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"No gun was ever fired in war," said Gen. MacArthur, in a speech at a Chicago banquet this week, "without contributing to the happiness of mankind." Could revolting devil worship go further?

A "protective committee" has been voluntarily founded in Chicago to adjust the traction question. It is composed of owners of the voluminous watered stock of the existing companies whose franchises are about to expire. One would have no difficulty therefore, in concluding what this "protective committee" will try most strenuously to "protect."

Senator Teller was nominated in the Colorado legislature for reelection by a woman member—Mrs. Alice M. Ruble. What a desecration of womanhood, wifehood, and motherhood! Think of this unsexed woman spending in political turmoil the time she ought to be giving to her abandoned home and her neglected children! Does she not offer a fine text for a sermon against the performance of civic duties by women? She would, indeed, if the Associated Press, when reporting her nominating speech, had not incautiously said of her:

She is a devoted mother, and her home is a model of coziness and comfort. She is idolized by her children.

In connection with the trust question much has been made in certain quarters of the difference between "good trusts" and "bad trusts," the principal purpose of which seems to have been to secure immunity for the "bad ones" in consideration of the great merits of the "good ones." One

of the jugglers has now gone a step farther. While advocating "publicity" with tremendous vigor, he makes a neat distinction between "public publicity" and "private publicity," the former being as yet, so he says, quite impracticable. Now bring out your shackles, Mr. Roosevelt; cunning is at large.

The restrictive legislation which is pending before Congress for the suppression of trusts is well calculated to make competition in business between the States well nigh impossible. All such legislation tends to intensify the evil it is nominally designed to cure. The trusts are a product of restricted competition; the true remedy for them, therefore, is freer competition. The perfect remedy would be free competition. It is not competition but strangled competition that has made a burning question of industrial problems.

Some statesmen from the South seem wholly unable to realize that the time has gone by when the civil and political rights of any man can be made to depend upon the color of his skin. They are as obtuse about human rights in relation to color as are many Northern men about those rights in relation to dollars. Consequently they fail to distinguish between the right of a Negro to meet them socially in their homes, and his right if otherwise eligible to go to an official reception at the White House. It is no one's right to intrude upon another in his home, no matter how arbitrary the standards of eligibility may be. But when official receptions at the White House are given, the fact that an officer of the government happens to be a Negro is no bar. The White House belongs as truly to Negroes as to white men, for all are American citi-

zens. In insisting upon this principle, President Roosevelt, no matter whether his motives are high or low, is making a true exemplification of the American ideal. Of course the statesmen to whom personal association with Negroes in any other relationship than that of master and servant is offensive, are at liberty to stay away from White House receptions which Negroes attend. So long as their resentment retains that form they are within their rights. Yet one may inquire curiously how such men, claiming to be Democrats, define their democracy.

Congressman Shafroth strikes a true note when, referring to the arbitration treaty over the Alaska boundary, he says: "Our title is so perfect that we can afford to submit to arbitration the question as to ownership." In those words is more wisdom than appears upon the surface, though on the surface also they are wise. It is not just claims, but unjust ones, that nations shrink from arbitrating. It is to be hoped that Mr. Shafroth's view, and not that of the jingoes who are saying that we have nothing to arbitrate and ought to hold fast and fight unless Canada lets go, will prevail in American sentiment. Mr. Roosevelt's administration has this arbitration treaty to its credit, and the credit should be cordially given. Every such treaty is one more spike driven home in Gen. MacArthur's "beneficent" war guns.

Between the Teachers' Federation of Chicago and the Civic Federation of the same city, a conflict is developing over a proposed legislative reorganization of the Chicago public school system. The bill providing for the change was drawn by the Civic Federation and is understood to be satisfactory alike to the present school board, the superintendent, and vari-

ous tax-dodging interests; while, on the other hand, it is manifestly unsatisfactory to those of the teachers who support the Teachers' Federation.

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This bill would establish a school board of nine, to be appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the city council. They would hold office in groups of three for three years each, but be removable by the mayor upon proved charges. The superintendent would be appointed by the school board, and after a satisfactory probation of two years hold office for five years further; subject, however, to removal by the board upon charges. He could sit and speak in the board and its committees, but not vote; and he would have supervision of the whole school system, though under the potential check of a veto by the board. All subordinates would be appointed, promoted, salaried, and transferred or dismissed after a hearing, by him, his action being final unless disapproved by the board at or before its second meeting after his report, within which time subordinates transferred or removed might claim a hearing before the board. Absolute power over certifications of competency for teachers for three successive years would also be reposed in him; and he would be authorized, though not required, to consult assistant superintendents, principals and teachers relative to educational and other school affairs. Many other provisions are contained in the bill, but this recital is sufficient to indicate its general character and spirit.

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In opposition to this bill, objections are raised by the Teachers' Federation: first, that the bill proposes to take the control of the public schools away from the people of Chicago and vest it in the State legislature, being thus defiant of the principle of home rule; second, that it confers on the superintendent power belonging naturally to the whole teaching force; third, that this is done for the purpose of suppressing

the influence of the foreign element in the citizenship of Chicago; and, fourth, that it is intended as a step in the direction of disfranchising that large number of heavily-taxed citizens who, because they are not rich and pay their taxes indirectly, are commonly spoken of as "non-tax payers."

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We defer comment upon all these objections, with the exception of the second, which we shall only briefly consider. This objection rests upon a true principle, namely, that the teaching force in a public school system should be a consultative body. And it should be such, not at the mere whim of the superintendent, leaving him to pick and choose individuals for consultation and thus encouraging him to build up a machine by "playing favorites," but in a regular, orderly, open and dignified manner, to the end that the superintendent may be either directly controlled by the deliberate decisions of the teaching body as a whole, or subjected to full responsibility before the public for ignoring their advice. To deny the correctness of this principle of school government comes with ill grace from those who object to the trade union organization among the teachers on the ground that teachers belong to a "liberal profession." The members of a liberal profession who are nevertheless deemed fit only to obey orders abjectly without consultation, need not be especially vain about the liberal character of their profession.

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Quite irrespective of the objections raised by the teachers, some general observations may be of value. Observance of a few simple principles of government, principles which only autocrats on the one hand or anarchists on the other can logically object to, would place the management of the public school system upon a sound basis; and these can be considered quite regardless of the conflict between the Chicago Teachers' Federation and the advocates of the Civic Federation school bill. In

the first place, the plain difference between legislative and executive functions should be distinguished at every point. The one prescribes policies; the other carries them out. As to the first, the legislative function, there should be consultation, which tends to secure combined wisdom, though at the expense of divided responsibility. As to the second, the executive, there should be no division of responsibility, but unimpeded one man power. Applying this principle to public schools, the general policy of the system—the character and scope of the studies, the standards of competency, etc.—would clearly fall within the legislative category, and ought to be determined by a deliberative body. Whether this were a school board, or the teaching force, or a committee of the city council, would make no difference so far as the principle now under consideration is concerned. But the legislative policy having been thus fixed, the power to administer should be vested in one person, and he should be absolute, yet responsible to the appointing power. In the next place, the legislative power should be subject to popular control, by some mode of initiative and referendum which could be invoked upon occasion; and though the executive need not be directly responsible to the public, he should be responsible to the mayor, in whom should be vested powers of removal as well as appointment, and thus himself be made responsible to the people for the faithful administration of the school system. A reasonable degree of deference to these two general principles—distinction of legislative and executive functions, and responsibility to the people—would secure an effective and economical (not cheap, but economical) school system.

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But the Civic Federation's school bill utterly ignores both principles. It obscures the difference between legislative and executive functions, by empowering the superintendent to legislate as well as execute so long as the school board withholds

its veto, and by empowering the board to interfere with both legislation and execution whenever moved there-to. On the point of responsibility, also, the bill is open to grave objection. It divides responsibility with so much complexity of powers and checks upon powers that no one could be held to account for bad management. The mayor could not be so held; for when he once appoints the board members he loses effective control over them. The board could not be; for they are nine in number, each of whom can accuse his colleagues; and while they could check the superintendent, they could not command him. The superintendent could not be held to any degree of responsibility to the people, for while he might initiate, the board could check and worry him. And so it would go. The mayor could throw the responsibility upon the board; the board members upon each other and the superintendent; and the superintendent back again upon the board; while the teaching force would be a body of obedient nonentities more anxious to know what would please the superintendent or the board and secure permanency of tenure or promotion in place, than to promote the usefulness of the schools. Taken all in all, the Civic Federation school bill is about as vicious a piece of school legislation as could well be devised at this stage of municipal progress. With a good superintendent and a docile board, the system it would establish might work fairly well, until the teaching force had withered with dry rot. But if the board were to select a bad but politic man (and there is nothing in the bill to interfere with its selecting the worst political heeler in Chicago), the Chicago school system could be made a prey to "politics" of the basest sort.

