and the progress he has manifestly made is slurs over.

According to the Appeal to Reason the socialist paper of Girard,

Kansas, the Socialist vote at the recent elections numbered 400,000. Accuracy in the use of figures is not the Appeal to Reason's strong suit, but this estimate may nevertheless be approximately correct. It is unwise, however, to boast of elections results so obtained. They are the aggregate of the highest votes cast for local Socialist candidates, votes which were influenced by all sorts of local and personal considerations, and therefore do not stand for a party vote at all. Consequently the vote for president two years hence is almost certain to fall below these results, in which case the Socialist vote will then appear to have sagged.

In a small way the local Single Tax party of Chicago has undergone this experience. Notwithstanding that there is a strong single tax sentiment in Chicago, this experiment in third party politics made the poor showing of only 500 votes at its first trial. At the second its vote increased 100 per cent., which indicated, simply as matter of percentage, an early triumph. This indication was emphasized at the third trial, when, by dint of computing the votes for local candidates, an aggregate of nearly 2,000 was footed up, making another increase of 100 per cent. But at the recent election that vote fell as much as 50 per cent. or more. This is in accord with the general experience of permanent side parties. And in the end they reach the condition which is exemplified by the Prohibitionists, who, in spite of a tremendous prohibition sentiment that might be utilized as a faction in the old parties, putter along year after year with a toy party, a play campaign, and a microscopic vote.

In his speech at Memphis last week President Roosevelt referred to the Filipinos, saying that they were "wholly unfit to govern themselves." That is what the British said of the Americans 125 years ago. Its falsity was demonstrated in both cases. In that of the Filipinos the records at Washington prove that they had

been peacefully and successfully governing themselves for months before the late President McKinley, without warrant or excuse, declared war against them and turned their peaceable country into a veritable hell upon earth.

Again, in the same Memphis speech, President Roosevelt said that "if we had left the Philippines there would have been a brief period of bloody chaos." All the established facts indicate that this is a false inference. But even if not, pray how could the chaos have been bloodier than that long continued chaos and slaughter which President McKinley precipitated when he demanded that the Filipinos abandon their peaceable government and submit to American subjugation? Mr. Roosevelt's persistent assertions, so transparently false—as false as his assertion in Cincinnati that the Standard Oil trust and the anthracite trust have no tariff protection—make it progressively harder to ignore the fact that his looseness of statement is becoming as notable as the strenuousness of his life or the elasticity of his political principles.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY.

Having in a previous article (p. 517) cut through the layers, as it were, of economic phenomena, from money, down through trade, value, serviceability and wealth to labor and land; and having then suggested that from the fundamental starting point so secured these steps might be retraced and the way be more minutely surveyed, we purpose now to make that survey—not fully, not elaborately, but with sufficient minuteness, we trust, to verify our assertion that economic problems otherwise perplexing may be easily and accurately surveyed and solved by means of the one great economic landmark—the primary fact that all Wealth is produced by Labor from Land.

I.

Let us begin the survey with a somewhat more extended examination into the economic characteris-

tics of Land, which, as we have seen, is the sole condition of the economic processes that Labor at any time generates or maintains.

Land is the storehouse of nature from which man draws all his supplies, and the one foundation upon which he rests all his structures. It includes everything except the human family, and such objects as the human family have altered in condition so as to adapt them to human desires. Not only the soil, but the water, the atmosphere, the sunlight, building sites, railway sites, mineral deposits, forests, and even the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea, and the wild animals that roam the earth, are included in this economic category.

It may seem absurd to designate animals and water and air and sunlight as "land," a term habitually associated with the soil and used in contradistinction to air and water. But we are not now considering physics or natural history. The subject of our inquiry is the economic relations of the human family to its environment. We must distinguish things, therefore, by their economic peculiarities.

For that purpose some term having no colloquial connotations might be much better than "land," some word meaning, for example, "material environment" or "earth chance." But one word will do as well as another if we are careful to think of it in the sense in which we agree to use it.

As printers speak of the "chase" without thinking of hunting, and of the "hell box" and the "devil" without alluding to theology, so in economic matters may we speak of "land" without limiting our meaning to what the farmer means when he speaks of plowing land, or the sailor when upon sighting a shore line he announces the fact with a "land, ho!" or the ocean traveler when he puts his foot upon the dock and tells you he has landed. We use it as a technical term to distinguish sharply from all other things the natural environment of the human family. As all must agree, man has a natural environment without which he could not work, could not produce satisfactions, could not live at all,—an environment which is to his life of wonderful variety what bodies of water are to the simple life of fish and the upper air to that of birds. This environment includes every natural

thing that man needs, ranging from air to breathe to all the matter and all the forces of nature, including animal life, which he may alter in condition so as to adapt it to the satisfaction of any of his desires. For convenient reference to that environment, some simple technical term is needed, and the one with which political economists have long been familiar is Land.

This, as already explained, is the sole passive or responsive condition of economic processes. No economic process is possible without it. It always has been, is now, and, though human achievement accomplish untold wonders, always must be, one of the only two indispensable factors of producing satisfactions for human desires.

Any other conclusion is unthinkable.

II.

Without Labor, however, Land would yield no artificial object. Labor is the other indispensable thing.

As Land is the passive or economic condition, so Labor is the initial economic force. It is Labor applied to and operating upon and in conjunction with Land that causes every other economic process.

Or, to put the same thought in another form, it is by means of the energies of man, mental and physical, applied to and operating upon and in conjunction with the material energies of his natural environment, that all artificial satisfactions of human desires are produced.

For Labor, like Land, is a technical term of political economy, and as such must be understood more comprehensively than in common speech. It designates human energies, mental and physical, in so far at least as they are devoted to economic processes. So it comprehends all serviceable work — of mind or muscle, with skill or without, as hired man or "boss;" and whether on farms or in factories, out upon the sea or down in the mine, up in the high stories of sky scrapers or away from civilization in the depths of primeval forests, in the hospital or the pulpit, at the bar or the easel or the teacher's desk, in store or warehouse or railroad train or street car or public office. All service is Labor, whether it be a service rendered directly, like that of the barber who shaves you, or one rendered indirectly, like that of the mechanic who impresses his energy upon matter, thereby producing exchangeable objects. Wherever

or however human energy responds to the cravings of human desire, the expenditure of that energy for that purpose is Labor.

III.

When this application of the energies of man to his natural environment produces substantial results, those results are distinguished by the technical term Wealth.

Wealth is drawn from external nature by man, who, by changing natural materials in form or place or both, produces such artificial objects as tend to satisfy human desire. In technical phrase: from Land, Labor produces Wealth. To call in the aid of metaphor: as father to mother and children to parents, so is Labor to Land and Wealth to both.

Among the distinguishing characteristics of Wealth is its tendency to revert. Not only does it consist of artificial objects produced by man from his material environment, but with use or lapse of time it loses its artificial quality and passes back again into the great reservoir of matter and force whence it came. A loaf of bread is Wealth. So were the flour of which it was made, the wheat from which the flour was ground, and all the artificial implements which were utilized to bring the grain to fruition, to grind the flour, to bake the bread, and to transport grain, flour and implements in the form of a loaf of bread to the consumer.

In raising the grain, agricultural implements were subjected to a "wear and tear" which returned them in degree to the natural reservoirs of supply; while the seed, produced by previous effort, was wholly returned. In grinding the flour, milling implements were returned in degree by their "wear and tear"; and so with baking implements and transporting agencies. At last the bread itself is eaten, or wasted. In either case, it also returns to the natural sources.

What is thus true of bread and its artificial constituents is true of all other artificial objects. Sooner or later, and with most of them much sooner than later, all artificial objects revert to their original economic condition as part of the natural environment of man.

In technical phrase, therefore, not only is all Wealth produced by Labor from Land, but in natural course it all tends to pass back into Land

This is the never varying result of economic processes.

But why do men produce by Labor from Land artificial objects, or Wealth, if those objects inevitably go back to Land again? Simply, as we have already casually observed, because the consumption of those objects, which is one of the ways in which they revert, satisfies desire.

Consuming bread satisfies a desire for food; wearing out clothing satisfies desires for covering and ornament; occupying houses, driving horses and carriages, carrying a watch, wearing a jewel, and so on, satisfy other desires. Men systematically produce these things because consuming them gives satisfaction.

It is not because the labor of producing them is itself a pleasure. On the contrary men instinctively shrink from systematic labor for its own sake. Under an obvious natural law—that is, a law of human nature—men instinctively seek the satisfaction of their desires in the easiest way. Their object is to get the most and the best with the least effort. This is the natural law that inflicts upon us predatory crime when it is perverted, but blesses us with labor-saving invention when it operates normally.

Translated into economic terms, that law, the most fundamental of all the laws of political economy, would read: "In producing Wealth from Land, Labor seeks the easiest way—the line of least resistance."

IV.

Since production is irksome and Labor instinctively seeks the line of least resistance, the things it produces must either have, or seem to have, the power of giving some kind of satisfaction, else it will not produce them. That is to say, Wealth, must possess the quality of Serviceability. It must be capable of serving some purpose, of ministering to some desire, whether good or bad, doubtful or indifferent. Wealth adapted to serve normal human wants, giving no one pain in order to give others pleasure, may be distinguished as useful, that is, as possessing the quality of utility. Bread would come in that category. But Wealth adapted to serve the purpose of giving pleasure or satisfaction to one by giving pain to another (such as instruments of torture), is lacking in the quality of utility. Nevertheless it may be accounted as service-

able in the restricted sense of the term. It serves a desire.

