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The Republican prosperity which the coal trust is now enjoying, at the expense of keen suffering among the working classes, culminating in sickness and death, is likely to stimulate more fear than pride in the makers of this unique kind of prosperity. Most people must now begin to lose interest in a prosperity that can be enjoyed only by ear.

It is interesting to observe the growth of the army of "calamity howlers." James J. Hill has hardly enlisted when Charles T. Yerkes comes up for examination. Both believe that a panic is at hand, and Yerkes is especially hard upon the trusts, those erstwhile prosperity producers. He makes a fairly good "calamity howler" when he himself begins to feel the bruises of prosperity.

Judge Grosscup, of Chicago, a Federal jurist, has discovered a new remedy for the trusts, and so new that he has been at the pains of inventing a new word to describe it. He would "peopleize" them. To most persons his speech at the Hamilton club indicates that in "peopleizing" them, as he calls it, he would make it easy for the people to buy shares in trust stock. That, however, is more suggestive of enabling children to catch little birds by making it easy for them to put salt on the birds' tails, than of anything rational. Yet Judge Grosscup may mean, what in one part of his speech he seems to have said, that the trust question is to be solved by making the country's "opportunities open alike to all." That is the true solution. If he meant it, however, he managed to mask his meaning with even more than judicial skill.

Professional economists and semi-socialistic pulpiteers who glibly proclaim the unwisdom of attempting to return to individualism, would do well to reflect a moment upon the fact that never within historical times have we had an era of individualism to return to. If we are ever to have individualism it must be after the plutocratic socialism of the past and present, and the possibly democratic socialism of the future, have spent their force. Periods of slavery, serfdom, and restricted competition in trade, are not individualistic periods; and calling them so does not make them so.

The Merchants' Association of New York has discovered that the traction companies are appropriating public property, a fact which was recently known only to "anarchists," "socialists," "calamity howlers," "commew-nists" and other wickedly envious folks. The vehicles of the elevated and surface roads, says this association through one of its committees in addresses to the public on the indecency of overcrowding, "are public property," and the companies "pay the city sums which are trivial in proportion to the value of the privileges enjoyed by them." Those observations are close to "populism," if the Merchants' Association did but know it.

A wholesome verdict by a Michigan jury at Jackson, on the 11th, rendered under the influence of sound legal instructions from the judge presiding at the trial, emphasizes an almost forgotten but vital right of American citizenship, the right, namely, of exemption from arbitrary arrest. The defendant had refused submission to an arrest by officers without a warrant, and in defending himself against the lawless proceeding had shot and killed one of the arresting party. He was consequently indicted and tried for manslaughter. The judge charged the jury that the defendant had a right to use all necessary force to protect himself from the unwarranted arrest, and upon that explanation of the law the jury acquitted the prisoner. It is to be hoped that this just charge and righteous verdict may serve as a salutary lesson to disorderly policemen everywhere.

Were starving working people to make a raid upon bakeries and confiscate bread, they would be sent to jail if few in numbers, or shot down by the militia if an otherwise resistless mob. This is not a guess; it is a statement of historical fact. And preachers, lawyers, bankers, and other good people would commend the arrests, and while deploring the necessity would approve the slaughter. But when a mob led by preachers and bankers in want of coal makes a raid upon a train of coal cars and confiscates the cargo, the leading Republican paper of the West, the Chicago Tribune, heretofore an organ of "law and order," makes this mild comment:

> **When the leading men in a town—its bankers, merchants, lawyers and doctors—lay violent hands on coal which does not belong to them it is evident they are in sore need of coal. . . . The action of the good citizens of Arcola was clearly illegal. No one has a right to help himself to the property of another without obtaining the consent of the owner. But "self-preservation is the first law of nature." If the state of affairs at Arcola has been as bad as the dispatches report, it is not to be wondered at that the people should take advantage of the opportune breakdown of a coal train.**

Which goes far to show that a stern enforcement of the law is not for

"bankers, merchants, lawyers and doctors" (nor even for preachers), who defy it when they are in "sore need of coal;" but only for the "lower classes," when they are in sore enough need to forget that even though "self-preservation is the first law of nature," "peace and order" is the first law of society."

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There is a thing or two about this Arcola incident, however, that should be highly satisfactory to the much-abused anarchist. In the first place, a mob of respectable "archists," as anarchists would call them, have turned anarchists in the opprobrious sense of that term. That is, they have kicked over the laws of property just the same as if they drank beer for a living and carried dynamite bombs for amusement. In the second place, having set government aside, they have done precisely as professed anarchists say men would naturally do if there were no government. They proceeded, that is to say, in a perfectly orderly and honest manner to do the fairest thing under the circumstances. A committee was appointed for the emergency. The confiscated coal was fairly distributed among those who needed it. Accounts were kept, and a fund was voluntarily raised to indemnify the owners. On the whole, these Arcola anarchists show off to much better advantage than do the "law-abiding" Baers and Morgans who have produced the terrible coal famine from which the people of the country are suffering. The strongest indictment against them, perhaps, is not that they became anarchists, but that they somewhat hypocritically insisted all the time that they were law-abiding people.

It is altogether probable that the rebate of the tariff on coal, to continue a year, will have little or no effect upon prices. When importers must advance the duty before they can get the rebate, and know that the rebate will be allowed only for a few months, they are not likely to make great efforts to establish lines for importing coal. The temporary nature of the relief is a menace to every business man who may think of importing foreign coal to compete with the trust.

And yet, this little measure of relief may be immense in its effects. The point of impact is often more important with a blow than its force. So a reduction of 67 cents a ton on the cost of getting foreign coal into the American market may break the extortionate prices of the trust. It is asked, for instance, how a tariff of only 67 cents can keep foreign bituminous coal out of the Chicago market, when, as now, domestic bituminous, usually worth about three dollars a ton, sells at six dollars or more. The answer is that such a tariff could not keep out the foreign product if the domestic high prices were more than a temporary spurt. By a 67 cent tariff regular shipments of foreign coal are shut out. Consequently, if the domestic article is cornered its price can be run up for a time far above the tariff difference. The conditions are not favorable to a quick increase in importations of foreign coal to compete, as they would be if there were no tariff to prevent the establishment of regular shipments. If the present high prices were to continue long enough to make it reasonably certain that they would not flatten out before foreign shipments could be brought here, an increasing stream of coal imports would set in and not abate until prices had been reduced to the point at which the 67-cent tariff becomes prohibitory. It should always be remembered that natural trade laws are laws of tendencies, and that a tariff which disturbs a trade tendency at all may disturb it out of all proportion to the amount of the tariff. As a pebble dropped in a favorable place may divert the course of what becomes a great river, so a small tariff put on or taken off at the advantageous point may change the direction of vast volumes of trade. It must not be forgotten, nevertheless, that the tariff on coal is a small matter as compared with the tariffs imposed for similar reasons and in the same general pecuniary interests, by railroad combinations.

The message of the first single tax governor, Garvin, of Rhode Island, is attracting attention for the rational view of public affairs which it presents to the people of the State and indeed of the country. While conservative yet far-reaching methods for redressing grievances are proposed, the sentiment of the message is pitched in a radical key. When Gov. Garvin declares in this message, referring to popular discontent, that it is due to "privations which are artificial and unnecessary," the truth being that "the enormous amount of wealth produced is unequally distributed—unequally because of interference with the natural laws of distribution by unwise and unjust legislation," he recognizes a fact that most public officials prefer to blink, and leaves no room for mistaking either the nature of his convictions or his courage regarding them. Among the specific facts to which he invites the attention of the legislature is the importance of a constitutional initiative under which a reasonable number of voters may at any election propose constitutional amendments to be submitted directly to popular vote.

Rhode Island has a source of income resembling in principle that which advocates of the single tax insist is virtually the sole legitimate source for all incomes. It is the oyster planting rights in Narragansett bay. Land under the waters of this bay belongs to the State, and in 1864 the practice of ground renting it for oyster culture began. The ground rent for the year was $61. But it has increased until in 1902 it amounted to $35,000. As the expense of surveying, administration, etc., was only $8,000, the net income from that source was, therefore, $27,000. It is expected that in 1903 the net income will be as high as $42,000. This land under water might be turned over to individuals as private

property, in which case the owners would pocket a public income. But that is not done, and the State gets the annual value, consequently, of the very valuable privilege of using the land under the waters of the bay. Suppose those waters should recede, leaving the bottom permanently dry and increasing opportunities for production from one industry to many, would it then be wise to divide the bottom of the bay among private owners? If so, what explanation is there for thus preserving common rights to land under water while turning over the dry land to private persons? How do the superincumbent waters make any difference?

Gen. Chaffee takes advantage of the facilities offered by newspaper interviewing to deny Maj. Glenn's contention at his trial that he ordered Glenn to resort to cruelties in order to extort information from native Filipinos. But this is not enough to exempt Chaffee or the war department from suspicions of having authorized the systematic atrocities which it is now demonstrated were perpetrated by the army in the Philippines. Maj. Glenn charges that such orders were given by Gen. Chaffee and were understood by his subordinates generally in the barbarous way in which Maj. Glenn understood and executed them. In view of this statement, and of Glenn's further statement that such orders have been abstracted from the official files, together with the fact that Secretary Root and Senator Lodge, one at the head of the war department and the other at the head of the Senate committee of investigation, have been caught in the act of suppressing inculpatory facts, Gen. Chaffee should be ordered to go upon the witness stand and submit to cross-examination. An irresponsible newspaper interview is not satisfactory.

