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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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When the Washington dispatches announced Senator Tillman's intention of addressing the Senate on the coal famine question, they added that no attention would be paid to his speech as the Senate does "not take Tillman seriously." But when Tillman spoke, he made the friends of the administration realize that it would be decidedly necessary to take him seriously. And they took him seriously indeed, as the subjoined dispatch to that rock-bound administration paper, the Chicago Inter-Ocean amply testifies:

Senator Tillman's speech created a sensation in the Senate and Senators Spooner and Beveridge continually entered objections to his remarks. Senator Spooner announced after the South Carolina Senator had concluded that several senators would reply to Mr. Tillman on Monday.

Floating through the press we find these words credited to Henry Cabot Lodge, one of the senators from Massachusetts:

When wealth realizes its responsibilities, when it is used to relieve suffering, to promote education, to bring works of art within the enjoyment of all, then it is a protection and a strength.

This is a good example of the unconscious disguising of a manifest falsity in figures of speech. What Mr. Lodge is thinking about is not wealth, but wealthy men; but had he written "wealthy men" instead of "wealth," the error in his sentiment would have been apparent. Let us translate it into those terms, thus:

When wealthy men realize their responsibilities, when they use their wealth to relieve suffering, to promote education, to bring works of

art within the enjoyment of all, then they are a protection and a strength.

It is now evident that this sentiment begs the whole social question, which is not a question of how wealthy men do or should spend their wealth, but of how they get it. If they get it at the expense of others, either legally or illegally, then, whether they use it benevolently or not, they are neither "a protection" nor "a strength," but a burden and a menace.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is reported from Johannesburg as announcing that "measures must be taken to train the natives to habits of industry," and "that if no other remedy can be found the blacks must be compelled to work by force." Truly, that suggestion smacks of a design to reestablish Negro slavery. It probably means, however, that the slavery is to be disguised in some such innocent form as a "hut tax," under the operation of which South African capitalists may secure an abundant supply of cheap native labor. Though "Britons never will be slaves" themselves, some of them, like some Americans, are not averse to making slaves of others. The "right to work" (other men) has struck its roots deep in Anglo Saxon philosophy.

New York dispatches of the 18th gave a lurid account of the behavior that day, on a Mount Vernon trolley car, of a dozen soldiers of the 16th U. S. infantry just home from the Philippines. They were returning to Fort Slocum to the garrison of which they belong; and their condition, if it be not unpatriotic to mention it, was what among civilians is known as "bestly drunk." When they used offensive language to a woman passenger, two men among the passengers resented their indecency, whereupon these valiant defenders of their

country's invading flag in the Philippines, assaulted the unpatriotic men with their fists, and with their revolvers riddled the car with bullet holes. A panic followed, in which the passengers leaped for their lives from the car. The excitement over, it was discovered that one passenger had been thrown bodily out of the window while the conductor had been seriously stabbed. In other ways, also, some of the processes of "benevolent assimilation" which these soldiers had learned to exercise in the Philippines were practiced upon the barbaric inhabitants of Mount Vernon. "The water cure," however, was not exemplified. We forbear comment. The "honor of the army" must be respected.

There is no mistaking the animus of the majority of the Chicago council in turning down the "Finn" municipal ownership bill by substituting the "Jackson" bill. Both provide for municipal ownership and both provide for referendums on the subject. But the "Finn" bill was prepared by a committee the majority of whom believe in municipal ownership, really as well as nominally; while the "Jackson" bill is virtually confessed by its sponsor to have been drawn by street car lawyers. The latter bill favors municipal ownership as the devil hates lying—in the abstract, not in the concrete.

It is in their referendum clauses that the difference between these two bills is most plainly visible. The "Finn" bill provides for an "initiative" as well as a "referendum;" the "Jackson" bill strikes out the "initiative." Note the difference. Under the "Finn" bill, ten per cent. of the registered voters could submit the question to popular vote, and a majority of those voting would de-

cide. But under the "Jackson" bill no submission to popular vote could be secured until a council, liable to be influenced the other way by bribery, had taken the initiative. There could be no direct popular demand for the measure. And if the council did submit the question, a majority of the registered voters would be required for an affirmative decision. Every registered voter who was too indifferent, or ignorant or lazy to look into the question and form a judgment, would be committed against the reform. Is it not very remarkable, not to say extremely significant, that while the "Jackson" bill would thus prohibit municipal ownership until a council could be induced to submit the question, and would make every non-vote a negative vote, it would allow franchises to be granted private companies without any popular action whatever? It may be that the majority of the Chicago council is honest in this matter; but with tempting boodle, suited to the demand and ready for takers, they must pardon those of us who suspect that such aldermanic votes as go in the direction of "boodle" interests are attracted by "boodle" magnetism.

Truman C. White, the judge who tried and passed sentence on Czolgoz, the assassin of McKinley, and who still occupies a seat upon the Supreme bench of the State of New York, recently delivered a lecture in Buffalo, the sentiment of which cannot be too highly praised. Referring to the spirit of lawlessness which animates so many public officers, from policemen to judges, shown, as he said, "in the readiness with which a conclusion is reached that a person charged with crime is guilty, and in the determination born of that conclusion and founded on an accusation in advance of proofs, to bring about a conviction and punishment if possible," Judge White led on to the mob spirit among "conservatives" which was aroused by the McKinley murder. He did not mention that instance, but his allu-

sion to "men of high order of intelligence who openly said that if they had the opportunity they would kill the prisoner," could not be misunderstood. And heavy, indeed, was his condemnation of such men. Said he:

The man who stands ready to commit a crime because another man has done so, is as bad, in my judgment, as the criminal upon whom he wishes to wreak revenge. I know this may be an unpopular view to take, but it is a solemn truth in my judgment. If you and I and all of us would from the beginning of raising a family inculcate in the minds of our children the evil of this spirit of lawlessness, there would, I believe, be a decided improvement in society.

That Judge White's wholesome sentiment was no passing whim, but was rooted deep down in immutable principle, is evident from his spontaneous replies to questions. We quote from the local newspaper report of his lecture:

A voice in the audience spoke up: "What about the Texas case where a Negro was burned at the stake for rape upon a little white girl?"

"What I have said applies to that case with equal force," answered Justice White.

"But suppose that child had been your own? Wouldn't you have felt like wreaking that vengeance?" persisted the questioner.

"I have thought of all that," said Justice White, calmly. "That doesn't change the situation. The better way is for citizens to uphold the authorities, and the law will better be vindicated."

That is good doctrine. But it has few adherents. Take them as they run, men are a pretty disorderly lot.

The special grand jury of Cook county, Ill., sitting in the coal conspiracy cases, has outdone the mountain that was delivered of a mouse. The mountain's mouse, with all its comparative littleness, was at any rate a real mouse and consistent with itself. But the deliverance of this Chicago grand jury is not only ridiculously out of proportion but indescribably absurd in itself. Some three dozen indictments have been found by it charging men and corporations

with a crime which the grand jury takes great pains, in a voluminous report, to prove has not been committed by anybody.

According to this truly remarkable report, the coal famine was caused by the anthracite strikers. By going upon strike for a paltry increase in their wretchedly low wages, they reduced the supply of coal. Those wicked, wicked strikers! And then the evil they produced was intensified by that ever-ready explanation of all our economic difficulties, our "great prosperity." A lessened supply of coal had come into collision with an augmented demand. The famine, therefore, was strictly a result of the natural operation of the laws of supply and demand. The operators did all they could to relieve the shortage. The railroads cooperated and did all they could. It wasn't much, maybe; but it was their little all. The shortage and high prices, consequently were "not owing to or appreciably influenced by any conspiracy or combination in restraint of trade, or any attempt to forestall the market." Yet this ingenious grand jury indicts some 30 or 40 individuals and corporations engaged in producing coal, for precisely that thing—conspiracies and combinations in restraint of trade. Altogether one might suppose that while the indictments were ordered by the grand jury, its report was dictated by some coal trust lawyer.

Sensational editorials in the press of this country, over the exposures of "municipal socialism" in England made through the London Times by that prince of statistical adventurers, Robert Porter (p. 484), no longer appear; but echoes from those that did appear a month or two ago may still be heard. A word, therefore, directly from Glasgow, where this "municipal socialism" originated and prevails with greatest intensity, will not come amiss even at this late day. We are quoting from John Paul, editor of

Land Values, a Glasgow paper of imperial circulation and influence. Referring to Porter's work, Mr. Paul writes:

The "plutocratic" criticism shows little knowledge of Glasgow's municipal doings; the mere twaddle of an ignorant penny-a-liner. The municipal improvements have come along in the nature of things; just as the city has grown and a better public spirit has been manifested. The citizens are quite conscious and quite satisfied that they get full value from the principal municipal services—water, gas, parks and galleries, tramways, especially the latter. The electric light is presently competing with the gas supply or supposed to be, but they are both very serviceable; the electric light of course is used more for business than for domestic purposes, while it is also used now for public lighting. The municipal telephones are on their trial, but seem to be giving satisfaction. The public market is an institution that has long existed in Glasgow. It suits the business transacted there, and in the old days was a center of trade in the town necessitating some municipal superintendence. The baths and wash houses have grown up out of a desire to meet the wants of the people who inhabit houses of one and two rooms; and sad to say 60 per cent. of the people of Glasgow live in such houses. The "Improvement Trust," which the "plutocratic" press calls municipal houses, really came about through necessary municipal improvement, i. e., knocking down unsanitary property and adding to the amenity of the district attacked in the common interest. The other things that Glasgow does according to the "plutocratic" press, look big in type, but there is really not much in them and the people of Glasgow do not bother about them—except that a few cranks ventilate their opposition by occasional "letters to the editor" on "the urgency of backing down," or "going steady." Compared with other towns Glasgow is a low taxed city; but nothing of the profits from any of the successful municipal services are taken to reduce the taxes, nor were any of these services initiated with that view. Far less with that of making the city tax free. Tax freedom has certainly been discussed time and again, at the council, in the press, and on the platform; but it has been so discussed as a thing to be done not through municipal services, but by the taxation of land values. Glasgow is engaged just now for example in a new sewage scheme, which must be got through. This will undoubtedly add to the taxes, as the scheme will probably cost anything in the neigh-

borhood of two millions before it is finished.