Serviceability is exhibited in two general aspects. An artificial object may be serviceable in satisfying desire directly; or as a tool or material in aiding to produce such objects.

A loaf of bread upon the table satisfies a desire directly. It appeases hunger. But wheat, flour, agricultural implements, mills, cars, wagons, ovens, warehouses, etc., the various artificial materials and artificial implements whereby the loaf of bread is produced to the table of the consumer, these do not satisfy desire directly. They are artificial means whereby objects that do satisfy it may be realized.

These two kinds of Serviceability give distinctive character to the articles of wealth to which they respectively attach. For the articles of Wealth which have the kind of Serviceability that satisfies desire directly, are finished; whereas those that do so indirectly, or mediately, something yet being necessary to be done to give them final Serviceability, are unfinished.

Bread in the possession of the consumer is finished. But wheat, flour, ovens, cars, and the other materials and mechanism for making bread and delivering it to the consumer, and also the bread in the store, are in the other category. Something remains yet to be done by Labor before they have the final kind of Serviceability. To the degree, therefore, that they are used in or are devoted to satisfying the desire for bread, they are unfinished bread.

With reference to its economic Serviceability, then, there are two kinds of Wealth, namely, Finished and Unfinished. This distinction is important, as we shall see when we get back to Trade, for in Trade it is unfinished wealth that constitutes Capital.

V.

Value as well as Serviceability attaches to Wealth. Since artificial objects, or Wealth, have Serviceability—are capable, that is, of satisfying desire—they have possibilities of Value. But they do not for that reason alone actually exhibit Value. This appears only when they are scarce. They must be scarce as well as Serviceable.

If artificial objects could be produced by simple fiat, they would have as much Serviceability as if pro-

duced laboriously; but they would have no Value, because they would never be scarce. But why wouldn't they be scarce? Because their acquisition in abundance by everybody would be irksome to nobody. Inasmuch, then, as man is not endowed with magical power; as he cannot say "Let there be bread!" and there is bread; as, on the contrary, every artificial object is produced only at the expense of human exertion, often severe, and always irksome if frequently repeated—this being the commonplace fact, artificial objects are always scarce except as irksome labor modifies their scarcity. Consequently all the elements of the Value of Wealth spring from Labor. As the application of Labor invests objects with Serviceability, so the irksomeness of Labor invests their Serviceability with Value.

Even to Robinson Crusoe, alone upon his island, this phenomenon of Value was present, though he might not have recognized it by name.

He certainly would have valued more those of his artificial possessions that would have cost him great exertion to replace, than those that would have cost him less. The point is admirably made by Henry George at page 248 of his "Science of Political Economy." Referring to Crusoe, he writes that the essential idea of Value—

would be brought out in his mind by any question of getting or saving one of two or more things. Of several things to him equally useful, which he might find in the wreck of his ship, or on the shore line under conditions which would enable him to secure but one; or of several equally useful to him, which were threatened by a deluge of rain or an incursion of savages, it is evident that he would "set the most store" by that which would represent to him the greatest effort to replace. Thus, in a tropical island his valuation of a quantity of flour, which he could replace only by cultivating, gathering and pounding the grain, would be much greater than that of an equal quantity of bananas, which he might replace at the cost of plucking and carrying them; but on a more northern island this estimate of relative value might be reversed. And so all things which to get or retain would require of him toil, would come to assume in his mind a relation of value distinct from and independent of their usefulness, a relation based on the greater or less degree of exertion that their possession would enable him to avoid in the gratification of his desires.

. . . In the last analysis, value is but an expression of exertion avoided.

The last sentence of that quotation furnishes probably the most exact explanation of Value to be found anywhere in the books: "an expression of exertion avoided," an expression, that is, of Labor saved. It throws a bright light upon the whole subject of economic Value, whether of artificial or other objects, making it perfectly clear why some things are more valuable than others, and why the degrees of difference are so numerous and extreme. It is not the Labor saved-up or stored in an object, but the Labor to be saved or avoided by possession of the object, that gives it Value; and degrees of Value are regulated by the degrees of Labor to be saved by the objects, respectively, to which Value attaches.

Primarily, the objects to which Value attaches are artificial—those objects distinguished as Wealth. This is because such objects are primarily non-existent. They come into being only through Labor, which must be exerted to remove the natural scarcity; and since that exertion is irksome, its results are valuable in the degree that they will serve to save the possessor further exertion.

But secondarily, Value attaches also to natural objects—those distinguished as Land. It does so only secondarily, because primarily Land is not non-existent. On the contrary, primarily it is superabundant. But when some parts of it yield easier returns to Labor than other parts, those parts are capable relatively of saving Labor. Consequently, if such Land is scarce it becomes valuable; and the degree of its value is in accordance with the degree of Labor it is capable of saving its possessor.

VI.

Such being the nature of Value, nothing but a peculiarity of Labor not yet considered, is necessary to cause Trade.

This peculiarity is best known as Division of Labor, though the better term is Cooperation. It results from the law of human nature already mentioned, that men satisfy their desires in the easiest known way.

Evidently a larger general result, a greater volume of Wealth, can be produced with less Labor if some men work regularly at one or some parts of one thing, and others at other things or some of their parts, than if each man works at everything.

If, for instance, armies of workmen devote their time and energies to preparing leather, separate groups doing over and over again some particular act in the process from raising the cattle to tanning; if other armies, also divided into specialized groups, turn the leather into shoes; if still others do the transporting and others the storekeeping, while others divide up into groups to make and maintain the machinery, and so on, more and better shoes will be made and brought to market than if each of these men were to devote the same energy to all the processes of making and delivering shoes. And this is true of all artificial objects. It is, therefore, economical to make and deliver Wealth by the process which should be known as Cooperation, but is known as Division of Labor.

This process may be observed in two aspects. Sometimes men literally divide their effort, to produce results which would otherwise waste time and energy. Thus, two men having two errands each to do, two to the eastward a mile and two to the westward a mile, will do them easier and quicker if one attends to both in one direction and the other to both in the opposite direction, than if each does one errand in each direction. By dividing their effort, they economize time and energy. The other aspect of Division of Labor is exhibited when men join their efforts to produce results which none of them could accomplish alone. Thus our two men could build two houses, each of which would be better than either man could build alone. So Division of Labor means not only division, but also union, of labor; which is in itself a good reason for preferring the term Cooperation.

Now the things so done would, as we have seen, have Serviceability. Otherwise they would not be done—certainly not systematically and regularly, which is of the essence of political economy. These two houses, for example, would serve to live in; and if bread were the object of two of those errands and meat of the other two, the meat and bread would serve for food.

Having Serviceability, under circumstances which would enable their possession to save necessary Labor in order to satisfy want (which implies Scarcity), they would also have Value. The Value of the houses would be greater than that of the lum-

ber, etc., which would be greater than that of the timber, etc., because each in order when in possession would be to that extent a labor-saver. So of the bread and meat. After being brought to the central point—where they were desired, else the errands would not have been done—they would have more Value than before the errands, because they would save the Labor of bringing that much bread and meat to that point to satisfy the want which caused the errands to be done.

We now have a grasp of the conditions of Trade.

To recur for illustration to the example: When these houses are finished, their possession will save equal Labor. Consequently, they have equal Value, and the two men will exchange their respective undivided interests equally. Each will swap his undivided interest in the house he gives, for the other's undivided interest in the house he gets. So each comes to own, as the result of his own labor, a whole house, which neither is capable of building by himself.

Likewise with the errands. When they are done, the two men have at the central point, where they are wanted, two loaves of bread fetched a mile from one direction, and two pieces of meat fetched a mile from another. As the possession of either loaf will save further Labor in equal degree, they have equal Value. Similarly of the pieces of meat.

But how much Labor would each loaf of bread save over and above its cost at the mile-away bakery? Obviously not more than a two-mile walk. Precisely so with the pieces of meat. Consequently, as a rule, no one would give more for either than the equivalent of a two-mile walk. Therefore, the man who fetched the bread would trade his extra loaf for the other's extra piece of meat, and vice versa, provided each had cost the same at the point from which it was fetched. If either had cost more at that point, the men would adjust that difference and then trade even.

Now, it is the same in principle whether two men do each other's errands and swap the results, thus securing bread and meat with an economy of Labor; or whether two men help build each other's houses and swap their Labor interests therein, thus securing better houses than either can build; or whether millions upon millions of men help get one

another's bread and meat, help build one another's houses, help make one another's clothes, help furnish one another's luxuries—in a word, contribute to the making and delivery of every variety of artificial objects, by cooperatively dividing and uniting Labor and swapping the resultant Wealth. The principle is identical.

It is by means of this Division of Labor that the social body economizes Labor in the production of Wealth, and it is by means of this swapping that the Wealth which Labor draws forth is distributed. The whole process of making and swapping is Cooperation or Division of Labor and Trade.

Whoever gets any species of Wealth in free exchange for his Labor has in effect produced the thing he gets. It is the same in principle as if he had made it himself; for, exchanges being voluntary and in free conditions, the Value of what one gives is as a rule the equivalent in Value of what he gets.

It is a mistake to suppose that the individual can no longer rightfully own any kind of Wealth because he no longer completely produces any kind. When the Value of what he contributes in Trade to the volume of Wealth in one form is equivalent to the Value of what he draws in Trade from the volume of Wealth in other forms, it cannot be fairly said that he has no moral or economic title to what he draws out.