In the course of his interview Gen. Chaffee makes a lame attempt to explain the written order Maj. Glenn has unearthed, in which he required of his subordinates that certain information be obtained of the inhabitants, "no matter what measures may have to be adopted." Now, when subordinates are commanded to procure information, "no matter what measures may have to be adopted," they may be regarded as having been allowed a pretty free hand. If John Mitchell, for illustration, could be shown to have given written orders to local leaders in the anthracite strike to prevent the operation of the mines, "no matter what measures may have to be adopted," his responsibility for the boycotting of "scabs" and the dynamiting of their houses would be regarded as proved. No explanation from him, made in a newspaper interview, he refusing to go upon the witness stand and submit to cross-examination, would be accepted as satisfactory if he had no more to offer than that in saying "no matter what measures," he meant lawful measures only. Why, then, should Gen. Chaffee's gauzy explanation be accepted as final? That he used in his order to get information the unqualified language that it must be done, "no matter what measures may have to be adopted," is both proved and conceded. That the "water cure" was extensively resorted to by his subordinates in order to extort information has been proved in several cases, and admitted, case by case, as the proof has come out. What other inference is possible, then, than that Gen. Chaffee is responsible for the cruelties, unless he is to be regarded as so angelic that his bare word, unverified by cross-examination, and given without responsibility to an irresponsible reporter to be published in an irresponsible newspaper, must be accepted without further question? Has not the work of officially whitewashing these army atrocities in the Philippines gone far enough? Is it not time for a complete exposure? The atrocities were committed. Of that there is no longer any doubt or excuse for question. Then why not fearlessly and fairly trace the responsibility to its source?

We know a man who is renowned as a universal faultfinder, a chronic "knocker," a "kicker" always ready to "take a fall" out of anything. Venturing once to ask him why he indulges his propensity so immoderately, what was our surprise to have him instantly deny the propensity. "I am no 'kicker,'" he retorted. "I am no 'knocker,' no faultfinder." He actually tried to convince us that in spite of his reputation it was his weakness, if he had a weakness, to be favorable to good things—even unduly so, perhaps. So far from being a "knocker," he confided to us that he prides himself upon being a "booster."

"Now, there was the Cuban question," said he; "didn't I plead, in season and out of season, for Cuban independence during all the time when American 'knockers' were trying to make a colonial possession of that country? And wasn't I persistent in encouraging the Filipinos to fight for their country against the invader who finally conquered them? And didn't you find me trying to 'boost' the cause of the Boers when British 'knockers' overran their land, and that of the coal strikers and the coal consumers when the trust threatened them? But those are only the more prominent instances," he went on. "When I was but a boy I tried, in my weak way, to help the Negro slave to his freedom, and to-day I espouse the cause of both Negroes and white men who are denied their natural rights. So I espouse that of the millions of all races who are victimized by tariff robbery, and trust robbery, and robbery even of their God-given birthright to a place upon the earth. I stand for the Declaration of Independence at all times and under all circumstances. No matter where you look into my record, you will find that I am never a faultfinder but always a helper, never a 'knocker' but always a 'booster.'"

We could not controvert our friend. Still, there was his reputation, and we pushed the probe farther in. "Why

have I, then, the reputation of a 'knocker?' " he repeated; "simply because 'boosting' always seems like 'knocking' to the other side. When I 'boosted' for the Filipinos, it seemed like 'knocking' to the invading Americans. When I 'boosted' for the Boers, it seemed like 'knocking' to the conquering British. When I 'boosted' for the strikers, it seemed to be 'knocking' to plutocrats. When I 'boost' for the Negro, his white enemies regard it as 'knocking' the superior Anglo-Saxon. I suppose that if I had occasion to take the part of chicken raisers against chicken thieves, the chicken thieves, too, would complain of my faultfinding and call me a 'knocker.' You see, this question of 'knocking' and 'boosting' depends, like a good many others, upon the point of view." And thereupon this universal faultfinder concluded with the observation that "faultfinding is, after all, a virtue or a vice, not in and of itself, but according to whether the thing found fault with is good or bad. "Why," he added, by way of clincher, "the ten commandments themselves are chock full of fault-finding, and 'kicks,' and 'knocks'—from the point of view of the wicked."

ECONOMIC WASTE.

It is a favorite argument of the trust advocates to say:

"Look at the amount of waste we have saved. Look at the vast number of useless officials we have dispensed with. We have saved the big sums paid to commercial travelers. Also the advertising expenses. We represent the most economic system of production. Therefore we are here to stay."

"Quite right," say the socialists. "This is what we have been telling the people all along. The competitive system is full of waste. Ten milkmen come into your street to deliver milk every day when one would suffice. It is so throughout the length and breadth of industry. The trusts are just the object lesson we want. Don't disturb them. Let them go on, and when they have "trustified" everything to the highest possible pitch of organization, we—that is the people acting in organized form — will quietly seize them and establish common ownership and operation of every industry." Quad erat demonstrandum.

Now, that is a pretty picture. But like many other pretty pictures, it is an illusion.

There are conditions of life under which it is good that "waste" should exist; under which the highest economy would be the highest folly.

If we take the sphere of politics, for example, the highest economy of effort would be a cast-iron dictatorship, and the most wasteful method would be just the very system we have—the turmoils of periodic elections, the competition of parties, the prolonged discussions of Congress, the vacillation and uncertainty as to the acts of statesmen responsible to a fickle public opinion.

What an enormous amount of human energy is thus expended, which might be saved if we had a dictator wise enough and honest enough to govern us direct?

Nevertheless we pay this price because it secures us our liberty, and when it is a question of liberty or no liberty we cannot afford to be economical.

Again, take the sphere of religion.

On any hypothesis of absolute theological truth, there must be a vast amount of false doctrine taught, a vast volume of prayer uttered which is never heard. Yet the verdict of the civilized world now is that it is better that all this wasteful worship should go on than that religious freedom should disappear from the earth.

Here, as in the political sphere, we have "agreed to differ," giving up economy for the sake of freedom of conscience.

If we take the sphere of social intercourse and social life generally, what an enormous expenditure of human effort is employed in ministering to the various satisfactions, in excess of the amount that would be required if some single, central, coercive authority had the ordering of our social affairs?

We, however, permit no such outside ordering; we prefer liberty with all its extravagance, to slavery with all economies.

Now we come to the economic sphere.

Shall it be said that as regards the large class of human acts known as economic, a man's liberty is less precious than it is in either the political, the religious, or the social sphere?

Elsewhere we have given up economy to gain liberty; shall we here reverse the process and give up liberty to gain economy—an economy, by the way, of which, in its present stages, not we, but the trusts, get the advantage?

It would seem so. The trusts are building up a system of economic organization under which "waste" is undoubtedly eliminated, but under which, in the same degree, liberty of occupation is wiped out, and scientific slavery substituted.

The chance of becoming "one's own master" is open only to a constantly dwindling few; we must all learn the trust drill or perish, for economic conscription is the law of the land.

T. SCANLON.

PROGRESS OF LEGAL TENDER CONTRACTION.

I.

The "money power" is often mentioned as if it were a conspiracy; which, indeed, it is often called. But there is no good reason for suspecting any such conspiracy in the sense of a prearranged "combine" on a great scale.

Money "combines" there are, of course, but only to effect comparatively small and temporary objects. The money power—which, by the way, is in the last analysis not a power of money at all, but a power that bears much the same relation to money that marked cards bear to chips in a poker game—is not a prearranged conspiracy, but one of the human tendencies. When a herd of thirsty cattle see the sparkle of fresh water, they rush as one cow for that water. There is no conspiracy to do so, no "combine," no prearrangement; although it looks as if there were. None is needed. All the cattle want water, and nothing is required to stampede the herd but that

each should think that the water is there. It is so with money-mongering. The effects of a perennial conspiracy to manipulate money in the interest of creditors and to the prejudice of debtors are produced without actual conspiracy, simply by the impulse of creditors to get more than they lend.

There is a counter impulse among debtors to pay less than they borrow; but for many reasons, not necessary now to enumerate, this dishonest impulse is weaker than the dishonest impulse of creditors. For one thing it lacks the power of respectability. Debtors lose caste by trying to evade full payment; creditors may gain caste by extorting excessive payment.

If debts were obligations of honor, so that debtors could not be "squeezed" by legal process—attachments, executions, bankruptcies, and so on—there would be no profit in manipulating legal tender, and consequently no money question. Trading is done in normal times without much legal tender. By means of checks and other forms of commercial paper including bank notes, which are used as tokens, the great bulk of the world's trading is done by bookkeeping and not with money. But when obstructions to trading have produced doubts and disturbances, and cash payments are demanded, then the evil effects of manipulating legal tender money may be seen. Debtors are not allowed to say to creditors: "You must give us time to weather this storm which has hit us all; we will make good when the storm is over, but we won't allow you to ruin us by extortion." If they were allowed to say that, the money stringency would soon pass and normal trading be resumed. But with debt laws in force the debtor who cannot settle his obligations with legal tender may be pounced upon and sold out. The best he can do is to sacrifice his property himself in order to raise legal tender.

To avoid extreme effects of debt-collecting laws, numerous modifications have been made. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished; so that the creditor cannot get the debtor's property and blackmail his friends besides. Exemptions of homesteads, working-tools, etc., have been made; so that the ruined debtor may have a home for his family and the tools with which to work at his trade. And bankruptcy laws have been enacted; so that the debtor who gives up all his capital to his creditors may have the laws for the collection of debt repealed, so far as he and his past debts are concerned. It has even been proposed that laws for the collection of debt be repealed altogether, the most famous advocate of this method of settling the money question being Jeremy Bentham.

But laws for the collection of debts still exist to such an extent that any debtor may at any hour be compelled by any of his creditors to turn his property into legal tender money at forced sale. In normal times this is not done. But in times of doubt and stress, there is a stampede; and the debtors who cannot realize enough legal tender money without sacrificing all their property at forced sale are ruined. On the other hand, creditors who have legal tender for sale are enriched.