As Mr. Paul is a single taxer and represents through his paper that sentiment in Scotland, where it is very strong, even controlling the Glasgow city government, his views as such on the social utilities of these municipal improvements are of special interest. On that point he writes:

Single taxers, as such, do not attach much importance to municipal services. I have been interested at times in the visits of American single taxers here who profess admiration for Glasgow's controlling these monopolies; and as I look at your prints advocating a similar policy for the towns of the United States, I wonder, in view of our experience here, if the game is worth the candle. Whether they are controlled by private corporations or by the municipality, these services only add to rent. The conversion of the tramways from horse haulage to electricity and their extension for miles in every direction has sent up house rents one, two and three pounds a year; and, as you know, these advances in rent must be paid by all householders whether they use the cars to greater or less advantage, or not at all. Of course there is a sense in which the citizens get an advantage from some municipal improvements that the landlord cannot take from them. The children can have the enjoyment of open spaces and parks. But even these in the long run mean better health for the city and consequently more ability to produce wealth for somebody else to enjoy. But to come to the more political aspect of the question. The private corporations, it is asserted, owning and controlling your municipal monopolies, or services, control and dominate your local legislatures. They bribe councillors to vote their interest and further pollute public life by promoting the candidature of their own creatures. This is pretty bad and must make many who stand for progress at times despair. But look at the situation from our point of view. We have some 15,000 workers in the employment of the Glasgow council, and every further piece of municipal expansion adds to the number. Many of these workers are organized and are exercising more and more political influence in the return of their own creatures to the council. The candidate for their support is not the man who will look after the interests of the city, but he who will promise most to the employes of the council. The best interests of the city is a secondary consideration. In fact, these workers cannot see the city's interest except

through their own, while the more vigilant of them work for the return of candidates who will assist them or their friends into corporation jobs. A Labor candidate publicly boasted on the hustings that he had got so many men municipal employment during his term of office, which means that we have Tammany here. And we are likely to have more of it in the future. This is due solely to economic pressure caused by locking up the land in the hands of a class. It is accentuated by effecting municipal progress and expenditure. Therefore, as I say, we single taxers are not at all enthusiastic about these municipal improvements. We have got our eyes fixed on what is necessary to social redemption and hope to keep them there. The only thing that can purify our municipal government or yours—government by municipal socialism or by private corporations—will be the freeing of the natural opportunities to employment, thereby making it as easy to get jobs outside the corporation as inside. We must have the single tax to slack back the economic pressure that is not only responsible for the poverty of the people, but for the direct pollution of municipal government. The reform that will destroy land monopoly, open up the natural opportunities to employment, and raise wages as a proportion of the gross produce of labor, is the only cure.

A remarkable article on "the causes of industrial crises" appears in the December Commonwealth, a St. Louis magazine, from the pen of Isaac H. Lionberger. The distinctive thing about it is the essential identity of the theory adopted with that which Henry George advanced nearly a quarter of a century ago, though the writer doubtless supposes himself to be absolutely at variance with George on all sides.

It is true that Mr. Lionberger attributes the periodical panics since 1819 to different causes; but his allusion here is evidently not to final causes, but to those that are immediate—occasions rather than causes. Indeed, he says so; and his search is for the deeper and universal cause. Reviewing in this search "the events which always, under all circumstances, and in all countries precede a collapse of industry," he notes as his starting point the enforced economies of a period of depression. These reduce demand and consequently cur-

tail production. But with improvements in productive power, prices fall so that purchases may be more freely made. Demand consequently re-expands, and production is again stimulated. The next stage in this industrial revival is the disposition to venture upon investments. When these prove fortunate, as under such circumstances they usually do, confidence in investment is restored and the business of the country is once more in a "sound and healthy condition." Then comes the speculative stage. Men rush in to acquire great riches quickly, and "sure thing" operators spring up all over the country, who offer seductive investments, which promise great returns." Handsome profits being realized in many instances, pretty soon a boom is on. "The temptation to buy under such circumstances is almost irresistible, because prices and 'values' continue to rise day by day and profits seem absolutely certain." Ready money is of no importance. "Things bought are good collateral, and margins on a rising market are easily provided." Thus "'values' are forced in all directions." But pretty soon the wiser men, who see signs of the coming storm, begin to take in sail. Prudent bankers are inclined to reduce accommodation and to call in loans. This sudden check upon speculation, however, tends only to hasten the very disaster it is designed to prevent. But disaster is inevitable. "Values cannot advance forever. There is a point at which even the fool stops, and at this point it becomes impossible to unload." Then "prices and 'values' fall, at first slowly, but with accelerating rapidity; more margins are called for; resources are exhausted; banks decline accommodation; there is a rush of selling orders, and the inevitable collapse follows; the great house has failed; the panic has arrived."

Mr. Lionberger has given an accurate diagnosis of periodical industrial depressions. In only one respect does it fall short of perfection. He

neglects to distinguish the kind of speculation that produces the general catastrophe, and so comes to the lame conclusion that panics are "inevitable and must occur at regular intervals under every form of government and every system of banking." Had he completed this sentence by making it read "every form of government that permits natural opportunities for industry to become subjects of speculation," he would have probed the problem to the core. It is only in that respect that Mr. Lionberger's diagnosis of periodical panics differs from Henry George's. George traced this social disease to speculation in land. But Lionberger, misled by his legal training into classifying mining stocks, railroad stocks, industrial stocks and the like, as personal property, fails to observe that speculation in such stocks is essentially speculation in land. It is not mining machinery nor output; it is not railroad cars nor locomotives; it is not steel-making machinery nor its product—it is none of these things, which enterprise and industry bring forth, that have their values forced and in which speculators invest for a rise. It is the source whence the materials for such things come, and the way rights and terminal rights for distributing them. These natural opportunities do rise with good times and fall with bad times, and they are represented, if not in greatest degree yet in the most impressive circumstances of our time, by corporation stocks; and it is this factor of title to natural monopolies in stocks, and this alone, that makes those stocks subject to the kind of speculation to which Mr. Lionberger traces periodical panics. In other words, land does not cease to be land when titles to interests in it are certified by corporate stock shares in place of individual title deeds.

Teacher—Bessie, name one bird that is now extinct.

Little Bessie—Dick!

Teacher—Dick? What sort of a bird is that?

Little Bessie—Our canary—the cat extincted him!—Puck.

THE SINGLE TAX IN GERMANY.

The book brought out last Summer by Adolf Damaschke, leader of the German single tax movement, is as good a summary of the methods of work and the success already attained by that movement, as has yet been published.

Damaschke has not attempted to give a complete history of the movement, although his book bears the title "Land Reform." He has gathered into book form a series of eight lectures given by him in Berlin and other towns, in which the theory is explained and an account of its progress offered in a way to interest hearers of the spoken word, particularly such as the speaker is anxious to win over to his views.

The opening chapter, "Neither Capitalism nor Communism," sets forth social problems and the pressing need for some solution of the great burning question of the day. The writer touches on difficulties in all countries, but naturally gives most of his space to conditions in Germany along the line of the average income of a great proportion of the people, and the manner of life this poverty entails. He then gives a rapid but excellently logical and lucid explanation of some of the remedies already proposed, and comes by easy and perfectly comprehensible steps to the question of ownership in land, the corner stone of the building.

One reason why the theory of not permitting private ownership in land is easy of comprehension in Germany is the fact pointed out by Damaschke, that the old Teutonic communities held all their land in trust for all. The idea of the land as private property is a comparatively later growth. In fact, there are many communes in Germany to-day, independent villages, country parishes, which actually still hold their land as communal property, and a large majority of them find the rental from this land quite sufficient for all communal needs, and raise absolutely no other taxes for this purpose.

Of course, most of these communities are obliged to send some tribute to their particular government, but some of them even make it possible to raise this sum from rental of pub-

lic land, so that no indirect taxation is in force there at all. Over one hundred towns within the German Empire have this method of managing the affairs of the municipality, and most of them are in a flourishing condition.

The community of Kornthal, where the system has been in vogue fifty years, is a notable case in point; and the prosperity of Kornthal contrasts admirably with a neighboring community which "modernized" its government some decades ago, and sold its lands to private parties. In one year the population decreased one-fifth, and sheriff's sales and bankruptcies were the order of the day, while paupers multiplied enormously; yet such a thing as a pauper who was a public care, was not known in Kornthal.

The German Land Reform league has instituted inquiries as to conditions in all these towns; has unearthed documents relating to the old Teutonic laws in land ownership, and has brought to the notice of the people many interesting facts showing that Germany was once a country of righteous institutions as to land ownership, and that pride alone, if nothing else, should induce an attempt to restore these earlier, more healthful conditions. This argument has great force, and has done much to interest the general public in the question. Damaschke cites statistics showing the former value of the building sites of the city of Berlin, and their increase to-day, and proves on the basis of the simplest, most conservative estimates that if this unearned increment had gone to the city, the municipality would to-day, by investment of the money, have an income of \$30,000,000 yearly, which would completely cover the yearly expenses and leave a handsome surplus, rendering all taxation for municipal expenses unnecessary.