The insincerity of the Republican leaders in Congress, regarding the trust question, was cleverly exposed recently by Congressman Sulzer, of New York. It was in connection with the new cabinet department of

commerce and labor. Labor organizations have long been trying to secure a labor secretary in the President's cabinet. This the Republicans are unwilling to concede. But as the matter is pressed and bids fair to divert the labor vote, they have cooked up a bill providing for a cabinet secretary of "commerce and labor." Obviously this secretary is to be a "business" man. The commercial interests would not tolerate a "labor" man for such a post. Consequently the "labor" interests will be looked after under the "commerce and labor" bill by "business" leaders. Over this happy adjustment of conflicting industrial interests, the Republicans are boasting about their practical demonstrations of love for the dear "laboring man." But in framing their "commerce and labor" bill they have conveniently omitted to provide for any check upon trusts, a subject over which the contemplated cabinet officer might reasonably be expected to have jurisdiction. Not a line gives any indication of a disposition to "shackle cunning," though the bill is a highly appropriate one for that purpose. Even the favorite administration idea of "publicity" is ignored. Therefore Mr. Sulzer moved as an amendment that there be in the proposed department a bureau of corporations to which every corporation doing an interstate business should be required to make reports of its condition. Though there was no objection from the Republican side of the House, either to the character or the form of the amendment, every Republican voted against it. Their reasons were not stated, but the inference is strong that while they do much talking about "publicity" and "shackling," they are under such peculiar obligations to the powerful trusts that they dare not take hostile action of any kind, not even of the kind they profess to advocate. Mr. Sulzer has now put the matter in such shape upon the record that no other inference is possible.

When the bill to establish a depart-

ment of labor and commerce was before the lower House, as noted above, a remarkable recommendation from labor sources was announced. Congressman Mann, of Illinois, who supported the bill, explained that he had "sent to the Chicago Federation of Labor, which" he believed to be "the largest organization of labor in the country affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a copy of the bill as reported to the House and a copy of the report of the committee giving the reasons why the department of labor should be included in the department of commerce and labor, and had that morning received "a reply in the shape of a letter from the Chicago Federation of Labor, stating that they have received the bill and report, that they appreciate the favor of sending them to them, and hope that the efforts to pass the bill will prove successful." Mr. Mann added: "I know of no better instance that can be given of the actual feeling of labor than a letter of this sort from probably the greatest body of organized labor in the country." The remarkable thing about this recommendation is the fact that the labor leaders who gave it, were at about that time being voted out of office as officials of the Chicago Federation by an overwhelming majority, because their fidelity to their organization was distrusted. These men were Mayor Harrison's "labor" contingent. Some of them held office at the Chicago city hall, some were employed by the street car companies, some were on the pay rolls both at the city hall and at the street car offices, and altogether they were a nest of labor "fakers," counting themselves into office as labor leaders at every Federation election and serving the Harrison political machine and the street car monopoly between times.

A "labor leader" outfit has come to be regarded as part of the recognized equipment of political and monopoly rings; and the surface signs indicate that Tom L. Johnson has run up against an equipment of this kind with which Senator Hanna has

armed himself in Cleveland. As is generally known, Mayor Johnson has for two years led the movement in Cleveland for a 3-cent fare on street cars. Senator Hanna, who patriotically mixes shady politics with profitable street car franchises, fought Johnson at first in the city council, which he was unable to hold; then in the courts, which served him well; and then in the legislature, which he bodily owned. But now it all comes back again to the people of Cleveland, and Senator Hanna is organizing his "labor leader" outfit in readiness for the approaching municipal election. His success may be inferred from the fact that a committee of the local central body has recently reported that upon investigation it discovered (what Johnson not only denies, but the falsity of which has been demonstrated) that it costs three cents and eight and two-tenths mills to carry a street car passenger, without allowing anything for dividends.

Now, these labor leaders may be perfectly honest in their conclusions. They may think that it does cost nearly three cents to carry a passenger. But how did they find it out? Is there any Simple Simon so innocent as to suppose that they got their information elsewhere than from the offices of Mr. Hanna's companies? They have acted in this matter as a labor committee of monopoly white-washers. It does not follow, of course, that they have been bribed, and everyone is entitled to his own opinion as to their motives. But be their motives whatever they may be, the significant fact remains that a committee of labor men, without experience or special knowledge of the matter in hand, except such as they may have received from the street car ring, have put forth a labored argument in defense of that ring and dubbed their production a "labor report." So labored is this argument, and so spotted with thumb marks of a certain corporation law office in Cleveland, that Mayor Johnson, who knows that office pretty well

and is himself an expert in the street car business, openly charges that the substance of the report was prepared by Hanna's own lawyers. Of course the labor committee denies that charge. Yet there is much about the whole affair to indicate that influences are at work in "labor leader" circles in Cleveland similar to those that controlled the Chicago Federation of Labor until at the last election its outraged and indignant membership voted the "gang" out of office in the Federation.

Prof. Taylor, who holds the chair of political economy at Ann Arbor University, is as candid as a new convert at a Methodist experience meeting. Believing in plutocracy, he defends it without mental reservation or purpose of evasion. Rockefeller is our great tax farmer, as Prof. Taylor concedes, and a useful one as he contends. Moreover, the system is wise and good. As a private citizen with taxing power, Mr. Rockefeller is doing for this country what Lord Cromer, as a government servant, is doing for Egypt. Listen to this exceptionally candid professor:

When Egypt was under the khedives those rulers squandered the enormous taxes paid by their subjects. To-day, under Lord Cromer, Egypt pays just as much taxes to her English masters. Now, however, Egypt gets that money back. Witness the expansive dam on the upper Nile, which will make the whole desert country fertile. In this dam alone Egypt is likely to regain her tax money. In America we have a different method than taxation to secure money for large improvements. Private capital does it. When Mr. Rockefeller, for instance, raises the price of oil two cents he forces us to contribute money for the collection of a great body of productive capital. It is, of course, a system of voluntary despotism to which we Americans thus submit. Mr. Rockefeller has more money than he can use; so it is no effort for him to save his extra earnings in the form of productive capital. If the riches were divided equally none of us would have enough to induce us to form vast amounts of capital. We should want to use our money for ourselves.

In that naive fashion does this professor of political economy expose the economics which his confreres stand for, but the true inwardness of which

they, as a rule, bury in mazes of verbosity and parade in the guise of "science."

Here is an unreserved acknowledgment that the chevaliers d'industrie of whom Mr. Rockefeller is a type, hold and exercise khedival privileges. Note the innocence of Prof. Taylor's observation that we should waste our earnings if there were no Rockefellers to confiscate them and turn them into productive capital. He seems quite oblivious to the obvious truth that the use a man makes of his income is morally subordinate to the manner in which he obtains it. Very generous, for instance, was it of that embryonic type of Rockefellerism, Sixteen-String Jack, to make gifts to the poor. And the poor naturally praised him for it. But where did he get his gifts? That was the crucial question in his case, as it is in Rockefeller's.

AMERICAN WAGES AND CAPITAL

A distinguished newspaper writer, W. A. Croffut, of Washington, D. C., has recently undertaken to demonstrate statistically that the average American wages are but \$300 a year and that this is about equal to the average product, per wage earner, over and above necessary business expenses and a fair return upon invested capital. He argues, therefore, that the only way to increase the average wages is by increasing the average product. Consequently he strongly denounces, as enemies of the laboring man, those who favor restrictive methods adopted by trade unions for the purpose of limiting competition in the labor market.

It would be well to note that in fact a large proportion of our industrial class are compelled to live upon less than \$300 per worker. This does not mean, necessarily, that the average income of the family falls below, or even down to that amount, but that in many families there are two or more bread winners. This has a tendency to reduce the average wages to \$300 or below, even though the family receives a larger income.

But let us consider Mr. Croffut's principal proposition.

One objection to his conclusions is the fact that they are based upon statistics which, so far as they relate to the share of the product that goes to non producers, are absurdly fallacious, and also that he disregards the fact that free conditions, which do not now exist, are necessary to make it possible for producers generally to obtain increased earnings as the result of increased production coming from longer hours or increased efficiency of labor.

Of course, if it is true that labor now gets all that it produces over and above the amount necessary for expenses and a paltry 4 per cent. on the capital engaged in production, we must admit that Mr. Croffut' is correct in his conclusion and that trade unionists are hopelessly wrong in attempting to raise wages by limiting the hours of labor or by any other method that tends to limit production.

This is an important question. It is, in fact, the all important question of our time; for, if it be true, as it appears, that increased production inures chiefly or entirely to the benefit of non producers, and that producers can obtain an increased share of the product only by methods that limit production, there is then something radically wrong in existing economic conditions.

To deny that such a condition exists and to assent as does Mr. Croffut, that wage earners were never so well off in this country as at the present time, is an easier matter than to support such assertions by statistics that will bear careful analysis.

Before considering the statistics which Mr. Croffut presents let us look at the statistics of the industry in which there has been the greatest increase in production as the result of increased efficiency of labor. If the theory that increased wages results from increased production is a true theory, we should find a most decided increase in the earnings of those engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industry. Instead of this we find precisely the contrary.

During the last decade, which was one of enormously increased production, there has been a decrease in average earnings, and the most decided decrease has occurred in those particular industries in which there has been the greatest increase in the

efficiency of labor. Moreover, we find also that where there are exceptions to the general downward tendency, it is in those industries in which trade unions have been in a measure successful in their attempts to limit or regulate production.

In explanation of this downward tendency, we find the following remarks in the text of the present census, p. cxxiii., vol. vii.:

Labor as Affected by Machinery.—A factor that has had a real tendency to lower the actual average earnings of the wage earner in many industries, is the displacement of the skilled operative by machinery, which permits the substitution of a comparatively unskilled machine hand. This tendency is noticeable in many lines of industry. Its effect is twofold: to reduce the number of employes producing the same or an increased quantity of product, and hence to lower the total wage of the group; and to reduce the average rate of wages because of the lower degree of skill required. The effect of the introduction and improvement of machinery upon the condition of the skilled artisan is an economic question of the greatest importance.