Now the legal tender money which in times of business stress every debtor may be called upon to produce, is prescribed by law. As the law provides for the forcible collection of debt, it must provide also for a medium of payment. This medium is called "legal tender," because, when the debtor tenders it, that is, offers it in payment, the creditor may not invoke the debt-collecting laws against him. It abrogates those laws in that case.

II.

Under the constitution of the United States no state can make anything a legal tender except gold and silver, but upon Congress there is no restriction. Congress could constitutionally make legal tender of old shoes at the rate of a thousand dollars per shoe.

In other words, while Congress has no power to repeal laws for the collection of debt by direct legislation, it has the constitutional power, should it ever choose to use it, to repeal those laws indirectly by legislation with reference to legal tender. And without nullifying them absolutely, by making legal tender of valueless things in unlimited volume, it could mitigate their extortionate severity by making legal tender so abundant that it could not be cornered either by malicious intention or through financial stampedes.

Instead of doing this, Congress has for the past forty or fifty years been influenced by the creditor class to contract the possible volume of legal tender more and more.

Upon the organization of the United States government a unit was established. This was by act of Congress of April 2, 1792, which made the dollar 416 grains of standard silver (or 371¼ pure) the unit of value, and provided for the coinage not only of the unit, but of silver dimes, half dimes, quarter dollars, and half dollars, of copper cents and half cents, and of gold eagles, half eagles and quarter eagles. The coinage was to be made for any person, free of expense, who might bring gold or silver bullion to the mint for that purpose. It was a free coinage law, this, with the value of pure silver to pure gold fixed at 15 to 1. All the gold and silver coins were to be "a lawful tender in all payments whatsoever." This was the first legal tender law under the constitution of the United States.

Nearly a year later, February 9, 1793, the legal tender quality was extended to certain gold and silver coins of certain foreign nations.

The change in ratio from 15 of silver to 1 of gold, to 16 to 1, was made by act of Congress of June 28, 1834; It was supposed to be necessary because the value of silver as compared with gold had fallen—due, probably, to the making of gold the money basis by the Bank of England, though Mexican silver production also entered in. After this change, whereby silver was undervalued probably as much as it had been overvalued before, it was withheld from coinage, and only gold sought the mint, a condition that was intensified by the gold discoveries.

By act of June 18, 1837, the alloy was made uniform in both metals, namely—100 of alloy to 900 of pure metal; and under this uniform

standard, of nine-tenths fine, the silver dollar was to contain 412½ grains of standard silver, and the gold coins at the rate of 25.8 grains of standard gold. All these coins, from half dimes to eagles, were made legal tender, according to their nominal value, for any sum whatever.

In 1849, by the act of March 3, the coinage of double eagles and single gold dollars was for the first time authorized, the ratio of the silver dollar being the same as in other gold coins—16 to 1. Both were made legal tender at their nominal value.

The first coinage other than copper to which the full legal tender quality was not attached, was the three cent piece, authorized by act of March 3, 1851. It was to consist of three-fourths silver and one-fourth copper, to weigh 12⅜ grains, and to be legal tender for only 30 cents.

Two years later, February 21, 1851, all the other subsidiary silver coinage was debased, by reducing the amount of standard silver from 412½ grains to 384 grains per dollar's worth of the minor coin, and abolishing its legal tender quality for all debts in excess of five dollars.

The next step in the direction of contracting legal tenders was the act of February 21, 1857, which repealed all acts making legal tender of foreign coins.

III.

Then came the civil war, when both gold and silver went into hiding, and the government took advantage of its need for a war fund to exercise in a new way its constitutional power of creating legal tender. But it did not do this at once, nor even without making stultifying reservations.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war the law of July 17, 1861, was enacted, which provided for a loan of $250,000,000. Among the obligations authorized by this act were non-interst bearing treasury notes, payable on demand at the principal subtreasuries. They were limited in amount to $50,000,000 and in denomination to less than $50. The amount was increased to $60,000,000 by the act of February 12, 1862. The act of August 5, 1861, had already made the notes "receivable in payment of public dues."

They were not legal tender for private debts, and were not and could not be in fact redeemed in specie, for the government had no specie to spare and had suspended specie payment; yet, says Knox in his "United States Notes" (3d ed. pp. 89-91), "the notes were receivable for duties and soon obtained great credit." Mr. Knox is also authority (same reference) for the statement that "after the suspension of specie payments" they "were quoted at times at about the same premium for legal tender notes as for gold." The reason he implies is that, because they were issued before the suspension of specie payments they were considered as payable in gold. But when it is remembered that the government did not and could not pay them in gold, but actually repudiated them in that respect, his theory that their nominal redeemability in gold kept them at par with gold is the rankest nonsense. What did keep them at par with gold in the money market was the fact that they were received at par with gold at the custom houses. Had they also been legal tender for private debts from the beginning, and been issued in adequate volume, there is no reason to doubt, but every reason to believe, that they would have circulated as freely as greenbacks afterwards did, but without discount. They were not made legal tender for private debts until March 17, 1862, several weeks after an issue of greenbacks had been authorized for their retirement.

The creditor interests of the time may or may not have foreseen the effect in checking debt extortion of allowing the government to receive its own obligations for its own dues, with the possibility thus involved of their being made a general legal tender. At any rate they used all their influence to have these treasury notes called in; and by July, 1863, says Mr. Knox, $56,000,000 had been retired.

The process of retirement began in the spring of 1862, under the act of February 8, 1862, which authorized the issue of $150,000,000 non-interest bearing United States notes, greenbacks, one-third of which were to be used in taking up the treasury notes. A further issue of $150,000,000 greenbacks was authorized by the act of July 11, 1862; and a further one of $150,000,000 by the act of March 3, 1863—making $450,000,000 in all, not counting an issue authorized by the act of March 3, 1863, in connection with and solely for exchange with an issue of treasury notes.

The greenbacks were not receivable for public dues, but were legal tender for private debts. They therefore possessed the currency-giving and debt-protecting quality which the treasury notes lacked, but lacked the par-preserving quality which the treasury notes possessed. They went into general circulation at once, and if they had been receivable for public dues, they, like the treasury notes, would doubtless have been saved from depreciation. But as coin alone was available to pay public dues, after the retirement of the old treasury notes, coin became a commodity in the money market as the only legal tender for an enormous daily tax payment. Of course it went to a premium; or, as some would put it, and it means the same thing, greenbacks depreciated.

The excuse given for thus repudiating government money at the government tax office was that coin was needed for the payment of interest on the bonded debt, in order to enable the government to borrow. This excuse is given, curiously enough, by the very men who applaud the "patriotism" of the people who lent the government money for its war fund! The excuse is frivolous, as could be shown in detail were it necessary to the present discussion.

In consequence of this depreciation of the greenback, government bonds were at a corresponding discount. That is, the "patriot" who lent coin to the government didn't lend it coin at all. He bought his bonds with greenbacks and at par with greenbacks. There were times when $100 in gold could be sold for enough greenbacks to buy $200 to $240 worth of bonds. These bonds, not bought with coin nor payable in "coin," could have been repaid with greenbacks without violation of contract. Bondholders would

then have got back precisely what they lent, plus the enhanced value of the greenback. And if the government had received the greenback for taxes, that value would have come to par with coin.

IV.

But the thrifty creditor interest saw the glistening waters and stampeded for specie payments.

First came a series of acts, beginning April 12, 1866, which provided for the rapid retirement of greenbacks. This process was stopped, twelve years later, by the act of May 31, 1878, when the outstanding volume was $346,681,016.

Next in order came the so-called act "to strengthen the public credit," passed March 18, 1869, which altered the bond contract. On pretense of settling "conflicting questions and interpretations," this precious piece of creditorial dishonesty, pledged the government—after the loans, which were not made in coin; after the contract, which did not call for repayment in coin and was made when coin payments had been generally abrogated—to "the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver." In other words, greenback loans were made payable in coin; and the greenbacks—which might so far as the contract was concerned have come to be redeemed with taxes, and by being regularly reissued as legal tender tax-receipts have made a constant volume of legal tender available at all times—were demonetized.

Next in order was the demonetization of silver. Having provided for the cancellation of the greenbacks, having made them and the outstanding bonds payable in coin, having thus arranged to destroy all legal tender save gold and silver, the creditor interest had nothing more to do but to get silver out of the way in order to reduce the volume of legal tender to the smallest possible proportions—namely, the volume of gold. This was done by the act of February 12, 1873, which reduced the legal tender quality of all subsequent silver coinage to sums of five dollars in any one payment.

About this time the periodical business depression was due, and when it came it found the country with no legal tender save gold, that was not discredited. Of legal tender silver there was little or none, while the greenback volume was being rapidly contracted. No one who lived at that time needs to be reminded of the rich haul that the creditor class made in consequence of the forced sales to which the debtor class was obliged to submit. With a contracted legal tender volume, in a period of obstructed trading, the laws for the collection of debt did their perfect work.

V.

Those were the circumstances that brought on the great greenback agitation of the 70's, which seated several representatives in the lower house of Congress, and so far succeeded in its purpose as to stop, by the act of May 31, 1878, the further cancellation of greenbacks and to retain the volume of that legal tender currency at $346,681,016 down to the present day.

Although this movement accomplished no more, directly in its own line of agitation, it furnished the impulse for the silver restoration movement which secured the passage of the law of February 28, 1878, and its enactment by a two-thirds vote of each House over the President's veto. That law revived the silver coinage clause of the act of 1837, restored to the silver dollar its legal tender function of which it had been divested by the act of 1873, and directed the purchase of from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion monthly, and its prompt coinage into dollars.

The bullion purchase clause of this act of 1878 was repealed by the act of July 14, 1890, and in its stead a provision was made for the purchase in the aggregate of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion with treasury notes redeemable "on demand in coin." Those notes were to be "a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise stipulated in the contract" and were to be receivable for public dues; but they were also to be redeemed by the secretary of the treasury—and here came in the "weasel words"—"in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal value or such ratio as may be provided by law."