As we have already found, there are two kinds of Serviceability—mediate and final, a flouring mill being typical of the one and a loaf of bread in the larder of the other. We have distinguished them as Finished and Unfinished wealth. It is only in conditions of Trade that this difference becomes important. For it is only in those conditions that the two different kinds of Utility fall into different ownerships.

In Trade, however, unfinished Wealth, that is Wealth having distinctively mediate or indirect Serviceability as distinguished from final, the Serviceability of the mill in contradistinction to that of the loaf of bread, does become a distinctive class of property. Whereas Robinson Crusoe, of Selkirk's firm island in the sea, was only one individual and owned in common, so to speak, all his Wealth, unfinished as well as finished, tools as well as final satisfactions, the Robinson Crusoe of Galileo's floating is-

land in space, is composed of millions of individuals, some of whom own one kind of unfinished Wealth, some other kinds, and some others still, and all own, in greater or less degree, at least now and then, a supply of finished Wealth. When unfinished Wealth is thus differentiated by Trade into a distinctive class of property it is known as capital Wealth—for short, Capital.

Other things are often called Capital. But it is technically wrong to call them by that name, or else it is wrong to call this by it; for they and this are absolutely different as economic facts. Money, for instance, is not Capital. The fact that it will trade for Capital does not make it such, any more than the fact that a new pair of shoes will trade for a five-dollar greenback makes them money. Though money may represent Capital, it is itself something else. Neither is a building site Capital, nor a mineral deposit, nor any other natural object. Natural objects are distinguished as Land. In a slave country slaves might be called Capital, but they are not. Slaves are workmen. They are therefore distinguished as Labor. Capital is the distinctive term for that form of Wealth (which means artificial objects adapted to satisfy human desires) that has mediate or indirect as distinguished from final Serviceability. It is Wealth which is not yet in the hands of the consumer; Wealth which is, therefore, in the economic sense, unfinished.

Out of this segregation of Capital Wealth from Final Wealth, arise the problems with reference to interest, or the so-called earnings of Capital.

These problems are too much involved in confusions of Capital with things that are not Capital, to admit of examination in this general survey of first principles. It will be enough here to say that inasmuch as Capital is a class of Wealth, and all classes of Wealth are produced by Labor, the earnings of Capital, if such there be, must be earnings of Labor. They therefore belong, in fairness, to whoever has either made the earning Capital with his own labor or acquired the ownership of it in free exchange, Value for Value, for what with his own labor he has made.

This brings us to a consideration of the earnings of Labor in conditions of Trade, for which Wages is the technical term. But as "wages"

means colloquially only the hire of certain classes of subordinate workmen, another caution is necessary. Since Labor comprehends all human effort, whether of brain or muscle, in producing satisfactions for human desires, and not merely hired labor, so the compensation for Labor comprehends more than the pay of hired laborers. That proportion of the whole volume of Wealth that flows to Labor as its share is what is meant by the technical term Wages.

If Labor were the only factor in the production of Wealth, that is, if human exertion could create artificial objects out of nothing, needing neither raw materials nor standing room nor natural environment of any other kind, then all the Wealth created would go to laborers as Wages in return for their expenditure of effort in producing it. In other words, Wealth and Wages would then coincide. The non-laborer would take nothing except by theft or as a voluntary gift from his toiling brethren.

But Labor cannot create Wealth. It can only produce or draw forth Wealth from external nature—from Land. It must go to Land alike for materials and implements and final product—for capital Wealth, as well as final Wealth,—and to Land also for a working place.

Yet so long as there is no scarcity of the best quality of requisite Land, it is the same with reference to compensation as if no Land were needed. For one place being as good as another, and every place offering opportunity in excess of the need, there would be no premiums for place and the entire product would go to Labor in the form of Wages. Wealth and Wages would still coincide.

But with scarcity of better places, there enters in the possibility of diverting some proportion of Wealth, or premiums for place, to another category than Wages. This proportion is classified apart from the rest, because it represents the economic difference, or saving of Labor, which the better but scarce sites offer over the abundant but poorer ones. The term for that class or category is Rent, which means, of course, not what tenants pay to landlords for real estate, but what can be exacted for Land as distinguished from real estate—what can be exacted for superior places. It is in this manner that land acquires Value, the Rent of Land and the Value of

Land being but different manifestations of the same economic fact, Land Value is only the capitalization of land Rent.

Rent attaches to Land as Wages attach to Labor. Consequently the laborer on a specially desirable and scarce site may differentiate his Rent from his Wages by transferring his land, or, he may have it differentiated against his will by expropriation.

When this is done we have that most fundamental phenomenon of Trade, the distribution of artificial objects, or Wealth, into two categories: Wages, which is all the Wealth that remains after what is due to the advantages of exceptional and scarce places has been deducted; and Rent, which is the proportion of Wealth that is due to the advantages of those places. This primary division is regulated by the competition of laborers for Land.

A secondary division, also regulated by competition, divides Rent among land owners in proportion to the value of their Land, respectively, and the Wages fund among workers in proportion to the value of their services respectively.

As Labor becomes more and more productive of Wealth exceptionally desirable Land becomes relatively more and more scarce; consequently the Rent fund tends to increase side by side with the Wages fund.

This makes it highly desirable to own such Land. For one may thus satisfy his wants with least exertion or with no exertion at all; a patent fact which generates a tendency to monopolize Land in advance of general need for it, with the expectation or hope that it may come to command exceptional advantages for Labor—that a city may spring up near it or on it, or a mine be discovered under its surface, or a farming population grow thick in the region. But this tendency has the effect of lessening the general market supply of Land, and thereby, so to speak, of inflating or watering Rent.

Now, Rent proper, represents a normal advantage. It does not press upon the Wages fund, but equalizes Wages up to the standard of Labor done without peculiar advantages of place. Laborers thereby get equal returns for equal work, regardless of location.

But the "water" in Rent does make a pressure upon Wages. It can be traded for Wealth only at the ex-

pense of the Wages fund. This is the condition when most of the Land having superior Serviceability is monopolized. Rent, expanded by "water," presses more and more upon the Wages fund until that fund is so compressed that Labor refuses to continue production for the abnormally reduced compensation. Then the "water" bag collapses. When this happens we call it industrial depression; and we call the readjusting process "hard times."

Taxation may play an effective part in the economic pressure of "watered" Rent upon Wages.

If trading transactions are taxed, the Wages fund will be diminished, and Labor thereby weakened so as to be able all the less to resist the pressure of "watered" Rent,—the political moral of which would seem to be that trading ought to be exempt from taxation.

If the owning of Land having Value (which is the equivalent of Rent-yielding power), is taxed, the Rent fund will be diminished, thereby weakening the force of its pressure upon Wages,—the political moral of which would seem to be that such land owning ought to be taxed.

Either Trade or Land monopoly may be diminished by taxation to a far greater extent than the amount of the tax. This may happen if trading is so heavily taxed that it is checked, or land monopolizing so heavily taxed as to be discouraged. In comparing these differing effects of taxation it might be wise to observe that trading serves mankind best when it is not obstructed, and that land monopoly does not serve mankind at all.

As Labor can use Land effectively without owning it or hiring it, doubtless the ideal adjustment of land tenure would be one under which men would refuse to take title save for occupancy and use.

This can be best secured by taxing Rent into the common purse, which by removing temptations to forestall Land, would at once let out the "water"—and keep it out. There would thus be left no other motive for seeking title than desire to use.

It would be ideal also in this, that it would leave to Labor in the Wages fund for competitive distribution, the earnings of individual effort, while taking for Labor in the Rent fund, for public or common use,

the undistributable earnings of social effort as an indivisible whole. Wealth would then coincide with the sum of two kinds of earnings,—Wages, or the distributable mass of individual earnings; and Rent, or the undistributable mass of social earnings.

The nearer this distribution is realized, the nearer do we approach the economic ideal.

VII.

Coming now back again to the surface where our exploration began, we are again confronted with the phenomenon of Money.

In the concrete Money is a token of Trade.

For a metal disc called a cent we get a stick of candy, and the storekeeper passes the disc on to others in exchange for whatever he wants—maybe two sticks of candy, to be sold again at a profit. We may do the same thing in larger transactions with a silver dime, or quarter, or half, or dollar, or with gold coins or paper money. All these are tokens of trade, which close transactions and leave no obligation behind.

But comparatively little of the world's trading is done by the actual passing of such tokens. Checks and drafts, which are orders upon bookkeepers directing them to shift credits upon their ledgers, are used for the most part. Yet Money terms are retained, checks and drafts being drawn and all commercial books being kept in the language of Money. It is characteristic of trade that the terminology of Serviceability, as pounds and ounces, or feet and inches, or quarts and pints, is translated into the terminology of Value, as francs and centimes, or pounds, shillings and pence, or marks and pfennigs, or dollars and cents.

Consequently, confusion of thought often arises.

It is said that some man is worth a million dollars, and the imagination pictures him as possessing that much Money. But he has nothing like it. What is really meant is that he has property the value of which is equal to a million dollars of Money.

This use of Money terms for measuring property is a prolific cause of crooked thinking regarding economic relationships. It confuses just and unjust property in a bewildering muddle.

When we say that two men are each worth ten thousand dollars, we think of their property rights as identical.

Yet the property rights of the one might be utterly indefensible, while those of the other might be wholly unobjectionable. Could we examine their inventories we might find that the one owns thousands of 'dollars' worth of slaves (who are in justice entitled to own themselves); thousands of dollars' worth of private taxing power (which is a privilege of extortion); and thousands of dollars' worth of land (which is a common inheritance); while the entire fortune of the other might consist of buildings, machinery and the like (which are justly his if he has made them himself or has swapped his labor for them directly or indirectly to their makers). These fundamental, moral and economic distinctions are covered up by the use of Money terms for indiscriminately measuring Serviceability in Trade.