In connection with table xlii., intended to show the effect of machinery in certain selected industries, among other remarks we find the following:

In the tanning of leather, by reason of improved machinery, there has been a constantly decreasing demand for skilled workmen. Women and girls are now performing work formerly done by men. In 1890 a shaver who had to serve an apprenticeship of several years before he became a skilled workman, received as high as \$6 per day at hand work. In 1900 he had been quite generally supplemented by the "handy man," who did the same work by machinery, accomplished four times as much, and received perhaps a third of the pay. . . . These statistics indicate that the increase in production has been accomplished very largely through the utilization of new and improved machinery, without a corresponding increase in the number of wage earners.

The statistics presented in the table to which the foregoing remarks refer, do not, however, show the full extent of the decline in average earnings, during the decade, and in some instances indicate a decided increase in earnings. This increase is, however, entirely fictitious. It illustrates the grossly misleading character of the statistics of the present census due to a change in census methods of computation that appears

to have been adopted for the purpose of concealing the disagreeable fact of a decline in average earnings during a period of wonderful development.

The census reports the average number of wage earners employed and the total amount of wages paid and it is from the relative increase of these items that we discover whether average earnings have increased or decreased. The change in methods consists in computing the average number of wage earners on the basis of 12 months, instead of for the period during which the various establishments were in actual operation as was the practice at former censuses.

The schedule of the present census called for a report from each establishment of the average number of wage earners employed each month and the average number for the year has been computed by aggregating these monthly averages and dividing the total by 12, the number of months in the year. The effect for an establishment furnishing employment six months of the year is to decrease the number reported as the average number by one-half and to double the apparent average earnings.

Regarding this change of methods we find it remarked in the text of the census, on p. cvii., vol. vii.:

It is obvious that the method adopted in 1900 tends to produce a smaller average number than the method employed in 1890.

A reduction in the number of wage earners used as the divisor of the total wages results, of course, in a corresponding increase in the amount computed as average earnings. Yet notwithstanding this change of methods having a most decided tendency to fictitiously increase the amount obtained as average earnings, the present census shows average earnings nearly 2 per cent. less than the census of 1890.

The figures as computed for the two censuses are \$444.83 for 1890 and \$437.83 for 1900.

This latter amount seems to have been accepted in some quarters as representative of the average earnings of wage earners in all industries. But, as was shown by the present writer in a previous contribution to *The Public* (p. 452) the statistics of agriculture of the present census show the average labor income of our largest industrial class, that engaged in agriculture, as very much less than \$300. The amount, \$437, does not

represent the actual average earnings even of those engaged in manufacturing industry, but an average of the amounts that might have been earned had every wage earner in that industry found employment for 12 months of the year instead of, as was the case in a large proportion of instances, for a much shorter period.

Regarding census computations of average earnings, S. N. D. North, Chief Statistician of Manufactures of the present census, in a contribution to a discussion of the census by members of the American Economic Association, published as No. 2, New Series of the Publications of the Association (May, 1899), said:

It formed the subject of one of the severest criticisms passed upon the eleventh census of manufacturers. That criticism rested upon the fact that the census schedule called for the average number of employes and the total amount paid in wages and secured its average wage by dividing the one into the other. That the result was not a perfect average is apparent; for the sum of total wages paid was not paid to the average number of employes, but to all who were employed throughout the year.

The criticism referred to was first made by the writer of the present article in a contribution to the *Journal of Political Economy* of Dec., 1895, and later in one of his contributions to the *Journal of Sociology*. The result of dividing the total wages by the average instead of the entire number of wage earners, is to obtain a larger amount as average earnings than that actually received. By the change in census methods, average earnings as computed at the present census are still further from the true amount than the computation of 1890.

It may be here remarked that one of the manifestations of the pernicious influence of combinations to control prices, known as trusts, is that which they exert over our statistical bureaus to which the public look for information. The fallacious character of official statistics, from which doubtless Mr. Croffut, like others, has drawn the conclusion of a great increase in wages, has been conclusively demonstrated by the writer of the present article in a series of articles, "Eccentric Official Statistics" in the *Journal of Sociology*, and in contributions to the *Journal of Political Economy*, publications of the University of Chicago, and recently in a pamphlet, "Our Juggled Census."

The writer's earlier criticisms, so far as they relate to the census, have been confirmed by eminent members of the American Economic Association in their discussion of the census previously referred to. There exist no statistics worthy of confidence which indicate that average earnings in this country are higher at present than they were thirty years ago (gold value). On the contrary, the most reliable data, when fairly analyzed, indicate that the only advantage which the producer has realized during a period of unparalleled increase of production, has come to him through a decrease in prices. This advantage, we are rapidly losing if we have not already lost it, through recent advances in prices resulting from industrial combinations known as trusts.

Let us now consider Mr. Croffut's figures. He says:

Let us look at figures; the United States makes the following showing:

Annual product.....	\$10,000,000,000
Deduct from this	
For taxes paid.....	\$700,000,000
For wear and tear.....	1,300,000,000
Profit to capital (4 per ct.).....	2,600,000,000
Total.....	4,600,000,000
To divide among producers.....	5,400,000,000
Total number of producers.....	18,000,000
Therefore average yearly wages	
—in dollars.....	800

This would seem to show that \$300 is the average yearly wage in America. Whoever gets more than this gets more than the average.

These figures, so far as they relate to the value of the product and the number of producers, are approximately correct. It should, however, be understood that \$10,000,000,000 is the value at the factory and the farm or mine, and that it is enormously increased before it reaches the final purchaser or consumer. It is, nevertheless, the value from which must be obtained the recompense of labor and capital engaged in direct production. Mr. Croffut's figures seem to indicate that he labors under the erroneous impression that all of the capital of the country, real and nominal, obtains its return directly from this ten billions, representing the first cost of the product. As a matter of fact, the larger proportion of capital obtains its return from other sources. At 4 per cent. a profit of \$2,600,000,000 represents an investment of \$65,000,000,000, which is more than double the nominal capital and four or five times the real capital engaged in production. By real capital is meant the product of labor applied

to natural resources and not natural resources themselves.

Of the ten billions of product, according to the census, considerably more than one-half is the product of manufacturing and mechanical industry, \$5,697,931,815, being the value added to raw material by manufacturing processes.

The amount of capital invested in the production of this value is reported as \$9,861,822,864, or, if we include the estimated value of rented property, \$11,013,787,624. The amount of capital reported is, however, greatly exaggerated through the census method of including debt as capital. That is, materials purchased on credit are reported as part of the capital of the concern owing for them, while the obligations given for them, or the open book accounts representing them, are included as part of the capital of the concern holding the accounts.

Regarding the resulting duplication of capital it is remarked in the text of the census, p. ci., vol. vii.:

This duplication and reduplication cannot be eliminated, as this report has attempted to do in the matter of products. It is embedded in the returns an indefinite and unknown amount, but, an enormous aggregate in a total of ten billions—and it vitiates conclusions drawn from the total.

A computation from census figures of product and expenses after every possible deduction for expenses not included in the census report shows a profit on this exaggerated capitalization at least three times the amount which Mr. Croffut has figured out as the profits of capital.

It should not be inferred, however, that manufacturing capital generally realizes a profit of 12 per cent. for the large average percentage of profit shown is unquestionably due to enormous profits in favored lines of industry. It may be remembered that Mr. Frick, Mr. Carnegie's partner, testified that Mr. Carnegie realized a profit of 24 millions in a single year. This must have been much nearer ⁴⁰ than 4 per cent. on his investment.

In agriculture, if we allow \$300 as wages for each farm proprietor and deduct the cost of labor and fertilizers and allow for repair and renewal of machinery, buildings and fences, and also deduct for other expenses, including taxes, we shall have left from the total product of \$3,764,177,706 enough to pay but little if any more than 4 per cent. on the nominal agricultural capital of \$20,574,001,838.

But then we must remember that the farmers have not yet been able to organize a trust.

It may be noticed that if we aggregate farm and manufacturing capital and products we have a total capital of but 31 or 32 billions, with a product of nearly 9½ billions. Where, then, does Mr. Croffut find the remainder of the 65 billions of capital engaged in producing 10 billions of product?

Of the capital of the country a very large amount is engaged in distribution and obtains its profit from the enhanced prices of products that are paid by the final purchasers. Much of this capital is invested in stores and warehouses and in the goods which they contain. Besides there is an immense amount of nominal capital which represents the value of business sites. In transportation, which is a part of distribution, there is invested in steam railroads alone an amount of nominal capital equal to that engaged in manufactures, with net receipts nearly half a billion of dollars, which is a return of 4½ per cent. in a capitalization the larger part of which is representative of no investment of capital whatever, but of franchises conferring special privilege. It is true likewise of the greater part of the nominal capital of the country, that it represents, not real capital which is the product of labor but some special privilege. The larger part of the nominal capital of the anthracite coal combine, for instance, represents no investment in machinery, buildings, or other actual capital, but only the value of the power to levy tribute upon industry. This tribute is imposed upon all real capital as well as upon labor. As is the case with all monopolies, it is measured by necessity and the ability to pay. Nominal capitalization being based upon profits, the longer the hours of labor of the miner and his children and the lower the wages the greater becomes the capitalization.

The capitalization of our street railways, amounting to over two billions, as is well known, is principally a franchise or monopoly valuation.

This high valuation has resulted not only from the low wages of employes, but from the willingness of the public to put up with inferior accommodations.

The selling value of the securities of telegraph companies, as estimated by Prof. E. W. Bemis, amounts to \$600,000,000; of express companies

to \$100,000,000; of private water companies, \$931,000,000; of street railways to \$2,113,000,000. None of these obtain their return from the ten billions of product except indirectly. Wage earners spend the wages which they have received for producing this ten billions of product, in car fares or in other ways that go to make up the return for capital invested in these concerns.