That act was passed as a bimetalism law, pursuant to the demand for bimetallism which both parties had been compelled by public sentiment to make. But it was turned into a gold redemption law. For the secretary of the treasury, instead of redeeming these notes in silver, as he had the option to do, transferred the option to the holders, who preferred gold. This treasury policy, dictated by the creditor class, was followed by the repeal of the law of 1890, so that nothing now remains of the silver restoration acts except such clauses as affect outstanding coinage and notes, and that clause in the law of 1878 which authorizes the coinage of legal tender silver dollars, pursuant to the act of 1837, but which is not and for years has not been obeyed.

And now, as the climax to which all the creditor legislation that the greenback and the silver coinage advocates have fought for 35 years, comes the Fowler bill, described fully in these columns at page 244. Should that bill become law, the next business depression, finding the country with no legal tender greenbacks and no legal tender silver, but with a mass of indebtedness public and private—national, State, county, municipal, corporate, banking and individual—would give us a repetition of the devastation of the debtor class of 1873-78 with tenfold fury.

VI.

This, then, is the progress of legal tender contraction. From a condition in which silver and gold were freely coined and made legal tender for all sums in all their denominations even down to the half dime, and in which this legal tender was afterwards supplemented with a considerable volume of paper legal tender, the legal tender contrac-

tionists, balked now and then but on the whole going steadily forward, even from generation to generation, have taken all minor coinage out of the legal tender category, have stopped the coinage of all silver legal tender, have reduced the volume of paper legal tender, and are now preparing to abolish utterly every kind of legal tender except gold. Unless laws for the collection of debt are repealed, this progress of the creditor class must either be stopped and reversed, or debtors will be at the mercy of their creditors with every financial storm that blows.

Trade can be carried on with very little legal tender. It can be carried on with none at all. Given some current funds for "pocket money," and all that normal trade requires to effect exchanges is free banking. But with laws for enforcing debt payments, which in turn necessitate legal tender, business carried on under a contracting volume of legal tender is in constant danger. It is like a boy's top, which is upright so long as it revolves briskly but tumbles down upon its side when its regular motion is impeded.

NEWS

Excitement over the coal famine in the United States (p. 634) has not at all subsided, but on the contrary has greatly increased. At this time there are no signs of relief, and the price of coal is as high as $12 and $15 a ton for anthracite and $6 to $8 a ton for bituminous, when to be had at all. A cold snap has made the suffering of the poor intense, and cases of severe illness caused by overexposure to cold are reported by the score. According to the Chicago health department's bulletin of the 11th, "fully 10 per cent., or nearly 200,000 residents of Chicago, are today suffering from ailments of a grave character caused by privation and exposure resulting from the coal famine," and "already these ailments are reflected in the enormous increase of deaths among those at the extremes of life,—the young and the aged."

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Steps were taken on the 7th in Chicago toward the institution of criminal proceedings against coal dealers for forestalling the market. This movement was set on foot by the Illinois Manufacturers' association. Their investigations had brought to light the fact that there is more coal in Chicago now than at this time a year ago, which makes it clear that the famine is due not to shortage in supply but to a conspiracy of some kind. A special grand jury was therefore organized on the 10th to investigate the combinations in Cook county alleged by the State's attorney to have been entered into "to do an illegal act injurious to public trade." The examination of wtnesses began at once and has continued daily since. There are many exciting rumors of evidence secured and to be secured and of "leads" to be followed; but the grand jury has made no report, and as its sessions are secret, of course no reliable information of its proceedings can be legitimately obtained. The city council passed an ordinance on the 12th imposing a fine of $200 for every act of forestalling fuel and other merchandise. To cover a wider field the lower house of the Illinois legislature appointed an investigating committee on the 13th.

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Suffering similar to that of Chicago is reported from Milwaukee, where the establishment of a municipal coal yard is proposed; from Detroit, where the same measure for relief is being shaped; from the cities of Indiana, where beans are being used in some places as a substitute; from the cities of Iowa and Illinois; from Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City and Topeka; from Omaha and other cities of Nebraska, a State in which corn is being used for fuel; from the cities of Ohio, in some of which the grand juries are acting as in Chicago, and where the attorney general has begun suits against several coal companies to forfeit their charters; and from Minnesota, New York and other States, both East and West. From many points come reports of the closing down of factories for want of fuel.

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Among the means adopted to meet this emergency is a "get coal" conference to be held at Washington at a date yet to be named. It will be composed of delegates appointed by the governors and mayors of the suffering communities. This movement was decided on at Chicago on the 10th by the permanent committee of ten (Mayor Maybury, of Detroit, chairman), which was appointed by the coal strike convention held at Detroit last Fall (p. 439). Its object, as stated in the resolution proposed by the Rev. R. A. White, of Chicago, one of the committee, and adopted by the committee, is "to impress upon the administrative officers of the government the necessity for immediate action on the coal situation."

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In the House of Representatives at Washington a relief bill was agreed to unanimously on the 13th by the committee on ways and means. It provided for paying back to importers of foreign coal the amount of tariff duty exacted from them during the next 12 months. The Democrats on the committee sought to amend the bill by making coal free of duty. Failing in this by a strict party vote, they sought to have the rebate apply for an indefinite period. Again they were defeated. It was then that they joined in making the report of the committee unanimous. Representative McCall (Republican), of Massachusetts, attempted to have attached to the bill a provision that after the expiration of one year coal coming from countries which admit our coal free should pay no duty. This reciprocity proposition met with some favor, but Mr. McCall's Republican colleagues on the committee, with the exception of Mr. Tawney, of Minnesota, opposed making the temporary measure a vehicle for inaugurating a permanent policy and dissuaded Mr. McCall from pressing it. When the relief bill came before the House on the 14th it was passed by a vote of 258 to 5; and upon going to the Senate was immediately passed with an amendment, subsequently adopted by the House, making anthracite absolutely free.

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A remarkably significant resolution was introduced in the House on the 14th, by the chairman of the judiciary committee, Mr. Jenkins, of Wisconsin, as follows:

Resolved, That the committee on judiciary be and is hereby directed to investigate and report to this house, with all convenient speed the opinion of that committee as to the power of Congress to declare that a necessity has arisen for taking possession of all coal, coal beds and coal mines in the United States and all lines of transportation, agencies, instruments and vehicles of commerce necessary for the transportation of coal, and that if, in the opinion of that committee, the power exists and a necessity for the exercise of such power has arisen that committee forthwith report to this House a

bill declaring the necessity, providing fully and in detail the occasions, modes, conditions and agencies for said appropriation that will fully and completely exhaust the power of Congress in that regard.

Mr. Jenkins is described as a good constitutional lawyer, and as explaining his resolution by saying:

I am calling attention to a power that I believe exists and should be developed. It is one of the sovereign inherent rights of the government. The situation is not as favorable for the exercise of that power as during last September, but conditions are much worse. Coal is a necessary of life. The people cannot obtain it and are suffering greatly for the want of it. Therefore, it is within the power of Congress in such a case to declare that an exigency has arisen for the exercise of the power of eminent domain, and this declaration is not open to inquiry by the courts. It is not the price of coal that creates the exigency, but the fact that the people cannot obtain it, and, that conditions are growing worse daily. Hence, it becomes the duty of the government to exercise this attribute of sovereignty and relieve the distress not by buying coal for the people, but by providing that they can buy it. This is the first time in history this nation could justly exercise that right of control. Unquestionably the power exists, as certainly as the exigency is present.

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An extraordinary and startling effect of this coal famine is the willingness it has revealed among classes of people not usually accounted lawless to confiscate private property. A marked instance is reported from Arcola, Ill. In this town on the 10th a train load of coal, 16 cars in all, bound for Chicago, was lawlessly seized by a mob of 1,000 of the inhabitants and distributed in one-ton lots. An account was kept, and the leaders of the mob announce their intention of paying for the coal they confiscated when proof of ownership is made. The leaders of this mob were the pastors of the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches, two bank presidents, and other prominent citizens, besides a policeman. They notified the station agent that they wanted the coal and had the money to pay for it. He telegraphed for instructions and was ordered not to sell. The mob thereupon confiscated the property. The mayor is quoted as justifying the lawless act. A similar breach of the law was committed on the 10th by Armour & Co., the great Chicago packing house, which confiscated 150 tons on the way to the Chicago water works. Similar lawless attacks upon property rights in coal are reported from other points.

Proceedings before the anthracite strike commission of arbitration (p. 634) reached a point on the 9th where the nonunion men, having presented 150 witnesses, closed their case. The tendency of the testimony was to show that nonunion miners had been intimidated, and that a reign of lawlessness and terror existed in the anthracite region during the strike. Whether these outrages were connected with the miners' organization does not appear; but a short colloquy occurred on the 8th between President Mitchell and Judge Gray, chairman of the commission, in which the former resented a remark of the latter that seemed to imply that the miners' organization was responsible for the lawlessness. When the nonunion case had closed, the Delaware & Hudson company began offering testimony. It concluded on the 13th, and the Erie followed.

In civic affairs in the United States the most important event of the week is the adoption by the charter convention of Chicago of the final form for a proposed constitutional amendment (pp. 473, 586, 600), permitting a reorganization of the city government. The proposed amendment, to be the thirty-fourth section of the fourth article of the State constitution, would empower the legislature to enact a charter for Chicago. The general nature of the charter so authorized is described with extended particularity in the proposed amendment. One of its many clauses provides that it cannot take effect until "consented to by a majority of the legal voters of said city, voting on the question at any election, general, municipal or special;" nor can any special law affecting specially any part of the city and based upon the amendment take effect until "consented to by a majority of the legal voters of such part of said city, voting on the question at any election, general, municipal or special." The charter convention did not pass the proposed amendment until legal opinions had been submitted to it showing that it would not interfere with the adoption of the policy of municipal ownership of public utilities. Before adjourning, the convention resolved itself into a permanent body for securing the passage of the proposed amendment by the legislature and its submission to the people.