For that reason it is necessary to examine, as we have done, into the nature of Trade, where the language of Money prevails; to probe Value, which makes Trade possible; to consider Serviceability, upon which Value rests; and to analyze Wealth, which embodies Serviceability. Having done that, we find that Wealth, from which spring all these phenomena—Serviceability, Value, Trade and Money—is the product of Labor applied to Land.

We are therefore able now clearly to see that the justice of any property right, though its Value be expressed in terms of Money regardless of its economic character, depends at last upon its relations to Labor and Land. These things lie back of all kinds of "vested rights." And they determine infallibly whether any of these rights are just or unjust.

For there are two ways, and, broadly speaking, only two, whereby man enslaves his fellow man. He may do so by acquiring "vested rights" in Labor, which enable him to compel workingmen to work for him. This is called chattel slavery. Or he may do so by acquiring "vested rights" in Land, which enable him to deny life to workingmen unless they work for him. This is called land monopoly. In the one case the slavery is active; in the other it is passive.

In either there may be great varieties of form. Ownership of Labor does not consist alone in title deeds to slaves. Any taxing power for private profit is of the same

nature. It compels men to give up part of their earnings for nothing. Neither does ownership of Land consist alone in the title deeds to particular parcels of earth laid off by metes and bounds. All franchises, as a street car privilege, a railroad right of way, dock privileges, or the like, are in their nature the same. The essence of slavery, active or passive, is in every one of them.

"Slavery," some one has said, "is the sum of all sin." He only put into other phrase the sentiment of St. Paul: "The love of money is the root of all evil." To love money and not the earning of it, is to love slavery.

And that is the sum and substance of all economic problems and of all civic morality.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cleveland, Nov. 21, 1902.—No one in Cleveland, Senator Hanna least of all, believes that Tom L. Johnson was "snowed under" at the recent election.

In the initial Democratic campaign of the State under his leadership, with a radical platform and a radical candidate, with only himself and Bigelow to lead in the speaking, and all the plutocratic and spoils hunting Democrats of the State against him, as well as some of the largest corporate interests of the country, the count for Bigelow foots up 350,000 votes. Nor is that all. In the northern counties in which most of the campaigning was done, the Democratic gain was over 10,000. Even that does not sum up the gain. In the Congressional district reserved by the Republicans in their gerrymander for their Democratic coadjutor, "Doc." Norton—the tax lawyer and land expert of the B. & O. R. R.—while Norton's majority is normally 6,000, Johnson's campaign against public officials who, in their official capacity, serve the corporations that employ them, instead of the people that elect them, defeated Norton by 600 for Congress, while carrying the district for Bigelow for secretary of state. One other fact must not be forgotten. In Cuyahoga county, where Johnson and Hanna live, which was strongly Republican until Johnson came into Democratic leadership there, and where Hanna made his most desperate fight, Bigelow's plurality was 2,500, though the Democratic candidate for governor last year had a plurality of only 115.

In the city of Cleveland itself Bigelow's plurality was 5,000. Under these circumstances Senator Hanna is far from easy in his mind regarding the municipal election next Spring, when Johnson will doubtless be a candidate for reelection as mayor.

Mr. Hanna is preparing for a desperate struggle. He is endeavoring to bring together Republican factions by a judicious distribution of the numerous places which his new municipal code has provided; and in addition to this political wire pulling he is centering the interest of the great money-grabbing elements of Wall street upon this Ohio city, with assurances that the one thing needful to all monopolistic combinations is the destruction of the dreadful Johnson.

Whoever imagines that the victory over plutocracy is to be an easy one, makes a monumental mistake. If that were true it would have been won long ago.

The new municipal code does not take effect until Spring, when the first elections under it are to be held in all the cities of the State.

This code was made necessary by the attempt to thwart Mayor Johnson's policy of equal taxation and three cent fares on street cars. Under Mr. Hanna's patronage, and through the attorney general whom he nominated and controls, an ouster suit was brought against the city of Cleveland on the ground that its charter was invalid as special legislation. This charter had been passed by a Republican legislature, and had been in unquestioned force 11 years. The attorney general refused to bring a similar suit against the city of Cincinnati, which also had a special charter, but where the city government was subservient to the corporation ring. In the suit against Cleveland the Supreme Court of the State declared the Cleveland charter invalid, but in doing so laid down principles which invalidated every city charter in the State. Hence the necessity for a special session of the legislature and the enactment of the municipal code which is to go into effect in the Spring.

Meanwhile, the court had granted a stay of proceedings in the Cleveland suit, which leaves the officers of that city free to administer its affairs until Spring as the officers of the other cities are doing—under its old charter.

Accordingly, Mayor Johnson pro-

ceeded with the low fare and equal taxation reforms which he had entered upon immediately after his election. But instantly an injunction was procured from the Supreme Court to protect Mr. Hanna's street-car interests. Consequently any other city in the state can deal with the street-car question. Cleveland alone is enjoined. The explanation is that Cleveland is the only Ohio city in which monopoly interests are threatened.

Johnson also continued his tax investigation in the interest of the small property owners who are now taxed with gross unfairness. That, too, was stopped by injunction.

He then procured the appointment by the new county offices of a "tax inquisitor" under the Ohio law in place of the Republican "inquisitor," with a view to compelling the corporations to pay back taxes which they had dodged. The new "inquisitor" was promptly shackled with an injunction.

And now comes up a matter of another kind, which shows the determination of the Hanna ring to deprive the city administration of all power to administer the affairs for which it is responsible to the people.

For the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the police force, Mayor Johnson had, after long and careful investigation into its condition and the causes of its efficiency, decided to unload five of the six captains, who were barnacles, and to put in the place of the inefficient superintendent the sixth captain, whom he had found to be a competent officer. By thus getting rid of five useless captains, whose duties are performed by lieutenants, he would have had the funds to increase the number of patrolmen, and by promoting the efficient captain he could have secured a good superintendent for what under a competent chief he believed would be an efficient force.

The captains resigned when called upon to do so, but the superintendent interested Mr. Hanna's attorney general, and that convenient official secured from the accommodating Supreme Court an injunction so broad that the city government has no further authority over the police force. This injunction was granted without notice to the city or a hearing of any kind, but by a secret proceeding at Columbus.

To give it the color of good faith the Hanna papers manufactured and circulated a rumor that Johnson was removing these police officers for the purpose of putting his own po-

litical followers into their places. The disingenuousness of this manufactured rumor is apparent when the fact is disclosed that Johnson expressly intended and had fully arranged to make no appointments in place of the captains, and to fill the superintendent's place by the promotion of an officer who is universally regarded in Cleveland as one of the best on the force and who is a thorough-going Republican.

L. F. P.

NEWS

Rumors of a probable settlement of the anthracite coal strike gained currency on the 21st. The proceedings before the arbitration commission (p. 521) had gone on regularly on the 20th, when the Rev. Dr. Peter Roberts continued to give testimony regarding the condition of the miners. Among other statements he said that the fatalities in anthracite mining are 3.5 per 1,000 employes annually, while in railroading they amount to only 2.5. Dr. Roberts was followed on the witness stand by two physicians, one of whom, Dr. Lenahan, of Wilkesbarre, testified that few miners live to be over 50 years of age, and that the average life of a miner after beginning work at this calling is about 25 or 30 years. When Mr. Darrow applied on the 21st for an extended adjournment Judge Gray, as chairman of the commission, made the announcement which gave rise to the rumors of settlement. He said:

Acceding to the suggestion just made by counsel that an interval of time be taken for the preparation of the documentary evidence and for a possible agreement as to certain facts and figures which would forward the work of the commission, the commission desires to express the hope that an effort will be made by the parties to come to an agreement upon nearly all, if not all, the matters now in controversy, and that they will adopt the suggestion heretofore made by the commission to counsel on both sides, that we aid them in such an effort by our conciliatory offices. It seems to us that many of the conditions complained of, and which have been the subject and study of our examination, might be better remedied by the parties to the controversy approaching the subject in a proper spirit.

Thereupon the commission adjourned on the 21st to the 3d of December.

Subsequently the commission found it advisable to issue the following supplementary explanation:

It appears that there is some misunderstanding or some lack of understanding in connection with the recess taken by the commission and the suggestion in that connection that, possibly, the contestants might be able to agree upon some of the important points involved. The recess was desired by counsel for both sides, because authoritative statements of hours and wages which are being prepared are not as yet ready. The suggestion was made that perhaps some agreement might be reached between the principals which would simplify the problem and assist in reaching proper conclusions. The chairman, speaking for the commission, stated that the commission would gladly cooperate as far as could consistently be done in furthering an effort to reach an understanding through conciliatory means and methods. The idea has gone out in some quarters that the matter is to be settled without further effort or responsibility on the part of the commission. This idea is entirely wrong. The commission will, as announced, cheerfully encourage conciliatory spirit and action between the parties to the controversy, but has not surrendered, and will not surrender, jurisdiction of any of the matters which have been referred to it, nor responsibility for the conclusion reached. No adjustment can be made which does not, by its terms commend itself strongly enough to secure the approval of the commission and its incorporation in the award. With a view and for the purpose of removing any misunderstanding which might exist, the subcommittee of the commission invited such of the counsel representing the several interests involved as could be reached to meet this afternoon.