From the earnings of producers and other wage earners, there is a still larger return to capital, very much of which is tribute to monopoly, in the way of residential rents. These must amount to at least a billion of dollars.

Besides all this, there is an immense amount of normal capital representing vacant land and lots held for speculative purposes. The return for such investments goes in the way of increased prices which legitimate capital is compelled to pay for opportunities.

Mr. Croffut should revise his figures.

Existing conditions in the coal fields and among consumers of coal, and the very general inability to comprehend the cause and true remedy for existing evils suggests the query whether the monkeys from whom we are said to have descended, could they appear among us and be made acquainted with conditions, would not be ashamed to own their posterity? They were never so foolish as to allow a few of their number to monopolize the cocoanut and fruit trees of the grove and forest. Would they not be disposed to rejoice that they never evolved.

HENRY L. BLISS.

NEWS

At the time of our last report from the seat of the war between Venezuela and the debt-collecting powers of Europe (p. 662), a battle was raging between three German war vessels and the Venezuelan fort at San Carlos, a fort commanding the entrance to the Lake of Maracaibo, into which the Germans were endeavoring to force their way. It had then lasted four hours—from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m. of the 21st—and there were no signs of its termination. This battle was still in progress on the 22d. The German vessels had retired for the night at 6 o'clock the previous evening, but early in the morning they

renewed the fight. It continued through that day, when the Germans tried twice to land marines, but the marines were forced back to their ships. Since the 23d, however, nothing very certain about the battle has been reported. Through German sources it has been stated that the German ships succeeded in capturing the fort; and this statement derived some confirmation from a dispatch of the 26th from Porto Cabello to the New York Herald, to the effect that after a three days' bombardment the fort had been captured and blown up. It is noticeable, however, that no reports appear indicating that the blockaders have advanced into the Lake of Maracaibo, which they would likely have done had Fort San Carlos been silenced. This fact gives color to reports from Venezuelan sources to the effect that the German vessels, though they had badly damaged the fort, were on the 23d compelled to withdraw.

There seems to be no doubt that the village of San Carlos was totally destroyed by the German bombardment. This village consisted of 80 houses, built of wood and straw and inhabited by about 250 people—fishermen and their families. It was destroyed by fire caused by the explosion of shells from the bombarding ships. Many non-combatants are reported to have been killed.

Mr. Bowen, as the representative of the Venezuelan government (p. 662), has meanwhile been advancing negotiations at Washington with the European powers. He authorized this statement on the 24th: "I have good reason to believe that the pending controversy between the three allied powers and Venezuela will be settled soon and satisfactorily." On the 25th he was in conference separately with the British and Italian ambassadors and the German charge d'affaires; and on the 26th written declarations were exchanged. It was reported at that time, with apparent accuracy, that in these declarations the European powers had promised the raising of the blockade immediately upon the conclusion of an agreement upon terms proposed by Mr. Bowen and believed to have been provisionally accepted by the powers. The principal feature of the terms thus proposed and accepted is understood to be the hypothecation of 30 per cent. of the customs receipts of La Guayra and Porto Cabello for the

payment of the European claims, for the collection of which the war was begun. A joint meeting of the British, Italian and German representatives, with Mr. Bowen, was held on the 27th, at which, as reported, the latter explained the details of his proposals; and on the 28th, after another joint meeting, Mr. Bowen gave out the following statement:

We have been discussing to-night certain points which needed to be clearly understood. They have been referred to us for our consideration and our views will now be communicated at once to Rome, London and Berlin.

Although Mr. Bowen declines to discuss the details of his proposals, until the blockade shall have been raised, the Associated Press gathered from him that—

The proposals contemplate the administration of the guarantee customs collections by officials to be appointed by Belgium, that country being the creditor (not a naval power) having the greatest pecuniary aggregate of claims. No preference in liquidation is to be given to Germany, Great Britain and Italy, the 30 per cent. being set apart not only for the indemnities demanded by them but also claims of the United States, France, Belgium, Spain, Norway, Sweden and Holland, which have been preferred since the arrangement for paying prior claims in annual installments amounting to 30 per cent. of the Venezuelan customs revenue.

The Alaskan boundary question is believed in some quarters, though without much apparent reason, to have served as the means of bringing the European powers to Mr. Bowen's terms. This question has long been pending (vol. i, No. 47, p. 9). It rises out of a treaty between Great Britain and Russia, made in 1825, when Russia owned Alaska. Under that treaty the boundary line between Canada and Alaska, from the 130th to the 141st meridian was fixed to follow the coast 30 miles inland. This adjustment had little or no importance until the discovery of gold in the Alaskan region. But thereupon, the United States having meanwhile acquired Alaska from Russia, difficulties arose between American and Canadian prospectors and settlers as to the proper location of the boundary. Canadians claimed that the strip of American land 30 miles wide along the coast must be measured from the ocean coast, whence the three-mile limit to the high seas is measured. On the other hand Americans claimed that it must be meas-

ured from the literal coast line, following the course of its indentations. A joint Canadian-American commission was consequently agreed upon in May, 1897, its function being to frame a treaty between Great Britain and the United States adjusting all disputes including that over the Canadian boundary line. This commission adjourned in February, 1899, to the following August, without having accomplished anything final in character. The Canadian commissioners desired to submit the boundary question to the arbitration of a tribunal consisting of one distinguished jurist chosen by Great Britain, another chosen by the United States, and a third, an umpire, chosen by the other two. But that was not satisfactory to the Americans. They demanded a commission of six jurists, three to be selected by each country. They also insisted that existing American settlements on tide waters should remain within the jurisdiction of the United States even if the Canadian theory of the boundary line were in other respects to prevail; and to that the Canadians refused assent. No progress was made by the commission after the interim between its adjournment in February, 1899, and the adjourned day in August of the same year (vol. ii, No. 70, pp. 1, 2.) Upon its reassembling, the United States offered to accept the proposition of an umpire provided Canada would agree to take the umpire from a South American republic; but Canada refused this, insisting upon a European umpire. So the matter was left.

It has now been settled by a treaty signed at Washington on the 24th, and wholly in accordance with the views of the United States. Under this treaty the boundary question is to be submitted to an arbitration tribunal consisting of six commissioners, three to be selected by each side to the controversy. The issue is to be determined by a majority vote, thus making it necessary, in order to prevent a deadlock, for one of the two countries to win over at least one commissioner selected by the other. Moreover, whatever may be the decision of the arbitrators on the general question of boundary, all existing American settlements on tide waters are to remain within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Another important American treaty just signed relates to the Isthmian canal (p. 472), the representa-

tives of the United States of America and of the United States of Colombia having come to terms and signed the treaty at Washington on the 22d. The text of this treaty was made public by authority of the Senate on the 24th. It contains 28 articles. Article 1 authorizes the transfer by the Panama Canal company of all its rights, etc., to the United States. Article 2 makes a concession of right of way for 100 years, with privileges of perpetual renewal. Article 3 concedes a strip six miles wide to be policed, etc., by a joint commission of the two governments. Article 4 reserves to Colombia all general rights of sovereignty over the area ceded. Article 5 relates to the construction, maintenance, etc., of convenient terminals at each end of the canal. Articles 6 and 7 relate to details of construction, security, etc. Article 8 declares Panama and Colon free ports for goods destined for transmission through the canal, but reserves the right to Colombia to collect duties on imports. Articles 9 to 15 relate to details. Article 16 declares the canal and its entrance to be neutral territory in perpetuity. Article 17 gives to Colombia free right of way for military purposes. Articles 18 to 22 relate to details. Article 23 provides for protection against hostile attacks. Colombia is to provide military protection permanently, but—

if the government of Colombia cannot effectively comply with this obligation, then, with the consent of or at the request of Colombia, or of her minister at Washington, or of the local authorities, civil or military, the United States shall employ such force as may be necessary for that sole purpose, and as soon as the necessity shall have ceased will withdraw the forces so employed. Under exceptional circumstances, however, on account of unforeseen or imminent danger to said canal, railways or other works, or to the lives and property of the persons employed upon the canal, railways and other works, the government of the United States is authorized to act in the interest of their protection, without the necessity of obtaining the consent beforehand of the government of Colombia, and it shall give immediate advice of the measures adopted for the purpose stated; and as soon as sufficient Colombian forces shall arrive to attend to the indicated purposes those of the United States shall retire.

Article 24 requires the United States to begin construction within two years after ratification and to open the canal to inter-oceanic traffic within 12 years thereafter. Article

25 provides for the payment of \$250,000 in gold annually for the lease, beginning nine years after ratification, and \$10,000,000 in gold upon the exchange of ratifications. Articles 26 and 27 relate to details, and article 29 requires ratification within eight months from January 23, 1903. The treaty is signed in behalf of Colombia by Thomas Herran, and in behalf of the United States by John Hay.