Distinct progress has now been made in the settlement of the Venezuelan conflict (p. 632) with the creditor powers of Europe. The Venezuelan government, while regarding the demands of the powers as unjust and humiliating, was reported on the 9th to have acknowledged the necessity of yielding to superior force; and on the 11th, the American minister to Venezuela, Mr. Bowen, embarked for home to act as the representative of the Venezuelan government in arranging at Washington for the proposed arbitration. He was attended to the railway station in Caracas by President Castro and his cabinet.

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Further victories by Castro over the revolutionists are reported. One was secured at the port of Tucacoas, 40 miles from Porto Cabello, the port having been recaptured from the revolutionists as the result of an hour's battle, after having been held by them for four months and used as a point for smuggling in arms and ammunition from Curacoa. A second victory was achieved near Coro, where a small force of rebels was routed. The third was probably the most important. The battle took place at Cumana on the 4th, 5th and 6th. After a fight of seven hours on the last day, the rebels were driven from the field, leaving 200 prisoners and a large quantity of rifles and ammunition behind them. This fight was witnessed from nine British cruisers in the bay.

The uprising in Morocco (p. 633) would appear from the more or less trustworthy dispatches to be gaining ground over the sultan. A battle outside of Fez was reported to have occurred on the 7th and the sultan's troops to have been defeated. He was even said to have abandoned Fez, after losing his war minister and strongest adviser, Menebbi, who was killed in the battle. Moreover, serious fighting was understood to have taken place within a short distance of Tangier. But later dispatches contradict the reported death of Menebbi, and report a strengthening of the sultan's position.

NEWS NOTES.

—The German reichstag resumed its sessions on the 13th after the holiday recess.

—The legislature of Idaho has elected Weldon B. Heyburn, Republican, as

United States senator to succeed Henry Heitfield.

—United States Senator Perkins, Republican, was reelected by the legislature of California on the 13th. The Democrats voted for Franklin K. Lane.

—The Fowler banking bill, the principles of which were discussed in these columns last Summer at page 244, was favorably reported to the House on the 13th by the committee on banking and currency.

—Benj. R. Tucker's "Liberty," the journalistic representative in this country of philosophical anarchy, published at New York, has resumed regular monthly publication, beginning with No. 367.

—Geo. Fred Williams, of Massachusetts, has launched a political organization, not as an independent party, but as a party within parties, to promote direct legislation, public ownership of public utilities, and opposition to the abrogation of jury trial by means of injunctions. The name of the organization is "The People's Rule."

—Boyce's Weekly entered the field of journalism on the 7th. It is the most ambitious attempt at a distinctly labor paper yet undertaken. Published at Chicago by the W. D. Boyce company, under the managing editorship of Judson Grenell, formerly of Detroit, its editorial page is conducted by Willis J. Abbot, and among its regular editorial contributors are Henry George, Jr., Judson Grenell, Herbert N. Casson, Henry D. Lloyd, Gertrude Barnum, A. M. Simons, E. E. Clark, Carroll D. Wright and Willis J. Abbot.

—The lower House of the Illinois legislature adopted a concurrent resolution on the 14th requiring each candidate for United States senator "to pledge his unqualified support of any amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people," as demanded by the referendum vote. The resolution was offered by a Democratic member and carried against the majority or Hopkins faction of the Republicans by a coalition of the Democrats with the minority or Sherman faction.

—Mayor John Hinkle, of Columbus, O., whose business is the manufacture of soap, makes an offer to contribute $1.20 to the Democratic campaign fund of 1904 for every gross of soap he sells, such fund to be used "for legitimate expenses necessary in carrying on a campaign to elect a President who is opposed to trusts and monopolies; a President who is in favor of public ownership of public utilities; a President who is in favor of equal taxation for all and special privileges to none; a President who is opposed to monarchies and empires; a President who is opposed to wars and extermination of liberty-loving peoples, whether in South Africa or elsewhere."

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE COAL FAMINE.

Cleveland Waechter and Anzeiger (Dem.), Jan. 10.—Every government must be considered as bankrupt, which, in the face of a general calamity like the coal famine, knows of no remedy or—which is the case with us—does not want to apply it. And to-day we have the government of the Republican party.

CONGRESS.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Jan. 14.—Congress . . . is getting more and more to represent what are called interests rather than the people; it is hastening the country toward a crisis which must settle the question whether legislation also is among the monopolies to be enjoyed by corporate wealth.

A SINGLE-TAX GOVERNOR.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), Jan. 9 (weekly ed.).—Gov. Garvin's party is not in control of the Legislature, and his recommendations are not expected to be heeded by the forces that rule that body. Yet the Rhode Island democracy has an opportunity to gain a large measure of public confidence, and ultimately the legislative power itself, by solidly supporting the governor and his reform programme, at the same time conducting itself decently and without reproach in the eyes of independent voters. On a programme of domestic reform, under the leadership of an incorruptible man such as Gov. Garvin, the democrats may in the near future perform a great service to their commonwealth and make for themselves a record of which they would ever afterward be proud—provided that the aim of the party be kept high and its baser tendencies be held in stern restraint.

THE RIGHT TO QUIT WORK.

Liberty (anarchist), January.—The clericals and capitalists in France, shrieking for the liberty of the Jesuits to teach, and the capitalists and clericals in America shrieking for the liberty of the "scab" to work, while both are technically right, do naught but exhibit two phases of one and the same eternally-recurring phenomenon—the stealing of the livery of heaven to serve the devil in.

TARIFF PROTECTION.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Jan. 14.—To the Aldriches genuine reciprocity is a "surrender of protection." They favor that fraudulent and meaningless thing, "reciprocity in noncompetitive products." How long are they to be permitted to control Congress and misrepresent the best elements of the Republican party?

TRUSTS.

Columbus (O). Press (Dem.), Jan. 7.—While Attorney General Knox is taking his much needed rest, after hitting the beef trust such a staggering blow with an injunction that it paralyzed prices so that it has been impossible to reduce them, the packers have been going about their business on tip-toe, that they might not awaken the somnolent Philander.

OHIO POLITICS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 10.—There is uneasines among the allied bosses of Cincinnati. A mayor is to be chosen in April, and symptoms of a revolt against the Cox-Bernard Republican-Democratic machine are developing. Tom L. Johnson has been down there lately like a firebrand among the stubble, and a political conflagration may break out at any moment. A particularly disconcerting feature of the situation as it appears to the Cox-Bernard alliance is the possibility that Herbert S. Bigelow may enter the field. The defeat he sustained last fall when running for secretary of state has neither discouraged him nor greatly reassured the bosses. The latter know how Bigelow was defeated in Cincinnati in November, and they realize that they could hardly turn the trick again. And they do not relish the notion of a Tom Johnson municipal campaign right under their very noses. It will be worth while to keep an eye on the Queen City during the next three months.

Cleveland (O.) Daily Recorder (Dem.), Jan. 7.—All the trouble which has come to this town and all the turmoil in the way of declaring charters of cities in the whole State unconstitutional, has been the result directly of the attempt to get three-cent fare in the street railroads. . . . But the fight is not over yet.

THE MILITIA BILL IN CONGRESS.

Colorado Chronicle (Soc.), Jan. 7.—The effect of the provision, if enacted, would be to give capitalism a regular military establishment, in active service, of from 60,000 to 100,000 men, as the president may direct, together with a regular army reserve of 100,000, the total force of trained soldiers at the president's personal beck and call being no less than 200,000 men. And in order to bring into existence so large an army in the United States the prime movers of the scheme are cunningly attempting to impose this additional force of 100,000 upon the nation in the guise of a volunteer "militia" reserve.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the offical report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 38 of that publication.

Washington, Jan. 5-9, 1903.

Senate.

During the morning hour on the 5th Senator Lodge advocated the suspension for 90 days of the duty on coal (p. 504). He also spoke (p. 507) against the Jones resolution, coming over from a previous day, which calls upon the attorney general to transmit evidence against the coal trust furnished him by Wm. R. Hearst. The same resolution was opposed by Senators Spooner (p. 508) and Foraker (p. 512). Other Senators participated in this debate, but it was cut off by the regular order, the Statehood bill (p. 512), upon which Senator Nelson addressed the Senate.

The morning hour of the 6th was occupied by Senator Vest (p. 531) in support of his resolution to instruct the committee on finance to prepare and report a bill amending the tariff act so as to place anthracite coal on the free list; and by Senator Hoar (p. 533), who advocated his bill (S. No. 6530) for the regulation of trusts. At the close of these speeches consideration of the Statehood bill was resumed, Mr. Nelson continuing his speech.

By unanimous consent the committee on the District of Columbia was instructed on the 7th to inquire into the cause of the scarcity of coal in Washington (p. 569); after which the militia bill (H. No. 15345) was considered (p. 570) until the expiration of the morning hour, when the Statehood bill, with Mr. Nelson (p. 584) on the floor, was given its right of way.

Before resuming consideration of this bill on the 8th (p. 608), the Senate concurred (p. 602) in the House amendments to the Hawaiian silver currency bill (S. No. 2210); and Aldrich (p. 602), Vest (pp. 604, 606), Hale (p. 604), Hoar (p. 604) and Tillman (p. 607) discussed the Vest resolution in favor of free coal. Adjournment was taken (p. 608) to the 12th.

House.

On the 5th the committee on military affairs moved a bill to establish a general staff corps of the army (p. 516), but the

House was obliged to adjourn (p. 523) for want of a quorum.

The bill (H. No. 15449) for increasing the efficiency of the army was taken up in committee of the whole (p. 544) on the 6th, and after brief debate was passed; as also was the bill (S. No. 1359) to increase pensions for total deafness (pp. 556, 558).