In the second chapter, on "Land Reform in our Cities," Damaschke holds to arguments that are familiar to single taxers here, as the conditions in the rapidly growing German cities are much the same as we find in this country. The housing problem is the main pivot of the arguments of German land reformers, and their theory allows of many remedies.

Taxation of unused land at its actual selling value is naturally the first and most important, and thanks to the late Herr von Miquel, Prussia's most able minister of finance, who at heart was a single taxer, 53 Prussian cities to-day have begun to tax the unused land within their limits at its selling value, in place of the value as farm land, as before. The tax imposed thus far is very small, but it is the entering of the wedge, and has already brought the cities a handsome profit.

Another reform advocated by the League is due to their success in unearthing an old law and having it incorporated into the new civil code. This is the "erbaurecht," which enables the renter of the land to build a house upon it which is free to be taxed or sold or mortgaged, apart from the question of ownership of the land. Under this law the municipality has the land in ownership and rents the right to build on it to private parties. The lease is given for a stated period, usually a long one, 70 to 100 years in most cases. The leaseholder pays either a very small sum for the land, and then at the end of the period his house belongs to the community, or he pays a larger rent, and the community pays him the value of the house if his lease is not renewed. Some cities are investing largely in land, or keeping their land from further sale, and renting it out on these plans.

The nationalization, or rather communalization of land seems an easier matter for the average German to understand, as a theory of reform for wrong conditions, than the mere taxation of it. The national memory of the old Teutonic communities makes the former plan seem more natural, and, with the exception of the country immediately surrounding growing cities, the land in Germany has been so long in such intense use, that people cannot see how a mere matter of taxation can make conditions any better.

Another interesting reform is planned by the mayors of the fortified towns, merely to pay for the expense of leveling the fortifications and increasing the limits of the town by confiscating the unearned increment accruing upon the sudden rise

in value of the hitherto absolutely worthless land immediately surrounding the walls.

The chapter on "land reform and the agricultural problem" shows a serious phase of the question which is particularly German.

Agricultural land in Germany is all in use, in intense use for centuries, and speculation in the land itself is therefore almost unknown. The speculation there is in the mortgages on farm lands, which is one of the most terrible forms of speculative abuse in Germany and one that is recognized as a burning question which must be solved soon. These mortgages on farm lands are a source of speculative income to thousands—of honest income, according to present ideas to many other thousands—but a crushing burden of debt to the farmer, which renders him a veritable bond slave. There are no certain statistics on this subject, but by the aid of such figures as he could get, Damaschke computes that the interest on mortgages on German farm lands amounts to \$500,000 for every day in the year, which must be raised by the sale of farm products before a single cent goes to the farmer himself for the most necessary expenses of his work or his life.

Damaschke's remedy for this condition is an interesting one. He advocates strict legislation in regard to mortgages on farm lands, no mortgages for more than 50 per cent. of the value of the estate must be allowed. And farm mortgages must be made amortization mortgages, which can be given only to a corporation with right of perpetuity, and which can be paid off by means of a sinking fund.

A new assessment of the selling value of farm lands and estates is now in progress in Germany, and on this assessment Damaschke would have this legislative action based. He suggests further that the value of the land alone be separated from the value of the improvements, taking such value roughly at one-half of the whole. Half of the mortgage for 50 per cent. of the value of the estate should be amortised at a certain percentage, but the mortgage on the land alone should be held in perpetual interest, giving a true land tax.

The first and more important plank in the German land reform programme, is the regulating of farm mortgages, in a manner that allows no such mortgage to be taken up by a private party. The community alone shall be the holder of farm mortgages, which is a necessary condition before the other suggestions of the reform can be carried out. This perpetual interest, or land tax, would be found quite sufficient for communal needs; and the capital freed from land mortgages would naturally pour into industry, if the latter were freed from all taxation.

Three interesting chapters give an historical retrospect of land reform questions in Israel, in ancient Greece, and in Rome; one chapter is devoted to a sympathetic narrative of the life, character and work of Henry George; and the last chapter, "The Hohenzollerns and Land Reform," gives some interesting notes on the new German colony of Kiao-Chao, where the single tax is the accepted fiscal system, and works admirably.

The league is at present interesting the Kaiser in their theories anew, by their propositions to aid him in the carrying out of his pet project of the great Midland canal, uniting the Rhine and the Elbe, right through the heart of the manufacturing district. The Agrarian party are blocking the project in parliament, not because they have any objection to it, but because they want to make their acquiescence conditional on tariff laws which will benefit them, and which the industrial party and the general public are fighting tooth and nail. The Land Reform league proves to the Kaiser that by legislative action which will give to the government the increase in value of the lands along the proposed route, where enormous speculation is already going on, he will find this increase sufficient for the entire expense of building the canal without the aid of appropriations from Parliament.

In an earlier work, "Municipal Problems," written two years ago, Damaschke was even then able to give some reliable statistics as to the speculation in this land, which is gambling, pure and simple, as the canal has not yet been announced as

an assured fact. Entire corporations have been formed simply to exploit the increased value of the land, and the Land Reform league is bending all its energies to the prevention of this speculation and the establishment of a precedent which will be of incalculable value to the single tax movement everywhere.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

NEWS

There is another turn in the Venezuelan situation (p. 649), which may or may not produce important results. Two actual battles have been fought between blockading vessels and a Venezuelan fort.

The first blockading vessel concerned was a German cruiser, the Panther. She endeavored to force an entrance into the Lake of Maracaibo, a fresh water lake extending over a hundred miles into the interior. It is fed by mountain streams and is connected with the Gulf, of Venezuela by a narrow strait. This strait is guarded by a Venezuelan fort, Fort San Carlos, upon which the German cruiser opened fire at 12:30 in the afternoon of the 17th. According to the official report of Gen. Bello, the Commandant at Fort San Carlos, she attacked and shelled the fort without any provocation and without the delivery of an ultimatum or previous notice of any kind. To her surprise, apparently, the fort replied, and after a fight of an hour she retired. Later reports are to the effect that the Panther resumed her position in the blockade 20 miles from the fort, and on the 21st it was officially announced from Berlin that the German cruiser Vineta had been ordered to Maracaibo. This implied that the passage was to be forced, for Maracaibo lies on the Lake of Maracaibo, over 20 miles from Fort San Carlos; and the implication was verified at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 21st, when the Vineta, the Panther and the Falke opened a furious bombardment on Fort San Carlos. The fort returned the fire, and the ensuing battle was raging at latest reports, four hours after it began.

The reason given in Berlin for these new tactics on the part of the European allies is that President Castro is defeating the object of the blockade by opening channels of for-

eign trade from the neighboring republic of Colombia by way of rivers flowing from that country into the Lake of Maracaibo. The blockade purpose, therefore, to extend their blockade into the Lake of Maracaibo so as to suppress commerce along the shores of that lake.

Mr. Bowen, the American minister to Venezuela, who returns to perfect arrangements in behalf of Venezuela for arbitrating the questions involved in this European-Venezuelan war (p. 649), arrived at Charleston on the 19th. He took a train there on the same day for Washington, where he arrived on the 20th.

In the German reichstag on the 20th the subject of the Venezuelan war was briefly considered. The chancellor explained the diplomatic negotiations, saying that President Castro had "recognized in principle the justice" of the European demands, and had "agreed to the preliminary conditions for transferring the controversy to The Hague arbitration court." In this connection he assured the reichstag that "the blockade will be raised as soon as the diplomatic negotiations at Washington have reached a satisfactory conclusion." During the discussion of this subject one of the Socialist members demanded full information on all phases of the matter, particularly demanding to know why the Venezuelan ships had been sunk and why the Venezuelan forts had been bombarded. The information has not been given.

The same Socialist member endeavored at the same session to discuss the emperor's speeches regarding charges that have been brought against the late Herr Krupp, but was ruled out of order on the ground that those speeches related not to the emperor's official but to his personal life. Vigorous protests against this ruling were made by the Socialist members, who called attention to the fact that the speeches had been printed in the official record of the reichstag and asserted that the ruling violated constitutional rights.

The French chamber of deputies, which reassembled last week after the holiday recess, passed an overwhelming vote of confidence in the ministry on the 16th. It was the culmination of a debate over the official suppression of the Breton lan-

guage in Brittany. The ministry had issued a circular forbidding the use of this language in preaching and catechising in the Breton churches, and a Republican deputy from Brittany interpellated the ministry on the subject, denouncing the circular as vexatious and tyrannical. He said, incidentally, that over 740,000 inhabitants of Brittany can speak no other language than the Breton. Replying to this interpellation, the premier, M. Combes, defended the circular as a necessary measure in the interest of the national language. He was sustained by the chamber by a vote of 349 to 185.

It is reported regarding the revolution in Morocco (p. 649) that France has warned the sultan of the probability of European interference if fighting near Tangiers is continued. This report, however, was described on the 15th, by the premier of Spain, Senor Silvela, as "inaccurate." Of the progress of the revolution, but little information is available. The sultan's army is said to be demoralized, and rumors of his abdication are afloat. But the reports are not authentic.