The political crisis in Colorado (p. 664) has passed, the Democratic legislature having reelected Senator Teller to the United States Senate, and the Wolcott faction among the Republicans having acquiesced. The second vote on joint ballot was taken on the 22d by the House and the Democratic Senate, but without effect, Teller securing 50 votes—1 short of a majority. On the 23d the third ballot was taken, but with the same result. On the 24th, however, upon the fourth joint ballot, Mr. Teller received 51 votes, and Senator Adams, who presided, declared him elected. Mr. Wolcott stated his position on the following day, publicly announcing his withdrawal as a candidate and urging the people of Colorado to support the election of Teller. Following is his explanation:

There were three joint sessions of the general assembly. At the last one 51 Democrats voted for Teller. No other joint session had been held and no Republican had voted in a joint session. The election of Mr. Teller was tinged with fraud; first, in the trickery of adjournment by the Democrats of the House; second, in the arbitrary and fraudulent expulsion of two legally elected senators. There is, however, now no other legally constituted Senate, as might have been but for this conspiracy [referring to the alleged combination between Democrats and anti-Wolcott Republicans], and it is now too late to undo the wrong and by unseating the fraudulently-elected members from Arapahoe county insure the valid election of a Republican senator. Wicked and unforgivable as is the wrong done the Republican party, yet from the point of view of the highest citizenship there is but one thing to be done, and that is for the people to accept the deplorable situation and the governor of the state to issue a certificate of election to Mr. Teller.

In the American labor field the anthracite arbitration (p. 663) still drags on at Philadelphia. Its proceedings were enlivened on the 28th by an interchange of views between Mr. Darrow, counsel for the miners,

and Judge Gray, chairman of the arbitrators, over the demand of the former that the arbitrators invite the presidents of the coal roads and of the mining companies to appear and testify regarding restricted output. Mr. Darrow explained his demand thus:

There has been evidence offered here on the part of the operators for the purpose of showing that the miners have limited production in the last year. We believe the fact to be that the coal roads have placed a limit on production for many years. So long as they make the charge to this commission for the purpose of influencing its decision, I want them to bring into court for our examination the presidents of the roads so that we may find out the situation.

The demand was taken under advisement.

The miners' convention at Indianapolis (p. 664) adjourned on the 27th. During its sessions two or three political and economic questions of general interest came before it. One of these was raised by a resolution favoring the initiative and referendum. It was defeated on the ground that it would involve the mine workers in politics. Another came up on a resolution favoring government ownership of coal mines and railroads. A motion to table the resolution was defeated, but it was referred back to the committee on resolutions, which subsequently reported adversely. Still another arose upon a resolution indorsing international socialism, which was tabled. It received the support of 200 delegates. On the 26th a strong report of a special committee against "government by injunction" was adopted. The report instructs the committee making it to visit Washington and urge senators to vote for the anti-injunction bill now pending before the Senate. Also to report the record that every senator makes on that measure. The report bases its opposition to "government by injunction" on the ground that those injunctions operate to impair the right of trial by jury. It declares that, while many judges try causes that come before them conscientiously, there are many who do not hesitate to stretch the law in their eagerness to promote the interests of those who are in a position to assist them in securing wealth, power or notoriety; that judges are influenced by their associations, and that they move in social circles into which few workingmen ever enter. It also warns the general public that the

power that can crush the employes of a coal king or a railroad magnate can destroy the business and curtail the liberties of any citizen whenever it suits the purpose of that power to do so. John Mitchell was reelected as president. There was no opposition and he received 55,032 votes.

NEWS NOTES.

—The death of the sultan of Sulu (p. 664) is now denied.

—Gov. Yates of Illinois has offered John Mitchell a place on the Illinois board of arbitration. Mr. Mitchell declines.

—The trial of Maj. Glenn before a court-martial at Manila, charged with murdering native guides (p. 634), came to an end on the 24th. A verdict was then rendered, but its nature and effect have not yet been divulged.

—Judge William R. Day, of Canton, O., formerly President McKinley's law partner and later secretary of state under President McKinley, who afterwards appointed him United States district judge of Ohio, has been offered by President Roosevelt the place on the supreme bench of the United States which is about to be vacated by Judge Shiras. Judge Day has accepted the offer.

—Col. Arthur Lynch, on trial in London for high treason in having while a British subject become a naturalized citizen of the South African Republic, (p. 665), was convicted on the 23d and sentenced to death. The court held that the oath of allegiance to a British enemy, taken as a condition of naturalization, constituted the treasonable act. Lynch's sentence was commuted on the 27th to penal servitude for life.

—The "get coal" conference (p. 648), called by Mayor Maybury of Detroit, met at Washington on the 27th. It was attended by delegates from 19 states and was presided over by Senator Mason. The resolutions adopted declare that companies in the form of trusts and conspiracies exist in restraint of trade, especially in the production, transportation, distribution and sale of coal; that they tend to create a monopoly of one of the necessities of life, occasioning suffering to millions; that combinations and conspiracies exist between transportation companies whereby special rates, rebates, etc., are allowed some shippers, and exorbitant rates charged others; that these conspiracies are in violation of the interstate commerce and anti-trust acts; and that it is the duty of the Federal district attorneys, under the direction of the attorney general, to institute legal proceedings to secure the punishment of the conspirators.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE VENEZUELAN WAR.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 24.—There is bad faith and villainy in this whole Venezuelan business; and the worst of it is, that Germany has been encouraged by the administration to join with Great Britain and Italy in a scandalous and utterly unwarranted assault upon a weak and distracted nation which is fighting for its life against rebels who apparently have been set about their work by foreign influences and whose resources seem to come from the very countries which have tried to collect doubtful claims at the mouth of the cannon.

London Speaker (Lib.), Dec. 27.—We found Venezuela bankrupt. We have made her a pauper. Her sole resources are her customs. These we have cut off for the moment by declaring a blockade. At the same time we have made their future collection all but impossible. The Venezuelan fleet was useless for naval purposes, but it did provide a tolerably efficient check on smuggling. How without it our debtor is to collect the wherewithal to meet our claims is presumably a question which Germany had never considered. The stupidity of coercion was never more clearly illustrated.

London Daily News (Lib.), Jan. 24.—Lord Lansdowne has only one safe and straightforward course open to him. He must let Germany know that with or without her consent the British fleet will be recalled at once from Venezuelan waters. If Germany declines to raise the blockade that is her affair. Our business is with Mr. Bowen at Washington in the first instance, and if his good offices are unsuccessful we must look to The Hague tribunal for the rest. We are at the parting of the ways. We must decide forthwith, as one of the American papers put it, between the United States and Germany.

HOME RULE IN TAXATION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 22.—In affirming the principle of home rule in order to knock out the franchise tax law the Supreme Court of New York has probably done a greater service to the people than it intended. For the principle of home rule in taxation is really of more vital concern even than the question of taxing franchises. The Supreme Court holds the franchise tax law to be unconstitutional because it violates that principle by giving the State tax commissioners the power to make local assessments. The court does not attack the principle of franchise taxation. That is left untouched.

THE KEY TO SUCCESS.

Kansas City (Mo.) World (Dem.), Jan. 21.—Get your fellow man in a corner and then skin him for all he's worth. This is the principle. The young man who starts with this aim and perseveres, if he has the opportunities, will some day be able to fill as many poorhouses and libraries as can Carnegie and Schwab. These two had the opportunities and were remarkably adept at skinning. . . . What a travesty on Christianity and civilization to hold up as models of success men who make such principles their life principles!

ETHICAL SURVIVALS.

Sacred Heart Review (rel.), Jan. 24.—The Dick Turpins and the Jack Sheppards of the old days robbed from the rich and gave to the poor. At the present time the poor are robbed through high prices for coal, oil and other necessities; and the money goes to found universities, libraries, art galleries, etc., and to finance missions to the Filipinos.

CLEVELAND POLITICS.

Cleveland (O.) Recorder (Dem.), Jan. 24.—It is becoming more and more apparent

every day that the issue this spring is going to be between the candidates Hanna forces upon the Republican ticket and those who are selected by Tom L. Johnson for the Democratic ticket.

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 as handed upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 36 of that publication.

Washington, Jan. 19-25, 1903.

Senate.

After disposing of routine morning business on the 19th, and holding a brief executive session (pp. 989-90), the Senate resumed consideration of the Statehood bill (p. 991). The same subject was continued in the afternoon hours of the 20th (p. 1052) and the 21st (p. 1088). It was interrupted on the latter day with a motion to go into executive business, which was defeated (p. 1100), however, by a vote of 27 to 37. Before adjournment for the day the bankruptcy law was amended (p. 1100). Consideration of the Statehood bill was resumed on the 22d (p. 1132), and continued on the 23d (pp. 1220, 1221). In the morning hour of the 24th the Philippine constabulary bill (H. No. 15,510) was passed (p. 1237), and when the Statehood bill came up in the regular order, Senator Spooner made it the opportunity for a speech (p. 1243) on the subject of the resignation, from intimidation as alleged, of the Negro postmistress of Indianola, Miss. He was replied to by Senator McLaurin, of Miss., (p. 1249).

House.

On the 19th the Senate amendments to the House bill to promote the efficiency of the militia were adopted (pp. 999-1000), and the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill was passed (p. 1009). In committee of the whole on the 20th the bill (H. No. 15,520) on Philippine coinage was considered, (p. 1082), and the same subject was continued on the 20th (p. 1105) and the 22d (p. 1138). This bill was passed (p. 1153) on the latter day, when, also, the bill (H. No. 9865) providing for the election of a delegate from Alaska was taken up (p. 1153) and being continued on the 23d was then passed (p. 1213). The agricultural appropriation bill was passed on the 24th (p. 1285). A memorial session was held on Sunday, the 25th, in memory of the late Representatives Russell, Sheppard, and De Graffenreid.