The bill (S. No. 2210) relating to Hawaiian silver coinage and silver certificates (p. 587) was passed with amendments (p. 594) on the 7th; and the Philippine constabulary bill (H. No. 15510) on the 8th (pp. 617, 634); but only private bills were considered on the 9th.

MISCELLANY

OUR FAITH AND OUR TRUSTS.

For The Public.

"There is rest from toil—Why work in vain?
Ease for struggle—Why longer strain?
Pleasures plenty—Why suffer pain?

"There's ease of mind when conscience quivers;
Heart's-ease for the soul that shivers;
For heart-ache, baths in Lethean rivers.

"For hunger, food—Snatch and eat!
Why starvest thou? Some have meat!
Thy table's spread in every street."

Too soon; alas! Speak not to him
Who, agonized and visioned dim,
Unseeing, tastes the bitter brim;

Who drinks the less, nor looks to see
His chains unbound—not even by Thee,
Thou Christ that walked by Galilee.

O Christian God and Christian creed!
Where is your promised help in need?
Come, scourge me now this Christian greed!

LAURA H. EARLE.

A SOCIAL FABLE.

A Widow who was walking along her darkened path, with an Orphan's hand in her right hand and a single share of dividend-paying stock in her left hand, heard a groaning, and the groaning ceased, but a Voice said:

"Ha! I see him now!"

"See whom now?" said the Widow.

"The man who has been keeping my wages down and my hours of labor up," replied the Voice. "There he is, do you not see him?"

The Widow looked and saw two men; the man with the Voice was a Laborer, and the other man was a Trustee, who claimed to have credentials from Providence. In his hand he held a calculation, which read:

Plant	$1,000,000
Good will	1,000,000
Material	50,000
Cash on hand	50,000
Bills receivable	100,000
Water	7,800,000
Total capital	$10,000,000

"Why did I not see you before?" asked the Widow of the Trustee.

"Because," replied he, "I was sheltering myself behind your skirts."—From the Monthly Leader, of Philadelphia, for October.

DESERVES IT.

"No, I take no interest in politics," remarked Mr. Howson Lotts. "It is dirty business—too dirty for honest men to engage in. Only ward heelers, tricksters and self-seekers engage in politics."

"But do you not think that it is your duty as an American citizen to take an active interest in politics?" we queried.

"No, sir; I am too busy engaged in looking after my private business affairs to engage in politics. Besides, look at the class of men who make politics a business. It's enough to make a decent man sick."

"But why not assist in purifying politics?" we ventured.

"O, that's all nonsense. What's the use trying? Just let the politicians run things to suit themselves. I'm not going to interfere. It takes too much time and I can't spare it from my business."

"I see that the legislature has just enacted a law that will result in raising the taxes on private property and lowering the taxes on corporations," we ventured to say.

Then there was an explosion.

"That's what it did!" shouted Mr. Howson Lotts. "The ordinary business man is ground into the dust by unjust taxes, while the corporations escape. Our tax laws are infernally unjust, so they are. The man least able to pay is robbed blind, while the men who are able to pay escape by the aid of unjust laws. The country is going to the demnition bowwows and I think it a shame. The corporations and trusts are—"

Here we interrupted by rising and starting for the door. We had heard all that so often that it is wearisome. It was a good opportunity to preach a sermon to Mr. Howson Lotts, but after a moment's thought concluded that he deserved all he was getting. —Will M. Maupin, in The Commoner.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE HAS BEEN NULLIFIED.

So much is being written about the Monroe doctrine and its abandonment by our Republican administration, until the European powers have collected their debts of Venezuela and the other South American republics, that it is important that the people of the United States remember just what President Monroe said when he made that declaration to the world and his countrymen.

It must first be remembered that a coalition of some of the old world powers had been formed, to restrict the march of Democracy, and the Monroe doctrine was a declaration that, for our own safety, we would not permit any extension of European control on this continent.

President Monroe made this plain in these words:

> We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied powers to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere; but with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view an interposition for oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

This doctrine was enlarged by John Quincy Adams when he said that "the American continents should no longer be subjects for any new European settlement," and was strengthened by Thomas Jefferson, who said:

> We will oppose with all our means the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and most especially their transfer to any powers by conquest, concession or acquisition in any other way.

Those were the bold words of the fathers of the republic, and the same doctrine has been upheld by the statesmen of all parties until President Roosevelt made a new interpretation in his last message to Congress, in which he said:

> No independent nation in America need have the slightest fear of aggression from the United States. It behooves each one to maintain order within its own borders and to discharge its just obligations to foreigners. When this is done, they can rest assured that, be they strong or weak, they have nothing to dread from outside interference. More and more the increasing interdependence and complexity of international political and economic relations render it incumbent on all civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world.

This is a modification of the Monroe doctrine and a most extraordinary one, for not only does it give European countries permission to collect their debts, by force if necessary, but it also advances a new doctrine for the "Policing of the World" by the civilized and orderly powers.

That amendment was evidently expected by Germany and England, for as long ago as last June, there are

strong indications that a secret understanding had been arrived at between those countries and the United States. The coercion of Venezuela was then decided upon, but was to be delayed until the effect of the president's message to Congress had been observed. It did not take long for the allied powers to act, upon finding that no expressed opposition had developed to the "policing of the world."

In an interview President Roosevelt is stated to have said, that those who wish to fully understand his position on this question, "must read between the lines of his first message."

Are we to understand from this that an entangling alliance has been entered into with Germany and England and perhaps other "civilized and orderly powers," to aid them in collecting their debts of the semi-civilized and disorderly countries, wherever they may be?

What if this question is considered by The Hague court, when it tries Venezuela for her shortcomings, and the arbitrators decide that the "policing" of that state is necessary and appoints Germany or England or both as high-sheriff to civilize her and collect what is due and charge a good round sum for the expense of collection?

Where will the Monroe doctrine be then? Will President Roosevelt be in a position to maintain it, with the sheriff in possesson of Venezuela for an unlimited time, until the debts and expenses are paid? Venezuela cannot pay what she owes; the only settlement possible is for her to issue bonds at a large discount and a ruinous rate of interest. That would be a mortgage on her land and her people, principally to England and Germany. If she defaulted in the interest or otherwise became disorderly, which an uprising of her people against some great injustice would be construed by the powers to be, her creditors would claim the right to occupy and administer her affairs until the debt was extinguished. Like England's occupation of Egypt, this would be perpetual.

All the South American republics may be claimed to be disorderly, and all owe large sums to Europe, and there is no doubt the same coercion will be used on them and with a like result eventually—permanent occupation.

There is but one escape for all of them and that is the refusal of the people of the United States to indorse "the policing of the world" and by the defeat of the president and party who have undertaken to carry it out.

With a Jacksonian Democrat in the White House and a declaration by him that the Monroe doctrine will be maintained at all hazards, the powers of Europe would not venture to molest or make afraid our sister republics.

We must take the bold position of the Fathers of the Republic, or in some time of stress, when political factions might be battling for supremacy, the Allied Powers of Europe might attempt the "policing" of the United States or part of them.

The Monroe doctrine must be preserved. R. M.

DR. BASCOM ON ROCKEFELLER.

A letter from Prof. John Bascom to the Chicago Chronicle, published in the Chronicle of January 8. In this letter Prof. Bascom explains in greater fullness the statements recently made by him in two interviews already commented on in The Public. Prof. Bascom has the chair of political economy at Williams college.

In the haste of the moment one does not always select the most suitable stone to shy at a dog. I should like the use of your columns for a more explicit statement of the reasons which render unfit an acceptance by colleges of Mr. Rockefeller's gifts than was possible in a hasty interview with reporters. The question is whether colleges are at liberty to solicit donations without reference to the manner in which the money has been accumulated; or whether there should be some correspondence between the temper with which it has been made and that with which it is to be used. Some seem ready to say that money has no character and may come from all quarters and go in all uses. Our Lord did not take this view of the widow's two mites. He gave them a decided preference over the lavish sums with which they were associated, and this feeling has clung to men's minds ever since. It is the temper of instruction which makes it educational and this temper may be expressed in many ways.

The Standard Oil company has for more than a quarter of a century been the corporation most conspicuous in this country for inadmissible business methods; the faults have chiefly consisted in securing unequal rates from railroads and in direct and persevering attacks on competitors. No other corporation has won so bad an eminence in these particulars. The first of these, unequal rates, has from the beginning been contrary to law. Common law does not recognize any right in public carriers to give different rates to different individuals. Much of the early success of the Standard Oil company was due to these illegal contracts, which were at times of a most flagrant character. In 1887 the interstate commerce act came in force, designed to put an end to these unequal business conditions. The Standard Oil company has done its utmost, in its entire history, to subvert the civil law in its watchfulness over the general welfare and to establish a monopoly in the teeth of all its provisions. If it secures to-day fewer discriminations in its favor than hitherto it is due in part to the fact that, its end being attained, it has less need of them and in part to the fact that the interstate commerce commission has made this method more difficult.

The Standard Oil company has attacked directly and in a great variety of ways all competitors, and has in most instances driven them from the field. The antitrust bill just introduced by Senator Hoar makes criminal, with a penalty of imprisonment, the means which have been constantly employed by this corporation. The intent and spirit of these methods have been from the beginning as criminal as the senator would now make them to be in law.

The monopoly set up by the Standard Oil company has been pushed in the most vigorous way till the wealth accumulated has become something monstrous in the world's history. Even now, while the profits are enormous, this corporation is steadily increasing the price of oil. These profits come mostly from the poorer and more dependent classes. Every workman among us in these winter days is lighted to his morning meal by a lamp and out into the darkness by a lantern on which the Standard Oil company imposes its claim. The wealth of this company is gathered chiefly from the most ragged and empty pockets among us.