The independent coal operators were seriously disturbed by the probable settlement, and immediately used their influence to prevent it. On the 22d they addressed to President Baer and the other representatives of the coal and railroad trust a protest against a settlement at this time. They urged four objections: First, that the proposed settlement "would forever establish the power and perpetuate the injustice perpetrated" by the miners' union; second, that it "would be in the eyes of the public a confession" of guilt on the part of the operators of all the offenses charged against them by the miners; third, that after a final hearing before the commission any money award which the commission might make would be far less than the amount proposed in settlement;

and, fourth, that the commission, composed of fair men, etc., will "in their findings make such declaration as will for many years put a ban upon unlawful practices, oppression of nonunion men, unjustifiable demands and other grievances" suffered by the operators since 1900, "when the union first took possession of" their "property." The protest was signed in behalf of 24 copartners and firms, and was presented to a meeting of the trust held at New York on the 25th. While this meeting was in session, representatives of the independent operators being in attendance, a message was received from one of the attorneys of the trust, ex-Attorney General Wayne MacVeagh, who was in Washington arranging with Mitchell, Darrow and Henry D. Lloyd, representing the miners, for a final conference with a view to a settlement. Mr. MacVeagh had effected these arrangements, and his message proposed a conference between the trust magnates and Mitchell, to take place at Washington on the 28th. Meanwhile the protest of the independent operators had been read and discussed at the New York meeting, and Mr. Baer replied at once to Mr. MacVeagh as follows:

The conditions are such that no substantial progress can be made by the suggested meeting. The general judgment of the operators is that it will be best for the present to go on with the hearing.

Mr. Darrow explains in behalf of the miners that the initiative in the settlement proceedings was taken by the representatives of the other side and that they have now "gone square-ly back on their word."

On the 20th the committee appointed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor to investigate Mr. Shaffer's charges against Samuel Gompers (p. 521) made its report to the convention. Mr. Shaffer having appeared before the committee and declared that he had never said anything reflecting upon President Gompers, that he had never made any charges of infidelity to unionism against him, and that the matter had been brought before the convention without his knowledge, the committee reported that there were no charges for them to investigate. Their report was unanimously adopted by the convention.

An important and very significant vote was taken in the convention on the same day. It was a vote on social-

ism. At every meeting of the Federation the Socialists bring that question forward, and the significant feature this year is that they very nearly carried their resolution, which has heretofore been defeated by a pronounced negative vote. The resolution was offered by Max Hayes, of Cleveland, and reads as follows:

Resolved, That this twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advises the working people to organize their economic and political power, to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil, and the overthrow of the wage system and establishing of an industrial, cooperative democracy.

It was strongly opposed by President Gompers, who took the floor to speak against it, yet it was defeated by a vote of only 4,744 to 4,344—a majority of but 400.

President Gompers was unanimously reelected on the 22d as president of the Federation.

Further official returns from the recent American elections show the following results:

Ohio:	
Republican pluralities:	
Secretary of State.....	90,465
Supreme Court judge.....	93,939
Supreme Court judge.....	93,921
Board of Public Works.....	85,209
Dairy and Food Commissioner...	86,135
Republican vote for Secretary of State.....	436,171
Democratic vote for Secretary of State.....	345,706
Socialist vote for Secretary of State.....	14,270
Prohibition vote for Secretary of State.....	12,336
Socialist Labor vote for Secretary of State.....	2,983
Unreported vote for Secretary of State.....	1
Total.....	811,467
Congress:	
Republicans from districts 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 17	
Democrats from districts 4, 5, 12, 17..	4
Total Congressmen.....	21
Republicans gain 12th district, but lose 13th, leaving the distribution the same as before, 17 to 4.	

Wisconsin:	
Republican pluralities:	1902. 1900.
Governor.....	47,227 93,656
Lieut. Governor.....	53,392
Republican vote for Gov.....	192,478
Democratic vote for Gov.....	148,251
Socialist vote for Gov. (est'd.).....	17,000
Prohibitionist vote for Gov.....	8,500
Socialist Labor vote for Gov.....	1,000

Illinois:	
Republican vote for Treasurer.....	450,693 448,940
Democratic vote for Treasurer.....	361,015 405,490
Socialist vote for Treasurer.....	19,945
Prohibitionist vote for Treasurer.....	18,194 11,792
Socialist Labor vote for Treasurer.....	8,525 4,507
People's vote for Treasurer.....	1,484 7,893
Cook County, Ill. (including Chicago):	
Republican vote for Treasurer.....	148,941 148,558
Democratic vote for Treasurer.....	127,162 147,956

Illinois:	
Socialist vote for Treasurer.....	14,253
Socialist Labor vote for Treasurer.....	6,618
Prohibitionist vote for Treasurer.....	4,022
People's vote for Treasurer.....	455
1902.	1900.
.....
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.....
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The Single Tax party of Cook County, Ill., had no State candidates. The head of its ticket was its candidate for sheriff, who polled 898 votes. Its highest vote, however, was that for clerk of the appellate court—1,286, all but 63 of which were cast in the city of Chicago. Following is the comparison with previous elections:

	Vote.	Percentage.
County, 1900 (Fall).....	503	.00 1-7
City, 1901 (Spring).....	950	.00 1-7
City, 1902 (Spring).....	1,816	.00 4-5
County, 1902 (Fall).....	1,286	.00 1-2

Socialist estimates of the aggregate Socialist vote of the country by States, are in round figures as follows:

California.....	15,000
Colorado.....	6,000
Connecticut.....	2,000
Delaware.....	800
Florida.....	1,200
Idaho.....	500
Illinois.....	12,000
Indiana.....	7,100
Iowa.....	5,000
Kansas.....	3,000
Kentucky.....	2,000
Maine.....	1,500
Maryland.....	1,100
Massachusetts.....	33,000
Michigan.....	4,000
Minnesota.....	10,000
Missouri.....	8,500
Nebraska.....	3,500
Montana.....	5,000
New Hampshire.....	1,000
New Jersey.....	6,000
New York.....	25,000
N. Dakota.....	900
Ohio.....	16,500
Oregon.....	2,500
Pennsylvania.....	25,000
Rhode Island.....	1,100
S. Dakota.....	500
Tennessee.....	900
Texas.....	5,000
Utah.....	1,500
Washington.....	4,500
West Virginia.....	600
Wisconsin.....	18,000
	240,000

Full returns of the Illinois vote on the three questions under the advisory referendum (p. 486) are now available, excepting only so much of Cook county as lies outside of Chicago. Following are the totals: Advising an Enforceable State Initiative and Referendum.

Chicago.....	For	Against
State outside of Cook County.....	160,102	24,535
Total.....	258,316	60,411
Advising an Enforceable Initiative and Referendum for Cities, Counties, etc.		
Chicago.....	For	Against
State outside of Cook County.....	155,423	23,465
Total.....	226,443	57,417
For Election of United States Senators by Popular Vote.		
Chicago.....	For	Against
	161,306	23,518

State outside of Cook County	279,108	51,045
Total	440,414	74,563

American politics in the Philippines are marked by the organization of a Democratic party. The only party heretofore has been the Federal, organized under the patronage of the American military and civil authorities. But the Democratic party has been organized by prominent Filipinos, including Gen. Lukban, upon their own initiative. It demands a modification of the present American administration in the Philippines so as to afford a greater degree of self-government. The immediate establishment of two legislative chambers, both to be elected in accordance with suffrage laws as they obtain in the United States, is among the specific demands. Also that the acts passed by the two chambers shall become laws without awaiting the approval of the American authorities.

Australian politics have recently taken a significant turn in one of the States of the Commonwealth—Victoria, formerly a protection colony. At the time of the agitation for the federation of Australia, one of the explanations made in order to meet objections was that a great part of the expense of the Federal parliament could be saved by the reduction of the State parliaments. But up to the present time the parliament of South Australia is the only one that has been reduced. When it became evident to the people of Victoria that their parliament did not mean to reduce itself, an agitation was started in the little country town of Kyabram for a reduction of members and general economy. This movement spread rapidly and soon caused the fall of the Peacock ministry, then in power in the State. It was replaced by the Irvine ministry, the premier in which, Mr. Irvine, is a democrat of strong single tax tendencies. In a little while the Irvine ministry suffered defeat in parliament, and dissolving that body, appealed to the people. General elections were consequently held in October, and the Irvine ministry was returned by an enormous preponderance of members—66 Ministerialists to 15 in Opposition and 14 Labor members. Thus the Labor party, which has heretofore held the balance of power in Victoria, is no longer in that controlling position, and the State government is completely in the control

of the Ministerial party, which is distinctly democratic in its tendencies. Among the new Ministerialists are many free traders and single tax men, at least four of whom are in the front rank as men of ability. One of these is Max Hirsch (author of "Socialism versus Democracy"), the single tax leader of Australia, who made a brilliant campaign for the Federal parliament two years ago (vol. iii, p. 484, vol. iv, p. 130), and, though a pronounced free trader, was defeated by only a small majority in what had always been an overwhelming protectionist constituency. The platform of the new Victoria ministry calls for the reduction of the legislative assembly, or lower house of the State parliament, from 95 to 56 members, and of the legislative council, or upper house, from 48 to 28. It commits the ministry also to other economies and to reforms of the council.