Record Notes.—Speech of Representative Crowley on monopoly and trusts, with reference to the tariff on coal (p. 955). Speeches of Representatives Richardson (pp. 966), Crumpacker (p. 971), Mann (p. 1036), and Gooch (p. 1093) on the department of commerce and labor. Speech of Representative Burleson on rebate on coal (p. 969). Text of bill for establishment of department of commerce and labor as passed by the Senate (p. 987) and of amendments passed by the House (p. 988). Text of Philippine coinage bill as recommended by the majority of the House committee on insular affairs (p. 1082) and of bill proposed by minority of same committee (p. 1082). Speech of Representative Maddox (p. 1123) on Philippine coinage bill. Speech of Senator McLaurin, of Miss., (p. 1298) on the Indianola post office question.

Alexander Hamilton, in the Federalist, says:

But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors and those who are debtors fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government.

MISCELLANY

SONG OF THE COAL BARONS.

For The Public.

Starve them and freeze them, it does them good.

By hunger and cold are the strong subdued;

The bravest will fall without fire or food.

We will show them who rule the land.

So close the churches, dismiss the schools;

We need not their training among our tools.

They work for Us, and the greater fools.

The harder lot will they stand.

Chorus.

They are all God's children, you say? What then?

He did not make Us, we are self-made men; And we worship our maker still.

Let the poor freeze. When the strike was on,

They helped the men when their food was gone—

Our men, whose living we hold in paw; They helped them resist our will.

The earth and the fulness thereof is His! It might have been once, but the question is:

Who's in possession? Answer us this.

We think you are getting your fill.

Chorus.

The old and feeble are dying fast.

Well, let them die; their use is past.

There are plenty of young strong men to last

As long as we want their aid.

But the babes die also? Oh, never fear;

We can import men—a million a year;

Cheaper by far than to raise them here.

And it lessens the wages paid.

Chorus.

Don't we fear God's judgments? Why should we fear?

We have named ourselves His stewards here;

We own the churches, and is it not clear He sanctions all we do?

And at the last, when the race is run,

When we've seized on everything under the sun,

We can build libraries—it has been done; And endow colleges, too.

Chorus.

They are all God's children, you say? What then?

He didn't make Us, we are self-made men;

And we worship our maker still.

M. A. CUSHMAN.

OUR EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE PHILIPPINES.

An extract from a private letter written by an American resident in the Philippine islands.

Our government has established a bureau of public instruction here, based largely on the idea of other governments, who, surer of their position and more confident of support from the home population, have organized and supported bureaus of foreign missions for the purpose of inculcating their own form of Christianity, thus hoping to create a moral force that would in a few years gen-

erate a fellow feeling between colony and master land. Here we were not in a position to establish a bureau of foreign missions, as England could have established, or such as Spain maintained here before the insurrection. We had no state religion, and the various Protestant and Christian sects could never have united on any form of Christianity which all would have been willing to see taught here. Besides, these people are in very large percentage Catholic Christians, and there would have been opposition from American Catholics to any bureau of foreign missions which would have undertaken professedly to change the form of Christianity now in vogue in these islands. These reasons of political nature made it impractical for us to do what all other colonizing nations have found it an advantage to do in similar circumstances.

We, therefore, have established a bureau of education, with the avowed purpose of introducing in this region the light of modern civilization, the helps of modern methods, etc. The effect of our schools has been largely good. We have some good teachers, and in circumstances, such as those prevailing here, the individual has great liberty to develop the very best powers that are in him. This, however, has operated for evil whenever the teacher was not a good man. We will probably succeed in introducing some modern methods, will probably destroy the native dialects, rob the people of their traditions, and breed a religious indifference which will eventually produce disintegration in a country where there are so few of the ties that go to hold a nation together in one great whole. Thus, with a disintegrated population, it is hardly probable that these islands will ever be competent to undertake the arduous task of self-government.

A PARABLE. For The Public.

In the early springtime a certain man, whose name was Labor, planted seeds of grain in a field, the name of which was Opportunity.

Then Nature, who was Labor's mother, sent sunshine and warmth, the rain and the dew, and behold, the seeds sent forth tiny shoots, and the man Labor was exceeding glad.

The growing plants he nourished tenderly, like unto his own children; and in their youth he christened them Wealth and Capital.

Now, when another moon had

passed, behold, certain strange plants grew in the field of Opportunity, and their name was Monopoly plants, though the man knew it not. For when the man Labor was a little feller he went with other little fellers to a certain Rocky Feller's school, in which great and wise men taught the little fellers many strange and wondrous things.

Now it happened the wise men lived on Monopoly plants, and the great man who built the school—he, too, lived on the same strange food; and the Monopoly plants lived on the plants of Wealth and the Capital plants which the man Labor had planted.

So the wise men fooled the little fellers, and taught them to call all plants in the field Opportunity, Wealth and Capital plants.

And it came to pass that to save his little soul that little feller knew not a Monopoly weed from a Capital plant. So when the man Labor beheld the Monopoly plants, which he had not planted, thriving among the Capital plants which he had planted, he was again exceeding glad.

Now it happened the Monopoly plants could not grow up into the sunshine without help of the Capital plants; so the man Labor wound a Monopoly creeper 'round every Capital plant, and went away exceeding glad.

With another moon came again the man Labor to gather of the fruit of his labor; and behold, there was no fruit to gather, for the plants Monopoly had taken unto themselves the juices of the plants Wealth and Capital.

Now the man was filled with a great hate for Monopoly plants; and he cursed the wise men of his youth with a great cuss, because they taught him all plants in the field of Opportunity were Capital plants. And he went with a great hoe into the field to cut down the strange plants which had eaten of the fruit of his labor.

The blindness of anger was upon the man Labor; and, behold, when the anger was gone, the Monopoly plants and the Capital plants were gone also, and there was no fruit for anyone.

Then the man Labor went away and thought a long think.

C. D. JAMES.

The people's will, like some other wills, would be executed if the lawyers couldn't pick any flaws in it.—Puck.

WHY GRANTING SECRET REBATES IS A CRIME.

An extract from the speech of Robert Baker at the dinner given by the Radical Democracy of Brooklyn, January 10, in honor of Mr. Baker's recent election to Congress.

Perhaps no better illustration of the inability of some men to realize that there are fundamental principles in government which are always applicable to the affairs of men is needed than the remarks of a Brooklyn paper which in its Sunday issue said: "Why does Congressman Baker brand as criminals those tradesmen who secure freight rebates. . . . Would the paint grinders accept a rebate if they could get it?" If the writer had asked: Would these men secure rebates—that is, lower prices from their grocer, baker or butcher—if they could get them? it would be a natural question. The grocer, baker or butcher has a right to make as many different prices as he pleases; no one need trade with him unless he so desires. But men must use railroads; and when an exclusive franchise is granted to build a railroad, an essential condition of such franchise is that it shall not be so used as to favor some or oppress others.

It is not a question of whether paint grinders or others would or would not accept rebates if they could get them, any more than it is a question of whether any of us would commit murder under certain circumstances. The taking of human life is regarded by society as wicked, and it has decided that for its own protection it will punish whoever attempts to take the life of another. The granting of secret rebates is also wicked, and those who are parties to it should also be punished. Every freight discrimination is an abrogation of the equal rights to which all are entitled, this equality being involved in the very grant of the franchise under which the railroad operates. Not even so corrupt and boss-ridden a legislature as that of Pennsylvania would ever have dared to grant a franchise for a railroad, if those applying for it had even suggested that varying freight rates would be charged to different shippers.

It makes no difference who the beneficiaries are; it matters not how rich or powerful they may have become as a result of receiving such rebates; it makes no difference whether they did or did not divide the rebate with the railroad manager or

president; it makes no difference what disposition they make of the wealth thus illegally and wickedly obtained—even if some of it is used to endow universities—it is fraudulent wealth, and like all such wealth, it is most likely to be used to corrupt public officials so as to secure further privileges; for, like Oliver Twist, privilege is ever demanding more! Whether others recognize the immorality of the act or not, by us the granting of secret rebates is a matter to be unsparingly condemned, and to be fought with all the forces at our command. We at least will be true to democracy by denouncing all who are parties to freight rate discriminations.

CATTLE BARONS TO LEASE GOVERNMENT LAND: SETTLERS DEPRIVED OF RIGHTS.

The cattle barons appear to have friends at court who are helping them to perpetuate their monopoly of the government lands in the Western States. A special dispatch from Omaha to the Washington Post says:

The land-leasing bill, as now constructed, was introduced into the Senate and House at the last session of Congress. Its advent created a furore of indignation in the Western States, and its effect on the approaching elections was the cause of the laying aside of the measure. Opponents of the measure denounce it as a glaring attempt to create a land monopoly in the Western States.

It is proposed to lease for a period not exceeding 20 years any government land remaining unapplied for, at the rate of from one to six cents an acre per annum. The proposition on its face means the acquiring of a revenue by the government from lands now unoccupied and seemingly worthless. The reality, it is claimed, will be an increasing annual draft on the Federal treasury for costs of collection, the establishment of a large number of new fat offices, the control of immense areas of Western land, and the consequent prevention of settlement by industrious individuals, by a few great cattle and sheep-raising corporations, and the consequent absolute and unrestricted control of prices of meats by the land monopoly.

The dispatch further says:

Col. Mosby was rapidly informing the public of the actual facts when he was recalled.

As Col. Mosby was the special agent of the land department at Washington, and had been given orders to remove the wire fences the cattle barons had erected, his recall must mean that the administration has given up its fight against the cattle men.

The land leasing bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Milard, of Nebraska, and in the house by Congressman Bowersock, of Kan-

sas, and if passed by Congress will effectively perpetuate the hold the cattle barons have on the government lands of the West, on their own terms.