In the United States the most absorbing news of the past two weeks, that regarding the coal famine (p. 648), is losing its hold upon the public mind, if, indeed, the circumstances themselves are not rapidly changing for the better. At any rate the complaints of shortage are less noticeable. In Chicago the special grand jury investigating the subject (p. 648) made a remarkable report on the 19th. While it presented indictments against 17 individuals and 27 corporations, charging them with conspiracy in restraint of trade, it reported nevertheless that the coal shortage was "not owing to or appreciably influenced by any conspiracy or combination in restraint of trade or any attempt to forestall the market." The unfortunate condition of affairs is attributed by it "primarily and principally to the recent great strike in the anthracite coal fields," which, as it asserts, "resulted in a reduction of approximately 25,000,000 tons in the output of anthracite coal—an equivalent of 50,000,000 tons of bituminous coal." It finds, also, that with the falling off in supply there was a great increase in demand; and that the railroads and the mine owners have been doing all in their

power to relieve the consequent distress. "Individual instances of breaches of contract and extortion" are referred to, but the jury finds "no evidence that these have been due to anything but individual unfairness or greed; nor does it find these instances to have been more numerous or more exasperating than might be expected in the circumstances." Yet, while finding "no evidence that the present condition of the coal industry is owing to or is appreciably influenced by any company or combination in restraint of trade," and while "convinced that under the conditions enumerated the natural law of supply and demand accounts sufficiently for the high prices prevailing, the jury does find that there exists in the city of Chicago, and in the State of Illinois outside of Chicago, and in the neighboring States, certain combinations in restraint of trade within the meaning of the statutes." Therefore, it files the indictments referred to above.

A Chicago matter of more importance, both locally and financially, is the movement for public ownership and operation of street railways, which has now reached a critical point. The most important street railway franchises of the city are about to expire, unless they are protected, as the street railway owners contend, by a law of 1865, which may possibly operate to extend all street car franchises until 1964. This question was raised in the early '80's, and was compromised by an extension for 20 years, the companies to pay a \$50 tax annually on each of their cars, and the question of the old 99-year extension—from 1865 to 1964—to remain meanwhile in abeyance without prejudice to the rights of either party. Upon the approach of the termination of this 20-year extension, and in view of the enormous majority of the vote in Chicago last spring for municipal ownership of public utilities, Mayor Harrison recently appointed a committee of aldermen and citizens to consider the subject. The committee drafted a bill enabling the city to take over and operate the street car systems upon approval by a majority of those voting upon a referendum demanded at any time by 10 per cent. of the registered voters. We gave the substance of the bill as recommended for submission to the legislature by the committee (p. 569) about a month ago. It is now known as the "Finn" bill.

A few days thereafter this committee met in conference with the standing committee of the city council on local transportation. An irreconcilable difference of opinion arose, strongly indicating an aldermanic influence against the "Finn" bill and apparently originating in the offices of the street car companies. At a subsequent conference of these two committees, held on the 8th, Alderman Jackson proposed a substitute measure which is now known as the "Jackson" bill. It provides, with reference to the referendum, that municipal ownership shall not be adopted without a majority vote not merely of those voting on the question but of the registered voters, and that municipal operation shall not be adopted without a two-thirds vote of those voting upon it as a separate proposition. No demand by petition can be made for a referendum. Other objections are raised to this substitute, but the principal and most impressive one rests upon the statement that the bill was drawn and is being pressed by the legal advisers of the street car companies. No action was taken by the committees at their joint meeting, and on the 12th Alderman Jackson introduced his bill personally in the council.

The question of recommending this bill to the legislature came up before the Chicago council on the 19th upon a motion to substitute the "Jackson" bill for the "Finn" bill. After a sharp debate the substitution was made by a vote of 48 to 19.

Meantime the traction interests are striving to secure an extension of their existing franchises. Representatives of the Eastern interests are on the ground; conferences have been held, some of them secret, between street car representatives and aldermen; and all kinds of rumors as to offers made for extensions are in the air. Nothing is reported definitely and reliably, but it is believed that the companies are willing to offer compensation to the city, to agree to some kind of municipal acquisition clause, and to improve the service.

Proceedings before the anthracite arbitration commission (649) at Philadelphia seem to be drawing slowly toward a close. The Erie company continued offering evidence on the 14th, 15th, and 16th, when it was

followed by the Scranton company, which gave way to the D., L. & W. on the 17th. The next in turn was the Temple Iron Co., which first claimed the attention of the commission on the 20th. Upon the eve of his departure to attend the mine workers' convention at Indianapolis, Mr. Mitchell made a farewell address to the commission on the 17th, in the course of which he referred to the charges that the miners had lessened the output of coal since the strike, thereby contributing to the coal famine. On that point he said:

As the commission is no doubt aware, several days ago I addressed a communication to all the anthracite miners, urging them to cooperate in increasing the output of the mines, for the purpose of relieving this suffering. The miners tell me that the production cannot be increased by them; that, in most cases, the companies are failing to furnish them as many cars as they could load. In other words, the regular turn of cars will not amount to as much as the men are accustomed and willing to load, so that they cannot increase the output of the mines. We have 3,000 men who have been refused the right to work. I believe the miners and operators are doing what they can to get coal, but the operators can at least put our 3,000 men to work. They are charged, of course, with being criminals. It is alleged that they left their jobs, but if they are going to have a term of peace for some years in the anthracite fields it seems to me they ought to stop fighting now and that any desire to punish men by the companies ought to cease.

The mineworkers' convention which Mr. Mitchell left the hearings of the arbitration commission to attend met at Indianapolis on the 19th. It was the 14th annual convention of the United Mineworkers of America. In his annual report to the convention, as president, delivered on the 20th, he strongly denounced "government by injunction," and on the subject of the incorporation of labor unions submitted approvingly the following opinion by Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, the legal advisor of the miners before the arbitration commission:

The demand for the incorporation of trade unions is the last trench of those who oppose organized labor. It is impudent and presumptuous. No friend of trade unionism ever believed in it or advocated it, or called for it. It is demanded to-day by those interests and those enemies who have used every means at their command

to oppose trade unionism, to counteract its influence and to destroy it. How the labor organizations shall manage their own affairs is not the business of the corporations or the employers.

In concluding Mr. Mitchell referred in these terms to the offers of political positions which he has received since coming into national prominence:

I want to announce, in language not susceptible of misinterpretation, that I am in no wise responsible for the use of my name in this connection. I am not without ambition, but my ambition is not in the political field.

Political frauds in Colorado at the recent elections have cut deeper into partisan adjustments than might have been inferred from the fraudulent returns against the Australasian taxation amendment known as the Bucklin bill (p. 595); the legislature being now in a turmoil, with the Senate divided into two hostile bodies. The fight began on the 19th, when the lieutenant governor, presiding, a Republican, refused to recognize the Democrats of the elections committee who offered a majority report against several Republican contestants. He recognized the Republicans of the committee, however, when they offered a minority report seating the Republican contestants, ordered the roll called on the adoption of the minority report, and refused to admit the votes of the Democrats whom it reported against. The Democrats refused to abide by this decision and elected one of their own number to preside. He called the Senate to order accordingly and the Democrats responding they adopted the majority report. The Democrats are in possession of the Senate chamber. In the House the same partisan fight resulted in the expulsion of 6 Democrats and the seating of 11 Republicans. Partisan lines are crossed here and there, the issue being the United States senatorship. Senator Teller is a candidate for reelection, supported generally by the Democrats, and his adversary is ex-Senator Wolcott, who is the leading Republican candidate. The first vote was taken in the two houses separately on the 20th with the following result:

Democratic Senate—Henry M. Teller, 25; not voting, 1.

Republican Senate—Edward O. Wolcott, 9; Frank C. Goudy, 4; Irving Howbert, 2; John W. Springer, 1; Jesse Northcott, 1; N. W. Dixon, 2.

House—Henry M. Teller, D., 25; Edward O. Wolcott, R., 18; Frank C. Goudy, R., 13; Irving Howbert, R., 6; N. W. Dixon, R., 3.

On the 21st the anti-Wolcott Republicans took possession of the chamber of the lower house to prevent the Wolcott men from holding a joint session with the Republican Senate. The Democrats of the House held a joint session on the same day with the Democratic Senate at which 25 members and 26 Senators were present. This was enough to elect a United States Senator, but six of the number refused to vote. Henry M. Teller received 45 votes on this joint ballot.

A deadlock in a senatorial election exists also in Delaware, where the first balloting, on the 21st, showed this result:

Vote for the long-term Senator in the Senate: Addicks, 6; Dupont, 1; Higgins, 3; Kenney, 7.

House: Long term—Addicks, 14; Dupont, 7; Kenney, 14.

House: Short term—Addicks, 13; Higgins, 7; Dupont, 1; Salisbury, 14.

Senator Charles W. Fairbanks, Republican, has been reelected senator from Indiana; Senator Orville H. Platt, R., from Connecticut; Senator A. B. Kittridge, R., from South Dakota; Senator H. C. Hansbrough, R., from North Dakota; and Senator Thomas C. Platt, R., from New York. From Illinois, Albert J. Hopkins, R., is elected in place of Senator William E. Mason, R.; from Arkansas, James P. Clarke, D., in place of Senator James R. Jones, D.; from Utah, Reed Smoot, R., in place of Senator Joseph L. Rawlins, D.; from Michigan, Russell A. Alger, R., in place of Senator James McMillan, R.; and from Missouri, Wm. J. Stone, D., in place of Senator George G. Vest, D.

NEWS NOTES.

—The National Board of Trade closed its thirty-third annual convention at Washington on the 15th.

—The sultan of Sulu was reported from Manila on the 19th as having died of cholera several days before.

—Henri Opper, best known as M. de Blowitz, Paris correspondent of the London Times, died at Paris on the 18th. He was 77 years old.

—An international customs congress, composed of delegates from American republics, began its sessions at New York on the 17th.

—On the 20th the amendment to the Illinois Constitution (p. 649),

opening the way for special charter legislation for Chicago, was introduced in the State Senate.

—Abram S. Hewitt, who defeated Henry George for the mayoralty of New York in 1886, died at New York on the 18th, aged 81. He was a son-in-law of Peter Cooper.

—Reports come from Stockholm of a severe famine in Sweden, affecting an area extending from the sixty-first to the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude, and from the gulf of Bothnia far into the interior. The sufferers number 70,000.