At last there is an end to the civil war in Colombia, our Panama and South American neighbor. The first notice made of this war in these columns appears upon p. 9 of No. 86, vol. ii. Beyond the fact that it had broken out in October, 1899, with a great battle, details at that time were meager. Since then we have had frequent occasion to refer to its progress, as newspaper dispatches have reported it. The war grew out of a quarrel (vol. iii, p. 153) between the Conservative party, which was in power, and the Liberal party, which accused the party in power of wholesale corruption. In the summer of 1900 it was reported (iii, 266) to have been ended, but in the following winter (iii, 682) it was again in full activity. Fighting occurred at intervals with varying results, until the Liberals suffered a crushing disaster (p. 472) in October of the present year, and were defeated in November in a naval battle (p. 503) off Panama. It is now reported that a treaty of peace was signed on the 21st, on board the American warship "Wisconsin," between Gen. Herrera, the leader of the Liberal revolt, and Gen. Salazar, as the representative of the Colombian government. As reported from Panama on the 22d, the treaty liberates all political prisoners except those who are unwilling to accept the treaty; agrees that war taxes and extraordinary contributions shall be discontinued; and extends amnesty and guarantees safety of person and property to all those who have been engaged in the revolution. It fur-

thermore declares it to be the wish of the President and the whole nation, once public order is restored, that elections take place for members of Congress, the government agreeing to see that those elected take their places lawfully. This clause names certain questions which will be proposed for the consideration of Congress, having reference to the Panama canal negotiations, to reforms presented to Congress in 1898 by President Marroquin, and to reforms of the currency system, the amount received from canal contracts to be used as a basis for extinguishing the public debt. In an interview at San Jose, Costa Rica, on the 23d, Gen. Vargas Santos, the military director of the revolution, expressed his satisfaction in terms which indicate the grievances for the redress of which the Liberals began the war. He said:

My hopes have been realized regarding the termination of the war. If the solemn treaties insure the rights of the liberal citizens of my country, I am satisfied that the lesson that has been received by the Liberals and the Conservatives in the fighting of the past 37 months will never be forgotten. We are not seeking government offices, but only want the due representation of our party in Congress and in the municipalities and a respect for private property. There is a need of organizing a fair judicial power and to make the liberty of the press effective. We want to have the right to educate our children according to our wishes, and we demand honesty in the management of the public treasury which so far has been at the disposal of privileged families, resulting in the reducing of the majority of the people to poverty.

The mediator in effecting this treaty of peace was Rear Admiral Silas Casey, of the United States navy.

NEWS NOTES.

—Secretary Chamberlain, of the British cabinet, sailed for South Africa on the 25th.

—Frederick A. Krupp, head of the famous gun factory at Essen, Germany, died on the 22d at the age of 56.

—The price of silver in the London market on the 25th was 45¼ cents an ounce—the lowest in the history of the precious metals.

—Thomas P. Ochiltree, once a congressman from Texas, and famous in his day as President Grant's chum, died at Hot Springs, Va., on the 25th.

—The British House of Commons ratified on the 24th by a vote of 213 to 136, the action of the Brussels inter-

national conference abolishing European sugar bounties.

—A cigar makers' strike in Havana against the Cuban department of the American tobacco trust, developed on the 25th into a general labor strike, in which workmen of all occupations joined except the conductors and motormen of the street cars. Collisions between these men and the strikers consequently occurred, in which two strikers were killed and over 100 persons were wounded. The strike was called off on the 25th by the Central Labor Union of Havana.

—Alderman Faucek introduced in the city council of Chicago on the 24th an ordinance providing that every franchise ordinance must be read in full at three different meetings; that after the second reading it shall be published for ten consecutive weeks; that if five per cent. of the voters so petition it shall be submitted to popular vote; and that it shall not pass its third reading if a majority of the popular vote is in the negative. This is the system made famous by its successful use in Winnetka, Ill. It is known as the "Winnetka" system. The matter was referred to the judiciary committee.

MISCELLANY

THE RIGHT TO LABOR IN JOY.

Out on the roads they have gathered, a hundred thousand men,
To ask for a hold on life as sure as the wolf's hold in his den.
Their need lies close to the quick of life as the earth lies close to the stone;
It is as meat to the slender rib, as marrow to the bone.
They ask but the leave to labor, to toll in the endless night,
For a little salt to savor their bread, for houses water-tight.
They ask but the right to labor and to live by the strength of their hands—
They who have bodies like knotted oaks and patience like sea-sands.
And the right of a man to labor and his right to labor in joy—
Not all your laws can blot that right, nor the gates of Hell destroy.
For it came with the making of man and was kneaded into his bones,
And it will stand at the last of things on the dust of crumbled thrones.
—Edwin Markham, in New York American and Journal.

A BUGLE BLAST.

Tom Johnson was overwhelmingly defeated in Ohio. He perhaps anticipated failure. He attacked John McLean, one of the bosses of his party, in such a way as to invite defeat.

But, vanquished, Tom Johnson uttered a sentiment that deserves to live. In a speech after the election he said:

"Truth loses some battles, but no wars."

All history is bound up in that sentence.

For right is right as God is God,
And right the day will win;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.

Whether Tom Johnson was right or not is not necessary to say. But if he was right—

—behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping
watch above his own.

Tom Johnson's clarion sentence rings like a bugle blast. Truth never lost a war.

Reformers in pulpit, on platform, in caucus, in sanctum—wherever men strive for truth—these be brave words and true. Cinch but the tighter the belt that holds the sword of the spirit!

Progress and Optimism are twin brothers.—Kansas City World, of November 17.

THE STATUS OF COEDUCATION.

An extract from a sermon preached at All Souls' church, Chicago, by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, October 5, "dedicated to the board of trustees of the University of Chicago."

Coeducation is peculiarly an American installment, if not an American discovery. Oberlin college, which dates as far back as 1833, claims the honor of inaugurating it. Antioch college, under the presidency of that great prophet of education, Horace Mann, heroically championed the cause in 1852. Since then woman has steadily advanced, not only in the recognition of the higher educational institutions, but in the confidence of educators as well as in the development of her own powers, until W. T. Harris, the commissioner of education, in his report for 1900, says: "Over 94 per cent. of the primary schools of the United States are coeducational and it is the policy of two-thirds of the private schools reported to the bureau and 65 per cent. of the colleges and universities." The movement is equally striking, though not as rapid, abroad. He reports that "65 per cent. in England and 51 per cent. in Ireland of the national schools are coeducational. In Prussia, where the common schools are perhaps more highly developed than in any other European country, two-thirds of the children attend mixed classes." In Norway and Denmark, he says, "girls are securing admission at secondary schools formerly reserved for boys." Of coeducation in the universities of Europe the commissioner reports that in 1897, when a vote was taken for the admission of

women into the Cambridge university, there were 661 votes in favor against 1,707 opposed, that is, over one-third of the votes were in favor of opening this great English university to women. All the university colleges established in England since 1868 are open to men and women. In 1889 it was enacted that the college universities of Scotland should be authorized to open their doors to women, and under this act the University of Edinburgh now admit women to all its classes, while the University of Glasgow admits women into all the lectures of the faculty of arts. The university college of Dundee, affiliated to St. Andrews, is coeducational. In France women have never been legally deprived of university privileges. In 1863 the first woman was enrolled; the number of women matriculates has been gradually increasing since. The universities and secondary schools of Italy admit students of both sexes to the same classes, although this is not practiced in the primary schools, owing to the conservatism of the church. Women are having increasing access into the university lecture rooms of Germany, Austria and Hungary. The University of Athens was opened to women in 1890. All these facts are gleaned from the official report of Commissioner Harris.

WHAT ITALY THINKS OF A "LAND-MARK."

It is difficult—perhaps, indeed, it is impossible—for America, "taken by and large," to understand the cry of mingled wrath and despair which Italy has sent up over her ruined Venetian bell-tower—her "assassinated" tower, she prefers to call it. Accustomed as we are to see our monuments crumble about us, with the happy indifference of youth to age, and to think we do much when we rescue an Old South church or a Mount Vernon from the light fingers of destruction, we can hardly imagine what the loss of her bare, brown tower means—to Venice first, and after her to all Italy.

True, it had its artistic value—the rude, simple shaft in the florid wonder of that Piazza, with the Ducal palace, the marvelous Basilica—"the Christian mosque"—and all the other arched and traecied palaces about it—the loggia of Sansovino, a stone blossoming against a stone, clinging to its base. "It was like the leader of an orchestra," said one Venetian artist, "evoking by its presence the whole harmony of the Piazza." A Russian

painter characterized more briefly the fluent sweetness of the remaining architecture, lacking that strong element—"Femmina senza maschio," said he with a shrug of his shoulders—"the woman without the man."

And yet, when all is said, it was no world-wonder like the palace or the church themselves, nor even like other bell-towers of Italy (that tower of towers, for instance, Giotto's), and not as such has Italy mourned it. It was something more; it was a thousand years of history, it was a document, a visible page, as our Faneull hall is a paragraph in our briefer tale, and as the ruins of our West are passages of the great Western romance. Those only value documents, however, who can read them. Italy is still one of the illiterate countries of the earth, as we count illiteracy; but these characters she early learned to decipher, and from the highest to the lowest, every Italian has felt the full measure of his present loss.

Something else he has felt; next to his sorrow has been his shame, and second to neither his bitter indignation. "Are we barbarians?" the Italian papers exclaim. "What are foreigners to think of a people who in these days suffer glorious monuments to perish as in the worst days of barbarism?" "It is a national disgrace," say all, "for this is part of our common heritage—the purest part."