The farmers of every State in the Union are directly interested in opposing the bills now before Congress, for they cannot compete with the price that beef cattle, sheep and wool can be produced in large herds on land for which no rent or interest is paid and upon which no taxes are assessed.

In the past the free range for cattle on the public lands was participated in by all droves, great or small, but in the last few years the large cattle companies have fenced in vast tracts of the public land and have therefore monopolized its use. The homestead seeker has during this time been gradually encroaching more and more on this public domain that the cattle barons have come to look upon as their own, and the result is the conflict now before the public and Congress.

The leasing of these public lands at the rate of from one to six cents an acre, or an average of three cents, is out of all proportion to their value and the collection will cost more than the government will receive. There will be no protection for the homesteader, for the cattle barons would lease all the lands adjoining his homestead and shut him off from free range for his cattle and perhaps access to the rivers and streams, which are few and far apart on the plains.

The policy of the government from the first has been to reserve the public lands for those who wish to make homes upon them, and its reversal by the present administration, in the interest of the cattle barons, should be denounced by all. Senators and congressmen should be written to, demanding that the honest settler be protected and the cattle barons' fences be removed so that all can have free access to the public domain.

B. W. H.

THE FAITH THAT SAVES CITIES.

Portions of a sermon delivered by the Rev. John Howard Melish, at Christ church, Cincinnati, January 4, 1903.

"Ye are saved through faith."—Ephes. 2:8.

Many will remember the complaints a few years back that Cincinnati would not support this and undertake that, that she was not up-to-date, that her citizens are people of "little faith" and that conse-

quently the city was falling behind her neighbors in the race for honor and glory.

To-day there is a change in the right direction. Men and women believe in Cincinnati, and this confidence is the most hopeful sign of the times. For it is true of a city as an individual, that "ye are saved through faith."

I want to talk to you to-night about the political situation in Cincinnati, and direct, if I can, this new faith in Cincinnati in that direction. I suppose I ought to begin with an apology. All ministers do when they hint at politics. But I do not feel like making any apology. To often have we in the pulpit pilloried, as G. W. Curtis once put it, the timid Peter, the foolish virgins, the wicked Herod, to the great satisfaction of the Peters, the virgins and Herods dozing in the pews.

But when some ardent preacher, heading out of his metaphor, and jumping from Judea and the first century into the United States and the nineteenth, disturbs Peter's enjoyment of his ancestor's castigation, by saying vehemently to his face, with all the lightning of law in his eye, and its thunder in his voice: "Thou art the man!" Peter recoils with decorous horror, begs his pastor to remember that he and Herod are sheep who were to be led by still waters; warns him not to bring politics into the pulpit; to talk not of living people, but of old pictures. So the poor shepherd is driven back to his pictures, and cudgels Peter once more from behind a metaphor.

The Bible is the book of politics as much as it is the book of religion. The men we reverence in its pages did conspicuous service for their country. Abraham founded a nation. Moses led a revolution. Joshua fought battles and won victories. The prophets were patriot orators who preached politics with all their might, and were tremendously concerned about public life. Why, if Amos lived to-day he would suddenly appear before the Board of Legislation and surprise some of those members with a sermon, as he once surprised some other representatives who did not represent the people. The political question in those days was supremely a religious question. Last winter I made some remarks about the school board, and I was rebuked by a member, and told in the press that

"politics and religion make a bad combination."

It is just the lack of the union of these two supreme forces, this terrible divorce between religion and politics, that makes politics corrupt and religion effeminate.

It is just as much a man's duty to preach politics as it is his duty to avoid preaching partisanship. Religion has a message to the Christian city, as it has a message to the Christian citizen. God cares for his family as much as he cares for his son or his daughter.

What should this new year bring to the political life of us children of God which we call Cincinnati? Two things, I take it, a deepened sense of political responsibility and a deepened sense of political opportunity.

Let us think first of the responsibility, a deeper sense of which the new year should bring us.

The recent municipal housecleaning which New York, St. Louis and Minneapolis have been having has shown conclusively that their corrupt condition is due to the fact that an alarming number of citizens are practically political absentees. As a writer said about Minneapolis: "Miles insists upon strict laws, Ole and Hans want one or two Scandinavians on their ticket." These things granted, they go off on raft and reaper, leaving whomsoever will to enforce the laws and run the city.

The political absentees are not recent immigrants; for them the ballot is a new privilege, and ignorance of our political methods is an excuse. Unfortunately the immigrant and the ignorant and unprincipled men never stay away, but in ward primaries and at the polls record their votes. The absentees are men of intelligence and honor, the very men who in social, family and business life are found ranked upon the better side, men who are independent and honest. And these men are not ashamed of their political truancy. They boast of not voting as boys boast of playing truant from school.

Who are these men, and why do they shirk their political responsibilities?

First are the men who say all politics are bad. The men who say this are not angels, who, in their flight through the heavens catch sight of the ills of earth, and then betake themselves to ethereal re-

gions. Neither are they Crusoes, alone on an island. In which case the reason might hold. But they are men who are thinking, working, living, because men in the past fought and died to give them a country in which to work and live; because other men are willing to slave to keep these politics from crushing them to-day.

These are the men who in a half-hearted way believe in their country, but are disgusted with the party machinery by which it is run. They see that they have no voice in the nominations, that professional politicians name the candidates, and then ask them to step up and go through a senseless performance called voting for their man. The self-respect of these men is insulted by this political chicanery, and they fear contamination by touching it. So they stay away from the polls.

This is to play the Pharisee. It is drawing one's robes of self-respect about him and standing aside with contempt written in one's face as the crowd surges by, instead of going down among the crowd and doing what he can to make the machinery more expressive of manhood and citizenship. If ever a party becomes dominated by a clique, and reform from within is impossible, then it behooves men to defeat that clique at the polls, not cowardly to turn the city over to them to loot.

There again are the men who believe that both parties are equally bad; that the voter has only to choose between two evils. Either way he turns he sees himself the cat's-paw of rival political machines. This, again, is no reason for cowardly desertion. Perish the Democratic party! Perish the Republican party! Higher than any party is the honor and glory of Cincinnati. If the leaders of either one turn rebel against the city, then desert them all, and lift up the standard of Cincinnati and the manhood of her citizens. This has been done elsewhere and succeeded. Why not organize a Citizens' party here?

In the second class of men who shirk political responsibility to-day are those who are "too busy."

We have had government in our city to-day because the best men are devoting their energies to our industries. A recent writer on political subjects has remarked that the fathers of our country came out in '76 and destroyed the rule of King George in America, and then went back to their homes and shops, never thinking that the work of destruction was

but the beginning of the fight against oppression. We are just beginning to awake from that pleasant dream to-day. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty in peace as in war. We have fancied that government would run itself while we made money. And we have found to our cost that a professional class has stepped in to take King George's place. I might use the name as well as the analogy, but I speak from a pulpit. And now we are reaping the results in impure officials in a jobbing legislature and city council, and all the ills which the modern city is heir to.

And our excuse: "Too busy." The truth is it costs less in dollars and cents to pay excessive taxes, to buy franchises, to purchase protection from harmful legislation than to sacrifice the time which must be given that an honest and efficient municipal government may be had. It pays to shirk the responsibility of citizenship! Poor payment, this, as some of you men will find some day, when you are asked not how much money you have made, but have you stood for the weak against the strong, for justice, for righteousness, against the evil which wrecks and ruins manhood and womanhood. All these have shirked responsibility! And with what result! Look at the type of "statesman" that represents Cincinnati on the board of legislation and the legislature.

When he stands up, and to quote Mr. Lincoln, fills his chest, throws back his head, glazes his eye, opens his mouth and leaves the rest to God, he fills the standard of the public man who was described by a eulogist of Col. Yell, of Yellville, late of the Texas legislature, when he said: "His books did not balance, but his heart always beat warmly for his native land."

These statesmen make a standard unto themselves, like the man who was asked if he understood French: "I do when I speak it myself." And the outcome is about as satisfactory to us who watch and who have to bear the brunt of such statesmanship as that of the man who owned the clock, when he said: "When the hands of that clock stand at 12, and it strikes 2, then I know it is 20 minutes to 7." These statesmen have been known to swing from one party to another, after the fashion of the immortal Flanagan, who, after addressing the audience, said to them: "Fellow-citizens, them are my sentiments; but if they don't suit you they can be changed."

On election day these "statesmen" can be seen with hands full of money,

and their campaign speech is that of the Nevada politician who was elected on the merits of a single speech. All he said was: "Fellow-countrymen, follow me to yonder liquor saloon!"

In our city the ascendancy of these men often means the sale of milk which poisons and starves the children of the poor. They run gambling houses and permit others to run them, which wreck young men. The tenement-house regulations are not enforced, and infants are thereby slaughtered. When, by accident, we get men in charge of the health and building departments, as we now have, who try to do their duty, they are hampered by the subordinates who are forced upon them by the machine.

Preventable diseases are bred by dirty streets and choked-up sewers. A district physician is appointed who gives pills to a man who has broken his legs, and another who acknowledges to his friends that he gets \$1,000 out of a \$300 position.

Do you think that the citizens who step aside and let a few run our government are free from responsibility for these things?

By no means. They have the power to vindicate popular government, and therefore they have the duty. Every citizen represents the city, and his acts help to raise Cincinnati to honor or to degrade her. To each man is intrusted the ballot, which is the individual's greatest power to affect the honor and glory of Cincinnati. Not to use the ballot against the corrupt party, is every whit as treasonable as to use it for the corrupt party.