—Secretary Root submitted to Congress on the 20th a petition sent by Aguinaldo through Gov. Taft, reciting appalling economic conditions in the Philippine islands and proposing as a means of relief a banking system on the basis of American government loans and credit to the extent of \$100,000,000.

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

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$715,241,968	\$612,974,794	\$202,267,114 exp.
G	15,506,249	20,982,135	5,476,886 imp.
S	26,743,679	14,284,694	12,458,985 exp.
	\$757,490,836	\$648,241,623	\$209,249,213 exp.

—Col. Arthur Lynch, commander of the Irish brigade which served in defense of the South African republic, and who was elected to parliament from Ireland but prevented from taking his seat by his arrest for high treason (p. 282), was put upon trial on that charge in London on the 21st. Col. Lynch is a native of Australia. He went to the Transvaal as a newspaper correspondent, and while there took the oath of allegiance to the Boer republic and entered her military service. This is the basis of the treason charge against him.

PRESS OPINIONS.

CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Jan. 20.—Few Chicagoans, it is safe to say, know or care much about the details of the several "enabling bills." The Jackson bill adopted by the decisive vote of 51 to 19, will satisfy the average man, who knows that all Chicago expects of the legislature is the enactment of a simple, concise, honest measure conferring upon the city power to acquire, own and operate street railways. Since immediate or early municipal ownership is wholly out of the question, there is little sense in quarreling over ways and means, financial and legal details, and so on. The recognition of the principle should suffice and serve every present and legitimate purpose.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Jan. 21.—All the hired men of the traction bandits, the bought newspapers and the rest of the gang that is trying to cheat the city out of its rights, rejoice without disguise because the council indorsed the Jackson bill Monday night. . . . We call the attention of the board of aldermen to the fact that the

people of this city have declared by an overwhelming majority at an election in favor of the municipal ownership of street railways. They have declared in the same emphatic manner for the referendum. . . . We earnestly hope that the honest men in the council that desire that there shall be no misunderstanding about their records and their standing with the people will ponder these facts carefully. . . . Let the "gray wolves" herd by themselves. There is no place for any honest man in the traction bandits' camp. There may be two opinions about the best way to get municipal ownership. There can be only one about the people's demand for it or about the tricks that will be played to defeat it.

USE OF THE EARTH.

Unity (rel.), Jan. 15.—"Who owns the coal in the bowels of the Alleghenies? Who owns the subterranean rivers of petroleum? Who owns the measureless gas retorts hid away under the deep strata of the rocks?" The answer is coming with growing clearness, and it is an answer similar to that which came in regard to the water of the plains; and the problem of problems to-day is the state's question how to give back to all the people those resources of nature which were not made by man, or for any one or any one class of men, which can never be reproduced by man, and only a limited supply of which can ever be used by any one individual.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Jan. 8.—Public ownership offers the only remedy for the abuses that are the outgrowth of the private ownership of the railways. It is desirable, however, that the regulators be given opportunity to show what they can do. Public ownership is now out of the question. . . . The people must be made to realize that it offers the only solution of the "railway problem." After that has been done, public ownership of necessity will follow.

CONFISCATING THE COAL MINES.

Dubuque Telegraph Herald (Dem.), Jan. 15.—The crime against the American people has continued too long. The limit of patience, of forbearance, has been passed. The time has come for action. Let the government seize the mines and the coal carrying railroads and proclaim to the men of wealth that God still guides the American people and that justice and righteousness prevail in this vaunted land of the free.

RAILROAD PASSES.

Pendleton (Ore.) East Oregonian (Dem.), Jan. 14.—It has become a custom to give and accept a pass. Men ride on them and curse railroads while doing so. They accept the compliment as a matter of business; they don't take it in the light of a price for their liberty. But that is what it is. It represents a sale. It may not say so in words, but there is a principle attached to the transaction that does not permit of denial.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official 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. 36 of that publication.

Washington, Jan. 12-17, 1903.

Senate.
Discussion of the Vest resolution proposing free anthracite, proceeded (p. 682) during the morning hour of the 12th, while the afternoon was occupied by Senator Nelson (p. 688), who spoke on the Statehood bill. The same subjects were similarly under discussion on the 13th (pp. 718, 723). On the 14th, besides listening to a speech by Senator Tillman on the Vest resolution (p. 737) and one by Fraker on the Statehood bill (p. 737), the Senate passed House bill 16649 (p. 806), granting a temporary re-

bate of the tariff on coal, but with an amendment providing that the tariff act "shall not hereafter be construed to authorize the imposition of any duty upon anthracite coal." On the same day consideration of the militia bill (H. No. 15345) was resumed (p. 806) and the bill was passed (p. 809).

A resolution offered by Senator Hoar and adopted on the 15th (p. 842) requests the President to inform the Senate regarding the government of the island of Guam and the alleged detention there of Filipinos charged with political offenses against the United States. The Vest anthracite resolution was further considered on this day.

Senator Tillman (p. 842) concluded his speech on the 16th, and Senator Fraker (p. 843) continued his speech on the Statehood bill. When he suspended for the day, the subject of the enforced resignation of the Negro postmistress at Indianapolis, Miss., (p. 843) was explained by Senator McLaurin, of that state. Adjournment was taken to the 19th.

House.

Beyond the adoption of a resolution for investigating the coal famine (p. 703), no business of general interest was done on the 12th.

But on the 13th, besides work on appropriation bills, a bill providing for a temporary rebate of the tariff on coal (p. 736) was referred to committee of the whole.

A further resolution relating to the investigation of the coal famine was adopted on the 14th (p. 811), when, also, the bill for the temporary rebate of coal duties (p. 811) was considered and passed (p. 821). This bill coming immediately back from the Senate with an amendment abolishing the duty on anthracite (p. 82), the amendment was concurred in (p. 827). The remainder of the day was devoted to consideration of the army appropriation bill.

On the 15th the army appropriation bill passed (p. 848); and the bill (S. 569) for establishing a cabinet department of commerce and labor was made the special and continuing order until disposed of (p. 848). The House went at once into committee of the whole on the latter bill.

The 16th was devoted to private bills, and on the 17th the bill for the establishment of a cabinet department of commerce and labor was further considered and passed.

Record Notes.—Speech of Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, on the Statehood bill (p. 757); speech of Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, on the responsibility for the coal famine (pp. 859, 875); speech of Representative Frederick J. Kern, of Illinois, on same subject (p. 907).

MISCELLANY

IMPERIALISM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

THE MURDER OF THE GUIDES. For The Public.

This witness said the guides were made to kneel and advised to repent of their sins. The sergeant said a native soldier was stationed behind each kneeling man, and at the word of command the soldiers first clubbed the guides with their rifle butts and then bayoneted them.—Chicago Tribune, January 9, 1903.

Now, who will pray for a murderer's soul? And who will "Amen!" say?

Oh, the blood of man is a dreadful thing,
To burden a soul for hell,
When the kicking rifles laugh and sing,
To the song of the flying shell;
But to cruelly kill a captive foe,
Is a coward's act of shame;
And God and man shall set their ban
Upon the murderer's name.

Like sheep upon the slaughter place,
A doomed and silent band,
A death printed on each dusky face,
Four pinioned prisoners stand,

The gathering shadows of the night
Are shrouding in the day;
And, through the reddened dying light,
A voice is heard to say:

"Let the prisoners kneel and pray."

Let the prisoners kneel and pray,
For God's forgiveness pray;
Because they wickedly choose to die,
Rather than lead the way
Their comrades to betray;
Ere the word go forth to slay,
Let them kneel and quickly pray;
For their grave is gaping nigh.

The crash of blows upon shattered bone;
The shriek that follows the bayonet's
thrust;

A broken gasp and a dying groan,
And the dead lie prone in the bloody dust;

And who shall kneel and pray?

Oh, who shall dare to pray?

As the corpses into the red pit roll,

Oh, who shall pray for their murderer's
soul?

And who shall "Amen!" say?

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

ARE WE LESS HUMANE THAN THE ANCIENT GREEKS?

EXTRACT FROM A PLAY OF EU-
RIPIDES, ACTED IN ATHENS ABOUT
FOUR HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE THE
CHRISTIAN ERA.

Before quoting the lines, it will be
well to narrate the events in the play
leading up to the quotation.

Alcmena, with her three children,
to escape the murderous intentions
of Eurysthenes, King of Argos, had
fled for refuge to Athens.

While pleading to the Athenians
for protection, an envoy arrives from
Argos, demanding her surrender
with her children. This being re-
fused, an army is sent to take her by
force; a battle is fought, and Eurys-
thenes is defeated and taken prisoner.
A messenger brings Eurysthenes
before Alcmena, who then upbraids
him with all the cruelties he had
practiced on Hercules, her dead hus-
band, and his wicked intentions to-
wards herself and her children, and
concludes by telling him,

"It were just that thou more than once
should die."

The messenger, who had brought
Eurysthenes to Alcmena, then tells
her:

"You must not kill him."

Alcmena replies:

"Then have we in vain taken him captive?
But what law forbids his being
slain?"

Messenger: "The rulers of this land con-
sent not."

Alcmena: "Is it not by them esteemed a
glorious action, to dispatch our foes?"

Mess.: "Not such as they have seized alive
in battle."

Alc.: "Is Hyllus [her son] satisfied with
this decree?"

Mess.: "He, in my judgment, will forsooth
not act rightly if he oppose what Ath-
ens shall enjoin."