"It is a debt of honor for Italy to rebuild that tower—and quickly!" the young king is said to have exclaimed, with emotion, when the tidings reached him at St. Petersburg. Nor is there much doubt it will be rebuilt, by Italian hands, with Italian money; self-respectfully refusing the honorable offers of outside aid; using as far as possible the identical materials, and exactly reproducing the ancient form—a monument to a monument. Meantime, woe to the army of functionaries whom Italy has paid to neglect their business. The inquest was immediately commenced, the principal officers at once suspended, while the one brave architect who had prophesied the ruin, getting thereby his official head promptly removed, and himself likewise (to Sardinia), has been recalled, amid popular demonstrations. Nay, more; an election being imminent, the Campanile has become a leading political issue, and the rehabilitated architect is being run for office. This, I think, America will understand!

The papers have already chronicled how the shock of the falling tower shook all Italy; how in Venice all

business was suspended and the five local papers appeared with mourning borders; how self-contained men kissed tearfully the newspaper reproductions of the fallen Campanile as if they had been holy images, and gondoliers and popolani (common people) were seen to weep before the ruins. And I have elsewhere written how one of these, seeing that the giant had spared in his fall the Ducal palace and the church, cried aloud: "Even in dying you were a gentleman!" All this has been told and re-told, but the lesson is slow to be learned.

Going from the West—our West, where they assassinate tree-life for no better reason than that trees grow more magnificently than elsewhere—it used to move me with pride and tenderness to see Boston spend thousands of dollars and write scores of letters for the preservation of a single tree threatened by a city sub-way. Coming to Italy, more eastward still, and seeing how one single of those Stones of Venice may be the instrument to break a people's heart, I have found myself thinking backward to that West again, remembering the unequal fight a handful of Americans there are making against the blank indifference of the rest of us, for the preservation of our towers and cloisters, and I have felt again that stir of pride and sympathy.

It is true our Missions are not quite a thousand years of history for us; that in an intimate sense they are not our history at all, as the Campanile of Venice was of Venetian history. But they are pages of a great past in the history of the West we have given our hearts to and made ours; they are monuments of a great moment in her fortunes, to which we are fallen heirs, and we stand in relation to them much as the other cities of Italy stand to Venice. For it is only yesterday—only since the occupation, in fact—that one part of Italy has not been more foreign to all other parts of Italy than ever Maine was to California. It is within my memory when the inhabitants of one province spoke of another as "abroad." The history of Venice is no more the history of Rome than California's history is that of Massachusetts.

But when the Venetian bell-tower fell last week—then Florence, with the Campanile of the world; Pisa, with her famous leaning tower; Bologna, with her two; the other cities with towers all intact—they did not sit closer and hug themselves, blessing heaven that the evil was none of theirs.

No! Each and every city of them behaved herself as if precisely her own tower were lost. And first they mourned. And then—they opened a subscription.

Verbum sap.—Grace Ellery Channing, in *Out West*, for November.

LEGAL OPPRESSION OF LABORERS: STATUTES OF LABORERS.

For The Public.

We are becoming somewhat familiarized with the injunction of a court as a means of regulating the action of laborers in certain districts, and from present indications we are likely to become even more familiar with the injunction in yet wider fields. It has been shown recently in these columns (page 404) that "government by injunction" threatens to revive the old fight for free speech, a free press and jury trial. Under these circumstances it may be a matter of present interest to inquire whether history records anything similar to the present trend, and if so, to study the record and compare it with the present tendency in order to forecast as far as may be the possible outcome. This paper will, therefore, endeavor to trace briefly the effects upon the laborer of the many Statutes of Laborers passed in England from 1349 onward, after which a comparison thereof with "government by injunction" as far as now disclosed will be attempted.

The Statutes of Laborers had their origin at a time when authority or the "right divine" and not the consent of the governed was the prevailing theory of the proper foundation of government, and they grew out of the demands of those who, at that time, held the monopoly of the sources of living, the landowners. The great plague of 1348 destroyed about a third of the inhabitants of England, and one result was that wages instantly rose. The rise in wages diminished the profits of the landlord, and the decrease in the number of laborers made it difficult to get in the harvests. Whereupon the landowners asked the enactment of statutory wages. In order to understand properly the reasons for the enactment of these Statutes of Laborers and their effect upon the laborers, it is well to inquire briefly into the condition of men prior to the year of the Great Plague, 1348.

At that time land was held by feudal or military tenures, and it was the cardinal principle of military tenures that the service, or the commutation thereof in money, should be fixed and unchangeable. Men dwelt together in villages almost altogether, and

"most of the villagers held land as freeholders under fixed rents, and copyholders under no less fixed services." "The essence of contracts for the occupation of land, if these ancient tenures could be called contracts, was that the liabilities of the tenants should be fixed and unchangeable." "Under ordinary circumstances the means of life were more abundant during the middle ages than they are under our modern experience. There was no extreme poverty." The service being fixed, the tenant, when his service was done, had his time all to himself. Since his own holding supplied him with the necessities of life, he was under no compulsion to seek work from others in order to live. He was, in consequence, in position to deal with prospective employers on terms of equality in that necessity did not compel him to accept less than his labor was worth in his own estimation. Moreover, in the middle ages, the laborers, through their guilds, purchased lands and houses all over England for charitable service to their own order; it is probable that most villages had each its own guild farm and house; hence, old age, poverty and sickness were insured or provided against. It was of this age that the "Merrie England" songs spoke. Annual fairs in most villages, and markets and fairs in other towns, enabled the tenants to dispose of what they had to sell and to buy what they would. It will be shown that until the laborers lost their guild lands and houses (they were stolen), they were able to hold their own, and even to win against the oppressive Statutes of Laborers. Such were the conditions when the great plague of 1348 struck England and carried off a large proportion of the people.

One effect of the reduction in the number of the workers was that wages rose at once, whereupon the landowners demanded and obtained the first of the many Statutes of Laborers (anno 1349), but not until the king had ordered quite ineffectually that workmen should labor at the old wages. By this particular statute, every person under 60 years of age who did not live by merchandising, was not a craftsman, or was without means of his own or proper land for his occupation in tillage, and not serving any particular master, was bound to serve in husbandry, whoever might require him, at the wages customary in the twentieth year (anno 1346) of the king's reign. All artificers were also to expect the wages of 1346. If a servant in husbandry struck work, to use the modern phrase, he was

to be imprisoned, and he who employed him after his liberation was to be imprisoned; the "striker" was "blacklisted" by force of law. This statute failed of its purpose, for wages remained higher than those of 1346; so, in 1350-1, another was enacted wherein the money wages of all kinds of workmen, servants in husbandry and artisans were fixed at certain rates as long as wheat was below a stated price per quarter. This second act provided for fines and imprisonment by the justices of the peace, dispensing with a jury. The fines were to go to the exchequer instead of to the lord, and if the lord paid more than the statutory rates he was fined (this was under the first statute, however). It was at this time and as one effect of this statute that the trade unions arose, and these unions soon came to pay the fines inflicted upon their members. By an act of 34 Edw. III. (anno 1360), fines were abolished, but imprisonment remained, and offenses against the statute ceased to be bailable, while "alliances, covines, congregations, chapters, ordinances and oaths made or to be made by masons and carpenters shall be void and annulled." Fugitive laborers (not serfs, for these were recoverable under the fugitive slave law of the time) were outlawed and were to be branded with the letter F. The office of justice of the peace was remodeled, and mayors and bailiffs were constrained under heavy penalties to give up all fugitive laborers.

By an act of Richard II. the lords attempted to enlarge the liabilities of their tenants' tenures, and Wat Tyler's rebellion followed, taking its origin in a county (Kent) where villenage did not prevail, thus being a kind of "sympathetic strike." Tyler lost his life, but the serfs profited nevertheless. The battle went on, with many Statutes of Laborers, some with a passport system, until the absence of new enactments in the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. tells us that the laborers had won the day. Acts in the reign of Henry VII. all but acknowledge the customary or non-statutory rates of wages.

At the very moment of his success ruin was approaching the laborer to reduce him to starvation wages and a bare subsistence. It was reserved to the spendthrift Henry VIII. to begin, and to his successors to complete, the ruin of the laborer. Henry began it by debasing the coin of the realm, which greatly impoverished

the laborer who still had his guild land and house to fall back upon. As he approached the end of his reign, Henry bethought him of these guild lands and houses as fit subjects for confiscation under the plea that they were used for superstitious purposes. Henry's death threw the government into the hands of the Lord Protector Somerset, who completed the confiscation of the guild lands begun by Henry, and thereby completed the ruin of the laborers. By the time Elizabeth came to the throne the base money had driven the working classes to beggary and had brought England to a very low ebb in the world. Though Elizabeth reformed the currency, the laborer did not recover his guild land or the benefit societies of the middle ages which had relieved destitution; moreover, he had suffered for eighteen years from a debased currency, prices had risen 150 per cent., while his wages were almost stationary, so he was miserably poor.

It was while the laborer was in this miserable condition that the Statute of Laborers known as "5 Eliz. cap. 4" was enacted, whereby all acts which had regulated labor since 23 Edw. III., over two centuries before, were repealed, and taking all that was most stringent in the repealed statutes put them into one comprehensive enactment.

The mischief of Elizabeth's statute lay in the machinery by which it was carried out, and in the terribly depressed condition of the laborer who "was handed over to the mercy of his employer at a time when he was utterly incapable of resisting the grossest tyranny." The government determined to make use of a terrible instrument, "the justices in quarter sessions, who would be able to check any discontent, even the discontent of despair, and might be trusted, if necessary, to starve the people into submission." The weapon justified the confidence of the government, for complete success crowned its use.