The wrongful and unflinching way in which this wealth has been won, the long period over which these extortions have been extended and the surprising success which has accompanied them have made the Standard Oil company the pioneer in a policy the embodiment of methods which threatens the very existence of our institutions. Is a college at liberty to accept money gained in a manner so hostile to the

public welfare? Is it at liberty, when the government is being put to its wits' end to check this aggression, to rank itself with those who profit by it? It is not anti-trust laws that we need nearly so much as it is an anti-trust temper. If equal conditions were given to all forms of production the trust problem would shortly disappear.

The question of trusts is an economic, social and civic question, and it is the duty of every college to meet it in all these relations. A college that is thriving on the money of the Standard Oil trust is precluded by courtesy, by honor and by interest from any adequate criticism of its methods. It has foreclosed discussion on one of the most important questions which come before it for consideration. One has but to recall events which have already happened in our universities to see how this need of silence is felt. The American people have such an overwhelming admiration for the money-making process that they can hardly get on their knees quick enough in the presence of a wealthy corporation. Is this the temper most suitable to a university and a divinity school?

Mr. Rockefeller has the reputation of being a devout Baptist. One is unable to understand, therefore, how he should escape some twinge in his own consciousness when he converts the words of St. Paul: "The law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," into the words: "The commercial law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, drive your neighbor to the wall." Nor can one any better understand how a divinity school should be willing in any way to be a partaker in such a travesty of Christian faith. A portion of the ministry, as in the anti-slavery discussions, has always betrayed the people when a crisis has arisen. How does it happen?

Our Lord said: "If thou bring thy gift to the altar and thou rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift." If Mr. Rockefeller should obey this injunction and strive to assuage the deep and justifiable hatred he has awakened in those scattered all through the land whose business he has ruined, he would not have time enough, even if his days were prolonged like those of Methuselah, to return and complete his first gift.

What all our universities need to teach is sound citizenship. The danger which most presses on the state is unscrupulous pursuit of wealth. When our universities shall cease to send forth young men intelligently and earnestly devoted to equal rights and the public welfare their function is ended.

Williamstown, Mass., Jan. 5.

THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

For The Public.

The simplest and most obvious test of truth in any proposition is self-consistency—the just and proper inherence of each part thereof in the whole. When, on the contrary, the admitted factors of a thesis are found irreconcilable, the discovery reacts upon the original postulate and proves its falsity.

It not infrequently happens that this test intelligently and courageously applied, inverts what we had thought to be an axiom, changing all the plus signs of our sufficiency to minus signs of doubt. For example, we have lately heard a vast deal about the "rights of property," the "sacred rights" and the "divine rights," and most of us doubtless rest secure in the belief that we fully comprehend what this means in theory, as well as in practice. In the matter of fuel we have learned to our sorrow and our cost that the practice part of it means extortionate prices for coal in Boston and vicinity (a person in one instance paying at the rate of $40 the ton for range anthracite), a cornered fuel market in which dealers answer inquiries with "None at any price," while nearly 200,000 tons of coal is held idle in our harbor, until we have been moved to wonder which is the worse type of highwayman, he who holds a dagger to one's heart, with the salutation: "Give me all you have, or I'll run this knife through you," or he who places an icicle to one's breast with the grim threat: "Give me as much of your money as it pleases me to demand, or I'll stick this in your heart!"

Such conditions, it would seem, are only tolerated by the public, because of utterly erroneous ideas as to this matter of the "rights of property," which, in the average mind, is as often thought of as "the rights of wealth," in contradistinction to "the rights of labor." Along similar lines of thought we hear much of the "irrepressible conflict between labor and capital" from people who never realize that there can properly be no conflict whatever between these two economic factors, and who never have learned that the real issue is between labor and monopoly, which amounts to an assertion on the one hand and a denial on the other, of the right of man to labor with a just return to himself.

Brushing aside all confusing minutiae and coming down to fundamentals, let us make the following postulates which, it is believed, will generally be accepted as axiomatic.

1. The chronology of primary economic factors assumes the following order: The earth; man and his labor; and the product of his labor applied to the earth.

2. Man has as natural and inalienable a right to the use of the earth as he has to that part of the earth which he breathes.

3. Wealth, then, is the product of an individual possession applied to a general possession, i. e., labor applied to land.

If these premises are true, the following conclusions would seem to be inevitable:

1. An antecedent thing (labor) cannot generate in its application to an impersonal thing (land) a subsequent factor (capital) which shall have rights oppugnant to itself. A brief consideration of what is known in mathematics as a "closed system of forces" will make this apparent.

2. If the right of the earth is a common right, occupancy or "possession" can per se by no possibility generate an individual right.

3. Since an individual right cannot inhere in or flow from a common right per se, whence comes it? If wealth be the result of the application of an individual possession to a common possession, it is clear that any individual rights inhering therein must have come from the individual possession, since ex nihilo nihil fit is as clearly violated by getting a single clam from an ocean where clams are not, as by conjuring ponderables from sheer vacuity.

4. If the individual right in wealth is born of the individual factor concerned in its production, then, since that factor is labor, the rights of wealth are labor rights, and any real conflict between the true rights of labor and the true rights of wealth would exhibit the astonishing paradox of a conflict of the rights of labor with the same rights of labor, or, to put it mathematically, an "irrepressible conflict" of a concrete segregated homogeneity with itself—which is to say, perpetual motion.

When a conclusion reduces a proposition to an absurdity, if correctly

drawn, it reacts upon and disproves at least one of the premises. Such being the case, it is a fallacy to speak of a conflict between the "Rights of Labor" and the "Rights of Property," and equally erroneous to talk about "Property Rights," and "Labor Rights," since all property rights are labor rights. Giving the same thing two names does not even make two things of it, much less two antagonistic things.

The individual right to any wealth is merely, in the last analysis, labor's lien thereon. Any other "right" is not a right, and any arrogation thereof robs (whether intentionally or otherwise) labor of its due. By a parity of reasoning he who has not a labor right to "his" property, has no right to it, and if he use it he commits, before the tribunal of absolute ethics, a sin. Let the Wall street gambler and others of his fair ilk, whose "business" consists in catching midway the goods which the producer strives to toss to the consumer, ponder this and realize the microscopic ethical value of his parasitic self.

MELVIN L. SEVERY.

OUR POLITICAL METHODS NEED DEMOCRATIZING.

Written for The Public by Hon. William L. Stark, member of congress from Nebraska.

Responding to the many requests I have received I beg leave to respectfully suggest a thought relative to the function of the citizen in politics. Let us see if our departure from old-time methods has any probable connection with present conditions.

In the early days people met in town meetings and discussed matters pertaining to the common good. Political action was spontaneous, flowing from the collective citizenship, they being the prime movers thereof. In latter day politics the primary election system comes nearest to the attainment of the objects sought in the old-time town meeting; and the convention system is its antithesis. Is it not possible that we have blamed the existing parties for many things that they could not avoid under their form of organization and their method of operation? Cannot the boss-ridden conditions of politics in many States be directly traced to the convention system that organizes and operates from the center out instead of from the circumference in?

We have to face this question: Is the citizen the unit in political action, or is the convention the unit and the citizen an infinitesimal fraction thereof? Another question that we should try to answer, is: Can we hope to succeed in the promulgation of pure political principles and practically work out the ideals of the founders of this government when we make use of the same methods and machinery by which those ideals have been well-nigh obliterated? Why is it that a party whose platform declares for reforms of various kinds, elects men who never give a serious thought to the performance of those duties to which they are pledged? Simply because the method of selecting candidates is in direct opposition to the accomplishment of the declared purposes. Results flow from actions, not from declarations. The best illustration of attempts to work out the accomplishment of our declarations under the convention method and system would be to seat a man on a horse backward and have him vociferously declare that he is traveling northward when the horse is going south. Our principles may be very good, but if our methods of operation are radically wrong our declaration of principles will avail nothing. If we believe that our government is by the people, and not an outward flow from some centralized power, then we should seek some method of political operation which will secure and retain the power to select men and declare measures in the hands of the individual elector. Especially is the selection of men all important, because the right stamp of man will do right and strive to preserve our liberties without any platform, if need be. Many men will not do these things, no matter how strongly bound by platforms. This can most effectually be done by the primary election system. As its name implies, the first or primary political action rests with the individual elector of the State, and is exercised and absolutely controlled in the meetings of these electors in their respective election precincts, instead of being authorized by some "boss" who holds the power of political action by virtue of his retainers and henchmen.

The People's Independent party has been a schoolmaster in politics to the Republican party. It taught the quantitative theory of money value, and President McKinley made use of the lesson. While his party was declaring that prices did not depend on the quantity of money in circulation, he was wise enough to avoid a monetary stringency by coining large amounts of silver although his party had made gold the standard.

The People's Independent party has a splendid platform, and the Chicago and Kansas City platforms of the Democratic party are both excellent. But in Nebraska we have the spectacle of reformers who declare in their platform for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and then deny their own party the privilege of selecting any nominee by direct vote. I do not say these things by way of fault finding, but simply to point out that if we expect to accomplish reforms we declare for, we must abandon the methods and expedients by which the people's rights have been withheld from them. Our teaching has been right and has done much good, but there is no valid reason why we should not profit by our own teaching and make our example correspond to our precept.

I desire to call the attention of our people to the fact that under the primary election system in vogue in Mississippi and some other southern States, the State legislatures are mere returning boards for the primary elections, the people choosing their Senators and the legislatures ratifying their choice. In Mississippi no party candidate can be certified to and placed on the official ballot unless the nominee of his party primary. This law has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the State, and the constitution under which it was enacted has been held to be valid by the United States Supreme Court.

I submit an outline of a plan for primary elections, leaving all the details to be worked out as meets the approval of those using it. The plan is as follows: Nominees to be placed on primary ticket by petition, requiring a given number of signatures. Election can be held under the primary election law of Nebraska. Both Democratic and People's Independent petitions could be filed, thus making a fusion. There should be a committee to prepare the official primary ballot, which should be in form similar to the present official ballot, and the method of voting should be secret.