It is impossible to read these lines

without thinking immediately of
what is taking place across the wide
Pacific ocean, where a major of the
army of the United States is being
court-martialed for ordering seven
prisoners of war to be shot to death.
When we consider that the men who
listened to the play were the assem-
bled citizens of the city, who had but
a few years before taken part in a
desperate struggle for their city and
their liberties—Euripides himself be-
ing born on the island of Salamis,
where his mother had gone to es-
cape the dangers of the possible de-
struction of Athens by the over-
whelming herd of Persian barba-
rians, the day of his birth being the
day of the battle of Salamis—the hu-
manity of the Greeks of that day, is
most remarkable.

No doubt there was in Athens a
party who would not have spared
Eurysthenes, as there are now some in
the United States who palliate and
excuse the killing of the seven Fili-
pinos. It is said by Mr. Morley, who
writes the preface to the translation,
that Socrates would not go to hear
any plays but those of Euripides. I
imagine that Socrates, if alive to-day,
would be an anti-imperialist.

The humanity of the Greeks must
have been of home growth. The plays
of Euripides were written over 400
years before the Christian era, and
it is a sad reflection that after so
many hundred years of Christian in-
fluence, men representing this great
Christian commonwealth should be
guilty of deeds that the worshipers
of Jove and Pallas Athene would
have scorned to commit. I cannot
believe that President Roosevelt will
not see to it that those who have
been guilty of such cowardly and un-
soldierlike deeds are adequately pun-
ished, and thus save the honor of
the army and his country.

COLIN S. EASTWOOD.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY. THE VALUE OF A CITY PERMIT.

John P. McGuire, manager of the
Variety iron works, ran up against
an unexpected obstacle at the meet-
ing of the board of control yester-
day morning, whither he had gone
with a request for a permit to lay
a switch track in Hamilton street,
adjacent to the plant of his company.

Mr. McGuire recited the need for
another switch track, and presented
his case in such a manner that it
did not seem probable that the board

would refuse his request. Mayor
Johnson, however, became reminis-
cent.

"Let's see," said the mayor, "just
how the case stands with your com-
pany. As I remember it, when the
three-cent fare street railroad was
attempting to obtain control along
Hamilton street the Variety iron
works refused to sign. No amount
of persuasion was of any avail. Mr.
Webster, the receiver of the company,
declared that there were too many
tracks on Hamilton street already,
and that he would never give his con-
sent to have another. There seems
to have been an interesting change
of opinion upon this matter. If there
are too many tracks on the street
already, I do not see how this board
can consistently grant a permit to
lay still another switch track."

Mr. McGuire looked annoyed at the
turn the matter had taken. He
would not deny, however, that his
company had opposed the three-cent
fare railroad. Mayor Johnson then
attempted to extract a promise from
him to the effect that after next
May, when the injunction of the su-
preme court is dissolved, the Variety
iron works would not refuse its con-
sent. This promise Mr. McGuire said
he was not prepared to make.

"Then," said Mr. Johnson, "I am
opposed to granting this permit for
the switch track. If the street has
too many tracks to permit of laying
another for public business it is cer-
tainly too full to allow of an addi-
tional track for merely private busi-
ness. I ask that the board refer this
matter to me. Perhaps I may be
able to make a bargain with these
people."

The application for the permit was
then referred to the mayor. From
the attitude which he took upon the
matter it is evident that the switch
track will not be permitted unless
the Variety iron works agree not to
oppose the three-cent fare railroad
on Hamilton street when the next
attempt is made.

The action of Mayor Johnson yester-
day morning was significant of
the fact that he has not given up the
three-cent fare fight, which has from
the first been his pet municipal hob-
by, and that he expects to renew it
with vigor as soon as the city is re-
lieved from the injunction of the su-
preme court.—Cleveland Plain Dealer
of Jan. 3.

The application of the Variety iron
works for a permit to lay a switch

track on Hamilton street was favorably acted upon by the board of control yesterday.

The application was returned to the board yesterday morning bearing the approval of the mayor.

"Yes," said Mr. Johnson, "I have got everyone connected with the Variety iron works pledged to help us the next time we try to put the three-cent fare railroad through Hamilton street."

And the permit was forthwith granted without an opposing vote.—Plain Dealer of Jan. 6.

THOUSANDS OF FILIPINOS DYING OF HUNGER.

The once prosperous Philippine Islands have come to a sad pass. After war, murder, torture, rapine and fire had devastated the greater portion of these islands, the inevitable plague, pestilence and famine have followed in their train. Two hundred and fifty thousand Filipinos are said to have been killed in the war, and a like number have perished from the plague. How great is the number of the widows and orphans that have no providers is problematical, but the number must approach two million of helpless ones. These are now dying of hunger and the number is added to daily, for the plague has not been stayed.

So desperate are the conditions that President Roosevelt has transmitted to Congress a message inclosing a letter from Secretary Root, describing the terrible conditions that prevail, and asking that a special appropriation of \$3,000,000 be made for the relief of the destitute. The Secretary of War says:

It seems to me that the conditions resulting from the destruction by rinderpest of 90 per cent. of the carabaos, the draft animals of the islands, and the consequent failure of the rice crop, followed by an epidemic of cholera, are so serious and distressing as to call for action by Congress beyond that for which the commission specifically ask. . . . I think the occasion for relief in the Philippines is now greater than it was in Cuba, when Congress appropriated \$3,000,000 for the payment of the Cuban soldiers out of the treasury of the United States, or than it was in Porto Rico when hundreds of thousands of dollars were contributed by the people of the United States, and more than a million of dollars paid out of the national treasury for the relief of the sufferers from the hurricane of August, 1899.

Never before has a message of a president to Congress presented such a sad and disastrous condition as existing in any part of the territory of the United States. Worse than Cuba, after the iron despotism of

Spain and the brutality of Weyler had devastated that fair island. Could any parallel be worse?

The great heart of the American people freely gave relief to the Cuban distress and now will respond with even greater liberality, for Cuba was only a neighbor in distress, but the Filipinos are our own people, whom we have undertaken to provide for. We bought them with a great price and have spent hundreds of millions to force our government on them. We have been told we are there to stay whatever betides,—the more reason they should be cared for. There should be no delay in making this appropriation to relieve this distress for which we are at least partially responsible. If three millions is not enough, let it be doubled or even tenfold appropriated.

The government we have instituted in the Philippines collects all the revenues, and, sorry to relate, most of it is expended on our own officials who have been sent there to administer it. The Filipinos are helpless; their fate is in our hands.

Whatever disposition is to be made of the Philippine Islands will be settled hereafter. The present is no time for quibbling on political conditions when thousands are dying of hunger and disease.

The Republican administration of benevolent assimilation for the islands is a failure—our chief officials acknowledge it. Instead of the pictures of contentment and good government, that have been the constant theme of the Imperialists, they are now forced to portray impoverishment and distress.

Is it to be wondered at that ladrones are organized into bands, even for plunder, with gaunt hunger stalking through the land, up to the gates of Manila?

Government of the people without their consent, has always been disastrous to the governed, and has usually brought misfortune to those who have attempted it.

B. W. H.

WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAN AND SHOULD DO.

The opening portion of an address delivered by Western Starr before the Henry George association, of Chicago, December 28, 1902.

The Democratic party is ostensibly the agency through which the interests of the people are safeguarded. It is the popular organ of democracy; it is the representation of the

unprivileged, as opposed to the privileged, in governmental policies.

The various forms of privilege group themselves into a few classes, each of which bears with heavier weight upon some specific class or group of people; and this gives rise to various theories of defense.

The victims of tariffs and the victims of railroad discriminations, as classes, each have a separate remedy to propose. The victims of municipal franchise have still another. Those who suffer from the abuses imposed as a result of competition in the labor world, offer still another. Each of these classes, sincerely, honestly believes that if only its peculiar grievance was removed, life and labor would again become a smiling summer holiday for the whole world.

All of these classes look to the Democratic party for relief; and each class demands that whatever may be done for others, it shall by no means be neglected. This has made the Democratic party an agglomeration of discordant factions, each striving for a special object, and indifferent to the consequences to all others.

Added to these classes is still another class which makes use of all the rest—a class the exponents of which speak oracularly of the fundamental principles of Democracy, without venturing to state in explicit or concrete form what these mysterious principles are, or what they could produce as results, if once established. This latter class is virtually the "usufruct" element of the Democratic party, and is, in fact, more incumbrance than help to its councils or field operations.

The great party opposed to this party of the people, is that great association of the cohorts of privilege—the so-called Republican party; a party composed of a vast number of lesser parties, each dominated by the fetish of its own special interest, and cooperating with all the other advocates of special interest, because of the identity of purpose animating each.

Every beneficiary of special interest or privilege is enlisted to preserve the principle of privilege, fully realizing the disastrous consequences to his own little tin god if some other tinsel deity should be dethroned.

The practice of the devotees of privilege ought to be sufficient example for the opponents of privilege.

The broad conflict lies between the privileged on one side, and the unprivileged on the other. And the new Democracy must mass its assault on the principle of privilege; destroy, beat down, undermine privilege, and all the evils of privilege will cease to be.

The friends of privilege are wiser in their way than the children of light; it is entirely to their satisfaction to fight a campaign, or a series of campaigns, on any one of the outposts, on a false issue, against a divided opponent. Let the opponents of privilege in all its forms unite. Let there be no lurking reservation or compromise. Let privilege, of whatsoever breed, be exposed and driven into the open, there to justify or perish.

The issue should be the Trust—not the Borax Trust, but the Trust. It should be Railroad Discrimination—not the Vanderbilt Lines, or the Goulds', or Hill's, or any other lines, but Railroad Discrimination. It should be Franchise—not the Union Traction, or People's Gas, but Franchise. It should be the Tariff—not the Tariff on Hides, or Iron, or Coal, but the Tariff.