By this statute, every unmarried person under the age of 30, and not having 40 shillings a year of his own, nor otherwise employed, was compellable to serve at a yearly hiring in the craft to which he was brought up. Next, all persons between the ages of 15 and 60, and not otherwise employed or apprenticed, were made liable to serve in husbandry. Servants quitting a city or parish without a testimonial were to be imprisoned, and if they had a forged testimonial they were to be whipped, while masters

taking servants without a testimonial were to be fined five pounds. A striker got a month's imprisonment and a fine of five pounds, a sum which appears to have been a blow at what might be left of the old trade unions. The justices were to hold rating sessions in which they were to fix the rate of wages in all employment, summer and winter, by day or year, with board or without board. Penalties were annexed to the giving of higher wages than the scale, the receiver was to have 21 days' imprisonment, and the contract was to be declared void. An assault upon a master was to receive a year's imprisonment or more, and artificers might be compelled to do harvest work. Single women between 12 and 40 years were compellable to work by the year, week or day, at the option of the hirer, and certain persons were allowed to take apprentices in husbandry. Town householders might have two apprentices, each for seven years, if they were children of artificers, and an artisan might have one apprentice, the son of a person who had no land. The number of apprentices to merchants was limited, and there had to be so many journeymen to so many apprentices. Persons refusing to be apprenticed, and those who ran away, were to be imprisoned.

The justices were to inquire periodically into the execution of the act, and were to revise their rates according to the cheapness or dearness of the necessaries of life. At least 13 of these assessments of wages, between the years 1563 and 1725, have been found. Inasmuch as they had done their work, the laborers' wages being reduced to a bare subsistence, the assessments appear to have been discontinued during the eighteenth century. Wages had become famine wages, and such wages became traditional.

The object of this Statute, 5 Eliz. cap. 4, was threefold—(1) to break up the combinations of laborers, (2) to supply the adequate machinery of control, and (3) by limiting the right of apprenticeship, to make the peasant laborer the residuum of all other labor, or, in other words, to forcibly increase the supply. The last was for the benefit of the landowners, or monopolists, who were the bulk of the upper classes.

The Stuart kings made the judge's patent run during the pleasure of the crown, and gave the judges abundant warnings that they would be ejected from office if they displeased author-

ity; hence the court of law, if the justices were slow to act under this Statute, could be relied upon to enforce it. One has but to recall "Bloody" Jeffries to realize this fact. Notwithstanding the injunctions of the Statute, the justices took no note of "the cheapness or dearness of provisions" in their assizes of wages, for their object was to get labor at starvation rates, and they did the best they knew how to effect their object; there was no appeal by the laborer from their decision.

When, in 1825, all labor laws were swept away, there was no debate in parliament, for the Statute of Elizabeth had done its work and had permanently degraded the peasant.

An American recently went to York, England, to investigate the condition of the working classes there. In that city of about 100,000 he found that, if a pauper be defined as one who by his own labor is unable to earn enough to clothe and feed himself, some 25 per cent. of the population of York are paupers. Under the same definition, some 30 per cent. of London's millions are paupers. The urban population of England in cities of over 100,000 amounts to some 26,000,000 or more, whence it follows that over 7,000,000 are paupers, as above defined. The machinery of the English poor laws enables the employer to shift the laborers' risk of disablement upon the ratepayers, whereas, in the middle ages, as shown above, the laborers were their own insurers through their guild lands and houses.

It will be noted that the theory underlying the many Statutes of Laborers is this: That it is more essential that the trade or commerce of the ruling or controlling classes should thrive than it is that the inalienable rights, lives and property of the working classes should be heeded or protected, even though virtual slavery be the lot of the working classes as a consequence. As has been remarked recently in another connection, this statute proceeded upon the assumption that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country." The "Christian men" of Elizabeth's day, and after, who had control of the property interests of England, may have had some of the wisdom of the serpent, one is almost tempted to say an infinite amount of it, but they do not appear to have been

overburdened with the spirit of the Golden Rule or of the Sermon on the Mount. It was not in their days that the songs about "Merrie England" originated; the laborer had no song left in him.

R. W. BARKLEY.

New York City.

Thomas C. Platt, of New York, has again "consented" to be a candidate from his State for the United States senate. The situation reminds us of that in a Boston engine company in the old volunteer days when the members annually elected their foreman. In this particular company the foreman who belonged to the old school of "vets" would say to his men a few days before the date for making a choice: "It won't be necessary to hold an election, boys; I am willing to serve you for another year."—Boston Transcript.

"But," objected the visitor, "quite a number of your pupils have broken down and become imbeciles."

"True," replied the eminent educator, "but we confidently expect better things in the future. The bacillus of overstudy having now been identified and a serum for its destruction devised, we look for no further trouble of the kind you mention."—Life.

Wall Street Arithmetic:

- 10 mills make one trust,
- 10 trusts make one combine,
- 10 combines make one merger,
- 10 mergers make one magnate,
- 1 magnate makes all the money.

—The Boston Commercial Bulletin.

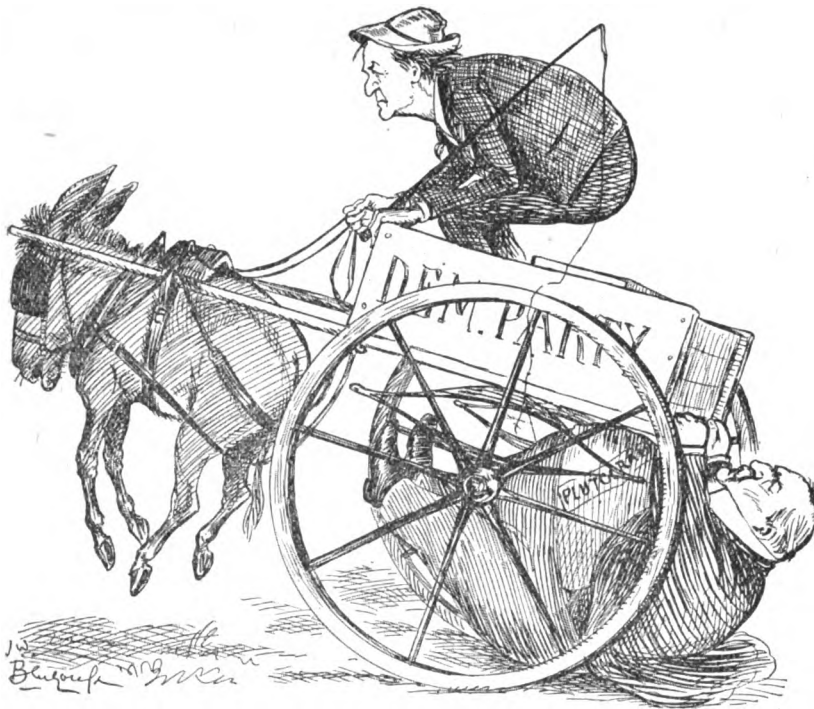
BOOK NOTICES.

THE STRENGTH OF THE PEOPLE.

This is the title of a book by Mrs. Helen Bosanquet, published by Macmillan. It has been attracting much attention in England, mainly, I think, because it indicates something of a coming reaction against the false idea that people can be truly developed by efforts from without. The author is opposed to all the present-day social movements that nurse people as objects of charity.

The strength of the people, she argues, is not developed by doing things to or for people in the ways of socialistic legislation. Independence she recognizes as necessary for the "perfection of individual character." Independence and the preservation of the family are the main causes for which she pleads.

The book would be a strong one if it emphasized the abolition of privilege and the securing of equal rights, if it brought out the fact that justice is the necessary foundation of that independence in the individual and the family which the author so much desires. Without this foundation of justice we cannot but do the things that she laments. Good people feel that they must do something; so until we can agree to get down to the fundamental proposition, we shall go lumbering along with our multiplicity of poor laws, and labor laws, and restraining laws, and education laws, and charity organizations, and slum settle-



“WHIP BEHIND!”

Bryan—For some reason or other this animal doesn't seem to be effectively getting anywhere!

ments, and all the various forms of anxious benevolence.

By and by, when more good people feel sick at the results—like Mrs. Bosanquet and Herbert Spencer and President Elliot—then perhaps, after these tedious experiences, we shall awake to the truth of Henry George's saying, and find that we have been all along trying to do everything for people but the one first essential thing, namely, to “get off their backs.”
J. H. DILLARD.

Ernest Crosby's instructive military satire, “Capt. Jinks, Hero” (Vol. IV, p. 816), has brought to the author many letters showing its beneficent effect upon the morals of young readers. We quote one of these letters, which is now making the rounds of the press. From the father of a youthful reader of “Capt. Jinks” and addressed to Mr. Crosby, it runs as follows:

My 12-year-old son, much interested in military matters, was following the newspaper accounts of the subjection of the Filipinos with avidity and enthusiasm, played soldier with his companions, uniformed and with fife and drum, or spent his spare time reading popular war and Indian story books designed for boys until “Capt. Jinks, Hero,” came in his way. He read the book a second time, and, after asking me a few questions seemingly suggested to his mind by Capt. Jinks's adventures, he recommended the book to some of his martial young friends and lost further interest in his military amusements. The boys dropped out one by one until finally there were none left to represent war in our neighborhood. The glamour and glory of war are not at present in his line; he will say but little about it, but, when induced to talk, shows plainly that his sympathies

and thoughts are leading him in another direction.

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