I will give three plans for computing the vote of precincts. First: The votes of the precincts are counted, returned and canvassed, the candidate having the highest number being declared the nominee. Second: Apportion to each precinct the number of primary votes that it would now be allowed delegates in county convention; the candidate receiving the greatest number of primary votes would be entitled to the vote of the precinct. To illustrate: If Oak pre-

cinct is entitled to ten votes, then the candidate receiving the highest number of votes in Oak precinct is entitled to the ten votes. Third: Apportion the whole county, but provide that candidates shall receive their fractional part of the vote of each precinct. To illustrate: Hickory precinct would be entitled to 12 votes. A, B and C are candidates for the nomination of sheriff. A receives 50 votes, B 30 and C 40. A would therefore be entitled to five votes, B to three votes and C to four votes.

The primary election system gives an opportunity for each individual of the party to make his voice heard, and enables our young men to qualify themselves for useful service. It insures satisfaction with the party nominees, and at the same time inspires loyalty to the candidate because he was selected by the direct vote of the people. How different is this from the cry we so often hear: "Stand by the leaders," "Support the administration." Instead of blindly ratifying, the people should initiate the movement and select their standard bearers.

In conclusion, allow me to say that the following expression of a man high in political circles: "It is not desirable that any but men of wealth and consequence should sit in the United States Senate, and the proper way to select Senators is to filter them down through the people," should have no echo among our people. United States Senators and all other officials honored with our suffrage should come from among the people, being chosen directly by them.

I indulge in the hope that in the near future the Legislature of the State of Nebraska will enact a law as to party nominations in substance as follows: That the name of any candidate shall not be placed upon the official ballot in general or special elections, as a party nominee, who is not nominated by a primary election, and the election of any party nominee who shall be nominated otherwise shall be void. The nominations for United States Senators shall be by primary election preceding the meeting of the Legislature at which the election is to be had.

If we make our methods correspond to our principles there will be an awakening among us born of a renewed confidence that will be the herald of better days.

"I suppose he will rest on his laurels now?"

"Summers. Winters he's going to lecture on them."—Puck.

THE MAN HE KILLED.

Scene: The settle of the Fox Inn, Stagfoot Lane.

Characters: The speaker (a returned soldier), and his friends, natives of the hamlet.

Had he and I but met
By some old ancient inn,
We should have sat us down to wet
Right many a nipperkin.

But ranged as infantry,
And staring face to face,
I shot at him, as he at me,
And killed him in his place.

I shot him dead, because—
Because he was my foe,
You see; my foe of course he was;
That's clear enough; altho

He thought he'd 'list, perhaps,
Off-hand like—just as I—
Was out of work—had sold his traps—
No other reason why.

Yes; quaint and curious war is!
You shoot a fellow down
You'd treat if met where any bar is,
Or help to half-a-crown.
—Thomas Hardy, in Harper's Weekly.

I don't understand men of the world when they tell us we must rely upon the influence of Christian principles, and boggle at every proposal to enforce them in the current proceedings of governments and societies.—Richard Cobden.

"What is a sinecure, paw?"

"A sinecure, m'son, is a job that gets money for not doing what it gets it for."—The Harlequin.

BOOKS

THE GAME OF LIFE.

Under the above title Mr. Bolton Hall has gathered his witty parables into a neat little volume of 230 pp. (A. Wessels Company, New York). They have been widely read in various periodicals as they appeared from time to time, and those who have read them, as well as those who have not, will be glad to welcome them in their new dress.

It is a book to have and not to borrow, a book to pick up at odd times and not to read through at a sitting. The parables vary in length from three lines to three pages, and two or three at a time are about enough for a day's digestion—especially if they happen to hit one's self as well as one's neighbor.

Each of them has a point, and often a sharp one. There is hardly a situation in the modern game of life which fails to get pricked more or less deeply. But while most of them are sharp and somewhat bitterish, now and then one appears which shows that the author can, when he wills to do so, deal tenderly with a subject. "Love is of God," for example, is a beautiful little piece, and "The Last Lesson" is a perfect gem of its kind.

Apart from its keen insight into modern shams and foibles, Mr. Hall's book has an interest for students of "mere literature." This is, of course, a very insignificant part of its value; but still, to find a book which professedly revives an antique form of writing cannot but attract interest to the experiment. Somehow fables and parables have not seemed to flourish in modern literature. Perhaps we are too nervous and self-conscious and strainy. Think of the ease with which Aesop winds off his inimitable yarns; we could not possibly do such things now-a-days. But it may fairly be said that, with perhaps the exception of some of Tolstoy's, no modern parables can be found as good—even from a literary point of view—as some in this little book.

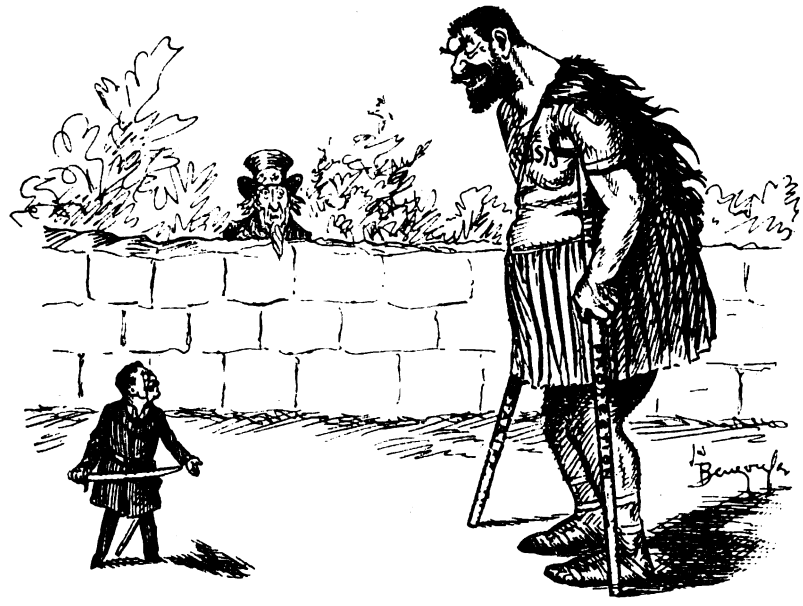
J. H. DILLARD.

THE WORSHIPPER OF THE IMAGE.

To readers slow to perceive truths in symbolism this book by Richard Le Gallienne (London and New York: John Lane, Bodley Head) may seem to be only a grotesque story. But in fact it exemplifies the spiritual demoralization that comes from devotion to the expression of a thing, with the minimization or total ignoring of the greater importance of the thing expressed.

So devoid of life is expression for its own sake alone, so suggestive of that idea of hell which has been described as "the sensuous separate," that Le Gallienne very properly represents it in this tragic fairy tale by a mask stirred now and then by appearances of life, instead of taking for his image the full rounded form. His hero becomes infatuated with the beauty of this artistic counterfeit of a lovely living face to the extent of subordinating to that infatuation all his possibilities of love for the good and truth that constitute the soul or life of the beautiful. He falls a natural victim, consequently, to love of external beauty, regardless of the evil it masks. The tints of the deadly toadstool and the shifting curves of the poisonous adder become as beautiful to him as bright flowers and graceful birds. At last the beautiful mask, symbol of "art for art's sake," steals wholly away his affection for wife and child, true types of vital love; and his child, poisoned by the miasma of the beautiful valley in which he lives passes away, while his wife, dazed and inanimate, sinks out of his life in the beautiful waters of one of its miasmatic ponds. Separated thus from all his affections save that for external beauty, he himself then enters fully upon the state of spiritual death.

This may not be a true interpretation of Le Gallienne's singu-



JACK, THE GIANT AMUSER.

"Mr. Giant, will you please oblige me and the Republican Party by lying down and dying? I would knock your props out and kill you, only I could not possibly do that without touching the holy and sacred principle of protection!"

larly subtle conception, but all who believe in the superiority of the thing expressed to forms of expression, can hardly fail to recognize it as symbollic of their philosophy.

LITERARY NOTES.

Though a scrap book is not in itself literary, a good one may be made so by proper literary usage. Such a one is the "Perfect" scrap book and desk file (New York: Perfect Scrap Book Co.), which substitutes for the old pasting method a collection of pockets in book form into which scraps may be slipped loosely yet be found again easily.

Single taxers, wherever they may be, will find an exceptionally good statement of the origin, character and progress, with an account of many of the more important incidental details of their movement, in Harper's "Cyclopedia of American History." The article is contributed by Hamlin Russell of Newark, N. J. His sympathetic familiarity with the movement from its inception, and his experience as a self-restrained writer on subjects of current public interest, were peculiarly desirable qualifications for this work, and they show in it to good advantage.

The January Harper is a most excellent number. It is particularly well-balanced. There are several numbers of scientific value, and one of historical interest on Benedict Arnold. Wu Ting-Fang has an instructive paper on "Chinese and Western Civilization," and Mr. Howells and the Editor do full justice to the Easy Chair and Study. There are several good short stories, and "Tike" will delight every lover of dogs. But the gem of the number is a little prose-poem, "As You Sailed," which no father of a boy should miss. It is almost charming peep into twelve-year-old imagination, and the illustrations are as delightful as the story itself. Your heart warms to the little fellow as you see him in his attic room, in comfortable bed, lying on his stomach, chin propped on hand, the precious volume before him, reveling in "the gore of his fiend-ish vic-tims and his own blood flow-ing from a cut-lass gash in his cheek—a gash for which the pi-rate captain paid the pen-al-ty with his life's blood stretch-ing six feet of qui-ver-ing brawn a-long the crim-son deck." One wonders if Billie Moore ever got the book back after its capture.

J. H. D.

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