And within and behind all, the impelling power of the New Democracy must be the realization of the moral value of ideals. Expediency, policy, bog and quicksand of perishing parties from immemorial time, should not longer lure upon false ground the hosts who stand for the rights of man.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: I am having a good deal of trouble with these ladrones. You see, John, I shot their water buffalo, and the Filipinos can't raise rice, and it changed them into ladrones. So I gather from my man Taft's report, and it makes things so disagreeable there that Taft's conscience won't allow him to desert and be a justice of the supreme court—which he'd rather. It's too bad! You notice Taft is needed on the supreme bench. When the judges had constitutional law, he didn't catch it. It never took—never struck in on Taft. He is immune to constitutional law, Taft is; and I need him on the supreme bench to pass on Filipino business.

You know yourself, John, how annoying it is. Do you mind the ladrones of Bunker Hill, and Stony Pint and Eutaw Springs? They give

ye a mighty sight of trouble, John, in '76. I see now it was wrong, but I was right smart of a ladrone myself in those days. I'm sorry I bothered ye, but you'd shot my water buffalo (burned my farms) and I was too young to know any better, and I swiped ye from Cape Cod to New Orleans. I see now we'd all ought to a been hanged; but there was a whin of us. Th' was Hancock, and Sam Adams, and Is Putnam, and Paulding, and Van Wirt, and a lot of uneasy blades down South—Sumter and Francis Marion—and even the women. Why, there was one Southern woman—I forget her name—when you drove her out of her big house and quartered red coats in it, brought an Indian bow and arrows and rosin and fire, and had us shoot arrows from the woods tipped with burnin' rosin, onto her roof, and burnt down her own mansion-house about your ears. And—well, the Imperialists had to cut away to Canada them times. They weren't runnin' the Senate then, and sendin' over a little man in knee breeches to help ye put yer hat on. No, we were a kickin' the hat; and we made ye pick your feet lively, John, from the lemon to the pine. You sent over Cornwallis, too, I remember, with, I fergit how many men—ten thousand, I guess—I tell that joke every time I think of it. It's a hundred year old, maybe, but good yit. The boys said they shelled the corn off Cornwallis, and sent him back Cobwallis. Do you get it, John? Some day the Daughters of the Revolution will be a sendin' their keards to the Daughters of the Philippine Ladrones, may be on manila paper, but they worry me now.

I'm still troubled with trusts, John, and don't know what to do. When you had your troubles with the Dragon in the early days, there was a strenuous young fellow on a prancing horse to help you out; but while I've lots of strenuous men at the treasury, I have no fighter. My dragon has come, and I hain't got any Saint George.

Sometimes I have hopes of Theodore, and then again I misdoubt. He's taken a sudden streak of bein' very democratic and fair, and givin' offices to colored people, not forgettin' the women. If it's color he favors why not give a post office to Aguinaldo, say I? And if he wants to be gallant to the sex, there's Miss Taylor that Root threw out; why not give a post office to her? I'll men-

tion it to Theodore and I guess he'll do it. It will show he is sincere.

THE MODERN ST. GEORGE.

Oh, the modern Saint George he is fine,
With his lance and his capering steed;
It's, "Oh, for a foeman I pine;
The people may trust me indeed.

"I will 'shackle the cunning' of might;
I will win the applause of the fair,
And full in the popular sight
I will press the foul foe to his lair."

But the Dragon he came down the pike
A eating of babies in glee.
Said he: "Master George, don't you strike,
Or I'll cut off your fine salarree."

Then Georgie reined up where he stood,
And he said: "I am sure it is sad;
But some of these Dragons are good,
And only a few of them bad.

"The way for a Dragon to wax
So we'll not all to limbo be sent,
Is—commissions to sit on his tracks,
And actions of Par-li-a-ment."

UNCLE SAM.

A DREAM.

For The Public.

Bion used to say that the way to the shades below was easy; he could go there with his eyes shut.—Diogenes Laertius.

Scene—The domain of him who thought it "Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven."

Time—Present, or a little later.

Characters—Satan.

His First Assistant.

Satan—Well, how now, sirrah?

Assistant—Your Most Worshipful Majesty, a courier has just returned from earth, and reports a great revolution in progress.

Satan—Indeed! Who's hungry now? All revolutions are stomach troubles.

Assistant—A nation, your Highness, which has been sending us many subjects of late. They have a mischief called "expansion," the chief symptom of which is that they think they are soaring aloft, when they are falling hitherward as fast as—your Worship will pardon the presumption of a personal allusion—as fast as your August Self when you came to establish this, your kingdom. I was in Nero's oven three firings ago, and he asked me if the ruling politicians of this nation were intending to colonize here.

Satan—And this nation is—

Assistant—Chastise my ignorance, Sire! I know not what it is. They themselves call it The United States of America; and it used to be a republic when I was on Earth. I understand now that they contemplate changing the name to "The United Trusts of America," and making dollars ballots. They are a "republic," with individuals who "owe allegiance but are not citizens." I hope I shall

not offend your Serene Potency if I remark that it seems to my humble insufficiency that this beats anything Hell has ever devised.

Satan—Tut, tut! "We could an if we would!" Egad, though, there is a sulphurous humor in it that likes us much. But to business. What brings you into our August Presence?

Assistant—I was coming to that, Most High. This revolution explains why we have been so busy of late. I have now to report that every niche is full.

Satan—Ah! The next time you go down Mercy Corridor tighten up the screws on that calamity-howler who doubted our prosperity and questioned our census returns. And, mark us; publish forthwith a ukase informing our subjects that henceforth when their superiors are prosperous, they are also, and that any expression of doubt thereof shall, by our royal edict, be punished as the worst of heresies.

Assistant—So is it on Earth. They go to the stock exchange to see if the people are hungry. They believe if the House is prosperous the Gaming Tables *must* be.

Satan—Peace! The idea was mine. They merely copied it in advance of me.

Assistant—I was about to say so, Sire.

Satan—What did you say caused the trouble up in the United Trusts of America?

Assistant—The courier, your Worship, reports that 16 men got control of everything in this republic with subjects, and began to starve and freeze everyone at their mercy. And, as your Lordship had led the masses to believe a few had a right to own the whole earth, practically everyone *was* at their mercy, or would have been had they had any of that commodity. Your messenger confided to me that when the coal fiends—the word was his, Most Exalted—began to freeze the innocent and guilty alike, he grew so homesick for your august, just and merciful government, that he descended hither post-haste. He explained how those who run this so-called republican Oilgarchy—I think that was the word he used—thought they had stamped, starved and frozen all the spirit out of the people, and so blindly, thanks to your masterly subtlety, pushed the down-trodden to the ever-fatal point where any change is a change for the better; and then—well, history simply repeated itself.

And now we have coal barons, robber fuel dealers, captains of industry, college political economists, franchise thieves, subsidized editors—Dante's lowest pit is already full of them—practicers of the water cure, murderers in epaulets and buttons (shining, brazen examples of that old joke of your majesty's, that bon mot called on earth "military honor, or the ethics of murder"), and money worshipers and parasites too numerous to mention. Sire, I am at my wits' end to know where to put them.

Satan—Your wits' end! Egad, what business has your wit to have an end! Methinks you will be sent to study political economy in a certain university maintained by the Oilgarchy whereof you spoke. There will you learn to think and reason in a circle, and we shall hear no more of your wits having an end. That's a joke. You may repeat it to your associates with discretion as an illustration of our democracy—joking with our inferiors! You may let it "leak out" on all sides. We can't show our democratic tendency by opening our own doors, because when the hinges got so hot on that oft-quoted occasion we burned our royal fingers and at once appointed a porter with asbestos mittens. We could, for a need, eat in our riding boots, or eat out of them, for that matter, so democratic are we; but burned leather is not an appetizing odor, therefore it pleases us to show our great belief in absolute equality by joking with our underlings. We like the joke, and the tale loses its moral unless it begins with an admission that they *are* underlings. See, therefore, that it is duly advertised—it will divert the attention of some who otherwise might begin to think for themselves.

Assistant—But the newcomers, your Highness, what can be done? I have no place for them. Even now a coal baron entered who said he was the Agent of Providence, and the thick-eared clerk booked him as "a gent from Providence;" whereat every Massachusetts applicant in waiting insisted that the record be erased. That ledger is getting to be a sight, if your Worship will pardon a colloquialism. This Agent of Providence—this coal baron—had wings fully grown, and every feather was so carefully preened and so white that I marveled. Then a great light dawned within me as I noted the harp he tried to conceal under his spotless robe, and I realized that he had expected to take the other ele-

vator, the one going *up*. I can't bear to put that immaculate robe and those pretty wings where we burn soft coal. He'll look like a raven in ten minutes. If it were a vulture now—

Satan—How about the reverberatory pits reserved for captains of industry?

Assistant—All full, Sire. I just now had to move over Capt. Kidd, Dick Turpin, Bob Macaire, Capt. Macheath and Claude Duval to squeeze in a Standard Oil captain. Your majesty should have heard their indignant remarks. I felt warranted in raising their humidity two points. Kidd said the whole groove would feel the disgrace; and Dick Turpin snarled out: "I was a bit sporty, and relieved an occasional one of his spare change; but I call the whole pit to witness that I never nearly doubled the price of oil in a fuel famine in the midst of a hard winter." Then Macheath flung out: "Take him over to the boiling lake, and let him pour his double priced oil on its troubled waters!" With this Jack Sheppard, Jonathan Wild and all the other captains of industry started an uproar. I reached for the blast valve, and in the quick hush that followed I heard Machiavelli say in a loud stage whisper to Lucretia Borgia (those two are always plotting): "Let's start a round robin, Lu. Here's where we make a stand, or lose the last remnant of respectability. I don't want our groove socially ostracized." And the Borgia whispered back: "Do you suppose any of the coal tar products would touch him? Say, a shovelful of phenacetine?" Sire, I blushed green at such remarks. If this sort of thing continues the hospitality of Hell will be loudly questioned, and people will not be so ready as now to consign their associates to us.

Satan—Tush! Tush! Don't be too hard, sirrah, on the boys. Consider the provocation. Go back and tell them how full and prosperous we are, and quote them that little saying: "Prosperity makes strange bed-fellows." We've a thin memory for quotations. If that isn't right, change it. We don't care what it is so long as it's a quotation.

Assistant—Yes, your Majesty. And the white-winged coal baron?

Satan—How about the frozen lake?

Assistant—Your Worship could not see the ice for heads.

Satan—So good as that! Hum! He froze the widow and the orphan, and sought to subsidize the Record-

ing Angel through pious professions. Ah! What say you to the Sisyphus boulder?

Assistant—It is already bespoken, Sire. A Mr. Morgan, from the United Trusts of America, is rolling it all over your Excellency's kingdom. He thinks it is a snowball, and that the whole world will stick to it. It's the most harmless of all his delusions, so I humor it.

Satan—Blow him about a bit with Francesca di—

Assistant—Sire! Don't say it! You forget! Most of his earthly transactions were that kind of water which on earth is called wind. He would think himself alive and in Wall Street.

Satan—Condemn him then to keep a fire with soft coal—

Assistant—Sire! Sire! Mercy! Have mercy! Remember this is only Hell!

Satan—Peace! I have spoken!

MELVIN L. SEVERY.

AN ANTIMONOPOLYMONOPOLIST.

For The Public.

Do you want to know precisely how the men of millions get
A share of almost every product of our toil
and sweat?

Would you like to trace the courses and
the channels all unseen
Which fill their coffers fuller while our
purses grow more lean?

If you want to know Monopoly, its secrets
great and small,
Inquire of Tom Johnson, for he understands
them all.

He's an expert on Protection and its work-
ings, every one;

How it coolly scoops the credit of the very
rain and sun,

And shields the wholesale "robbery which
takes all that is left,"

By charging up to freedom the evils due to
theft.

Tom understands these juggleries of greedy
power and pelf,

And what's behind the curtain, for he's
been in there himself.

The ways that franchise holders have to
levy monstrous toll

Wherever go their pipes and wires, wher-
ever car-wheels roll;

How groundless their assumptions are,
their boasts and threats how vain,

If the people only knew their rights and
knowing dared maintain;

All this Tom Johnson understands as plain
as two and two,

And how to make it clear to common men
like me and you.

The "kings" and "barons" who our coal
and iron claim to own,

Whom even revolution scarce can promise
to dethrone,

May be shelved without disturbance, in the
plainest humdrum way,

Through the simple taxing methods prac-
ticed from the earliest day.

Tom Johnson understands it, where he goes
it's always heard,

"Home Rule and Just Taxation," there's
the secret in a word.

The plous Mr. Baer and his designs benevo-
lent

Have of late been made the subject of un-
seemly merriment;

But they're of a piece with all the talk that
rich men may not use

Their riches in just such a way as they
may freely choose.

The "trusteeship of wealth" to Tom is rank
absurdity,

The plan of nature being: Every man his
own trustee.

"Tom Johnson's way" is not like that of
most good millionaires

Who feel they never rightly earned the
fortunes miscalled theirs;

Carnegie gives the people books to fill their
public shelves,

While Johnson shows them why those
books they cannot buy themselves.

With unearned wealth which robber laws
are giving him to spend

He works to bring those very laws forever
to an end.

JAY HAWKINS.

Little Bob—My Aunt Debby is a
mighty queer woman!

Little Willy—She looks all right.

Little Bob—She is all right; that's
what makes me say she's queer. Why,
if anything bad happens to you she
don't hope it will be a lesson to you.—
Puck.

Of Gladstone, Henry Labouchere
once remarked: "I do not object to
Mr. Gladstone's occasionally having
an ace up his sleeve. But I do wish
he would not always say that Provi-
dence put it there."—Argonaut.

BOOKS

OUR BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM.

The happy title of Mr. Ghent's book,
"Our Benevolent Feudalism" (Macmil-
lan), tells its own story, and is in itself
the gist of the author's clever contri-
bution to the social discussion. Ever
since his striking article in the Inde-
pendent, allusions to his phrase have
been frequent, showing that it met a
"long-felt want."

Readers of *The Public* will remem-
ber that the article was made the sub-
ject of an editorial, at the time of its
appearance (p. 68), and the book,
which is but a development of the
former argument, does not therefore
call for an extended review in these
columns.

We may say, however, that in our
opinion no book on social problems has
appeared recently which is more worth
reading. Many statistics are given
which could not be included in a brief
article, and there is fuller scope for
clever illustration and apt quotation.
The chapter on "Our Molders of Opin-
ion," with its quotations and com-
ments, is alone worth the price of the
book.

Mr. Ghent has two very pretty in-
struments in his style—a fine edge of

satire and an air of convincing con-
fidence. Speaking of single-taxers
and the "Neo-Jeffersonians," he says:
"Their general notions of the coming
society do not differ greatly from the
notions of the orthodox economists."
This off-hand statement is a mislead-
ing half-truth. It does not follow be-
cause two "general notions" are alike
in some particulars that they may not
differ greatly. Mr. Ghent's point of
similarity between the two—free com-
petition—reminds us of the old conun-
drum: "Why is an elephant like a
piano?" Except that the answer to
the conundrum is true, whereas the
orthodox economist's idea of free com-
petition is quite different from the
single taxer's idea, we might put
the conundrum for him this way:
Why is a single taxer like an ortho-
dox economist? Because neither is in
favor of state socialism.

We hope and believe that the book
will have a wide circulation. There is
nothing more important for the Amer-
ican people just now than an under-
standing of what the "benevolence"
of our modern magnates really means,
and this understanding no reader of
the book can miss.

J. H. DILLARD.

IN THE COURT OF HISTORY.

It is indeed rare that the public is
treated to such an able bit of histo-
rical writing as is to be found in this
pamphlet of 70 pp. (Wm. Tyrrell &
Co., Toronto), in which Mr. Goldwin
Smith makes an apology for Canadi-
ans who were opposed to the South
African war. Let no one think that
it is "ancient history," for the issues
involved in the discussion are eter-
nal; and the argument of the story
unwinds to its ruthless conclusion,
that there can still be committed un-
der the sun great deeds as vile as
ever darkened the pages of history.

If any one will read the closing
chapters of Mark Twain's "Following
the Equator," and then read this
pamphlet, he cannot avoid the conclu-
sion that the destruction of the Boer
republics was a deep-laid scheme,
that all the official and colonial and
war department parleyings were so
many idle words, and that the ques-
tion of suffrage was a hypocritical
subterfuge. "Was there," says Gold-
win Smith, "such a lack in the world
of refined plutocracy, with its social
inequalities and its liabilities to lux-
ury and corruption, that Canada must
needs lend a hand in the destruction
of these two little pastoral common-
wealths with their social equality,
their simplicity of life, and their fair
hope of development into healthy na-
tions?"

It is hardly necessary to add that
the author's well-known clearness
and strength of style have not been
better shown in any of his writings
than in this little pamphlet, in which
he is writing from the fullness of
mature convictions. There are, it is
true, scholars and critics who seem

to think that a historian should have no convictions, and who would deny the dignified term of "historical writing" to books that openly confess the author's sympathies. To such we would most heartily commend this little production, as a good specimen of the possibility of combining facts and feelings.

J. H. DILLARD.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

When President McKinley inaugurated his Philippine policy with the epigrammatic assurance that destiny determines duty and a demand upon the Filipino republic to surrender, nothing stirred the ire of his supporters more than to call it a policy of imperialism. But as time goes by and the imperial policy becomes more familiar, that word loses its harshness to American ears. Even at this early day both the idea and the word have become so acceptable, or at least, inoffensive, that a text-book in support of American imperialism upon historical and constitutional grounds is published by a leading house, not in advocacy of the policy as a future possibility, but in elucidation of it as a present fact.

This book, "The Administration of Dependencies; a Study of the Evolution of the Federal Empire with Special Reference to American Colonial Problems," a very able book, by the way, bears the imprint of the Putnams and comes from the pen of Alpheus H. Snow. Repugnant as is the policy it supports, it is a work which constitutional lawyers will welcome and which public writers and speakers, whatever their own views on the subject, will find invaluable.

Mr. Snow's purpose is to show that the apparently minor clause in the Federal constitution which empowers Congress to "dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," was intended to lay the foundations for an American empire, in

which the Union of the States should be the self-governing imperial power, and its territorial acquisitions mere dependencies, attached to but outside of the republic—belonging to the house but not within the household.

In pursuit of this purpose he begins the history of the clause in question with the French and English occupation of America, showing that under these regimes the difference between the government of the "realm," that is, of the French or English people at home, and the government of the outlying dependencies which went to make up the "empire," was marked and natural. However little or much the people at home might actually or nominally exercise the right of self-government, the dependencies were governed by the executive authority. The power of the British parliament, for instance,

was different when sitting as the parliament for the British "empire," including the American colonies, from its power when sitting as the parliament of the "realm." This difference came to be recognized by the law of nations, and the American colonists took refuge in it when the British parliament, by passing the stamp act, assumed that Great Britain and the colonists formed one political organism. The American colonists resented that as usurpation, the pamphleteers of the time maintaining that the British government had only a general authority of regulation over the colonies, which were dependencies and as such could not be taxed for the benefit of the home government. With this theory before them the makers of the Federal constitution adopted the clause in question, namely, "The Congress shall have power to

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