We are confronted with evils because citizens have shirked this responsibility to do their duty at the primaries and the polls. Cincinnati will only attain true honor and glory when her citizens who now are indifferent acknowledge their responsibility by using their ballots to promote economy, honesty and righteousness.

So much for our responsibility. Let us now turn to the opportunity which we have to do something for Cincinnati in this new year.

On the first Monday in April next each citizen in this city has the opportunity to vote for 18 men. One month later 41 men and their appointees go into office, and upon them will rest the work of governing Cincinnati for the next two years. The most important office to be filled is that of mayor. So far as constitutional authority goes, the mayor heretofore has been a figurehead, though I believe his moral authority has been

far greater than any mayor has chosen to wield. But under the new code we have invested the mayor with great constitutional authority.

The new mayor of this city will have a splendid chance to advance the honor and glory of Cincinnati. If he is a fearless, high-minded, hard-headed man he can transform our police force and make it the most efficient in the United States; he can give us a department of health which will insure to the poorest citizen the chance to live and be strong, which the rich now enjoy; he can maintain the university at its present efficiency and help it realize still further its splendid mission to this city—to give to the poorest boy and girl an education equal to any in the United States, and to leaven the whole educational system of our city. All this he can do and far more by his moral authority as the first citizen among us if he is a true man and a patriot.

But let a man go into that office tied and gagged, his appointments selected at Wielert's or Weber's beer gardens, a soft-headed weakling, and the day will come when the citizens of this city will consign the mayor's new authority to hell.

But that Monday in April is not the judgment day of the mayor so much as it is of us citizens. Ours is the opportunity at that time to put a strong, fearless, hard-headed man in office. I say hard-headed, because reform too often calls forth a soft-headed vessel, and, as President Roosevelt once said, it is doubtful who does the more harm in the world—the hard-hearted or the soft-headed man. Use this opportunity in what way your true judgment decides, either through the regular parties or outside both parties, but use it to elect a man to whom we may all look up and love to honor. That Monday in April is our judgment day. If we fail to meet this opportunity worthily we have no one to blame but ourselves.

Again and again when the issue between good government and bad government has been made clear to the people the great majority have broken down party lines and taken the side of honesty and efficiency. This is the justification of the faith in the people for which America stands, as it is the inspiration and encouragement of men to attack a long-seated, deeply entrenched wrong.

What are you doing in God's fair Earth and Task-Garden; where who-soever is not working is begging or stealing?—Carlyle.

THE FLAG OF FREEDOM.

For The Public.

Egyptian pyramids
And temples still relate
Unto the race of man the solemn story
Of mighty monarchies,
And then the common fate
Of fading fame and glory.
The mummied clay of all the haughty
Pharaohs
Is humble now amid the dust and sand,
And beasts of burden are the king's descendants
Within their native land;
For in all Egypt, not from spine or crag,
Was ever floated freedom's hallowed flag.

Vast is that wilderness
Of marble known as Greece,
Wherein was Alexander's bloody shrine;
Where men were taught to kill
And scorn the arts of peace,
While war was held divine.
There slaves clanked chains, and blood was
shed for gold,
And tribute laid on colonies afar;
But Greece is now beneath the moss and
mold;
For her, Hope's luring star
Has set forever. She had not unfurled
The flag of freedom to the conquered world.

Oh, what of mighty Rome
With Caesar on the stage,
And pomp and pride unknown in ages past?
She went the common way,
And in her tottering age
Lay in the dust at last.
Though every Roman citizen was free,
He forged the chains that bound his
brother man,
And doing so, lost his own liberty
And fell beneath the ban
Of Law eternal. No untarnished flag
Of freedom swung in Rome from spire or
crag.

The Caesars' children now
Are begging daily bread
Within the deserts that their fathers made;
Nor hath the Roman where
To lay his weary head
When day begins to fade.
His fathers little knew when forging fet-
ters

To manacle the sons of other lands
That they were only blinding in their
blindness
Their children's children's hands,
The nations perish that have not unfurled
The flag of freedom to the suffering world.

Sad echoes from the tombs
And catacombs arise
"As melody from Memnon to the sun,"
Repeating unto men
And whispering to the skies:
"Here was injustice done."
The crumbling towers in tearful desolation
Forever from their sculptured lips of
stone
Reiterate their sullen proclamation:
"Here Wrong was on a throne;"
And the leathern tongue of every mum-
mied seer
Likewise attests: "There was no justice
here."

To thee, O Liberty,
Our fathers knelt—to thee,
And dedicated unto thee this shore,
To be the biding place
Forever of the free—
The free for evermore.
And they in high revolt unfurled the flag
Of freedom. Let it wave till moss and
must

Shall crown the last of kings, and all their thrones
 Shall crumble into dust:
 If here imperial banners be unrolled,
 Our ruins soon will their own tale unfold.
 WILL SCOTT.

A Loafer sat on an empty dry goods box and whittled.

"You'll never win success that way," said the Boy's Father to the Boy.

A Successful Man happened along. "I wish I could be as happy as that fellow is," said he, gazing wistfully at the Loafer.

But fortunately the Boy did not hear this, and the lesson of thrift and industry sank deep into his heart.—Life.

She—Have you ordered the coal?
 He—My dear, I have begged, entreated and supplicated the dealer to send some. In times like this I wouldn't think of ordering it.—Puck.

"This is the best stove in the market. It will save half your coal."

"Is that so? Then give me two of them, so's I can save it all."—Chicago Daily News.

"Oh, yes," replied the bright and scientific young mother; "I always give Clifford 25 cents when I spank him. The best authorities are quite agreed that punishing a child for nothing tends to confuse his ethical notions."—Puck.

"There's young Flashman, two tables from us. Is he well connected?"

"Er—yes; but the wires are down, I believe!"—Puck.

BOOKS

SWORDS AND PLOWSHARES.

When those who see wars to be the hideous sins that they are shall be numbered not as now by tens but by tens of thousands, then shall due thanks be given to the author of "Captain Jinks" and of this new volume of poems, "Swords and Plowshares" (Funk and Wagnals Co., New York). The title aptly indicates the burden of the volume, which is proclaimed in the three introductory translations and in the first original poem "War and Hell." This poem, after the style of Whitman, is perhaps the strongest, most uncompromising arraignment of war ever written. It is hardly possible that one should read it through and ever after talk in the old way of the glory of war.

The present trouble will be to get enough people to read it through; for the style is not attractive to the general run of readers not yet won

to the Whitman taste. And yet, let one ask, in what better style of setting could the thoughts be put? Neither smooth verse nor smooth prose would seem to suit so well the hard sayings the author has to tell.

The same apology, it must be confessed, does not apply to gentler themes. "Farm Pictures," for example, is a poem which we have thoroughly enjoyed, doubtful meanwhile whether the style were adding to or subtracting from the enjoyment. After all, perhaps authors know better than critics the best way to say their say, and may well echo the words of the great Fielding, "I am myself a better judge than any pitiful critic whatever."

But to return to the more important feature of the subject-matter, let us say that the present volume, while laying emphasis upon the great world-problem of war, deals with other themes as well and in the spirit of the newest thought. We know of no volume better fitted to introduce one to what this new thought really signifies, and to convince one that old things are becoming new—

Till at last in fellowship
 We forget the master's whip.

Read the poems, "Civilization," "Bread and Justice," "Love Comes," and "A Chaplet of New Ideals," and it will be seen that new social judgments are reaching into literature as well as into life. Everywhere there are signs of awakening out of seemingly petrified conditions; and that literature must respond this volume is a witness. We therefore heartily commend it to all the open-minded, to whom "the wind of heaven is blowing."

J. H. DILLARD.

MACAULAY'S LORD CLIVE.

We have received a very attractive edition of this famous essay, with introduction and notes by Dr. J. W. Pearce, senior teacher of English in the New Orleans High School. It forms one of the series of English and American classics, issued by the Macmillan Co., primarily for the use of schools, but in form and character no less handy and attractive for the general reader. The introduction covers 90 pp., and is admirably complete and scholarly. The part dealing with the Literary History of Macaulay's Age seems needlessly extended. The notes are unusually clear and satisfactory. Taken all in all this little volume must be pronounced one of the best in an excellent series.

J. H. DILLARD.

LITERARY NOTES.

The Skeleton at the Feast is the gruesome title of the leading article in the January Westminster Review. In a very able manner the author discusses the immense increase in the number of insane

persons, taking his statistics from the census of Great Britain. In England, Ireland and Scotland, the number of registered lunatics in 1859 was 47,992, in 1902 it was 148,631. Thus, while population increased during this period about 49 per cent., lunacy increased about 180 per cent. Another article discusses the situation in Ireland, and the writer suspects that the landlords are not so loth to sell as they sometimes pretend, since they would likely be gainers by selling. What most writers on the Irish land question fail to see is that this purchasing project is no real solution of the problem in the interest of the masses of the Irish people. If such writers would read the third article in this number of the review, by Charles Frederick Adams, on Labor and Capital, they might get an insight into the only true solution. While

JUST READY.

"The Great Book of the Present Time."

Loyal Traitors

A Story of Friendship for the Filipinos.

By RAYMOND L. BRIDGMAN,

Author of "Ten Years of Massachusetts," "Biennial Elections," "The Master Idea," etc.

THE story is one of quick and absorbing action from the first page to the last. If in its dramatic representations of deeds in the Philippines the story is, in a sense, a terrible story, it is terrible only as history is terrible; it is terrible only as "A Tale of Two Cities" or "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is terrible. With both of those stories it will perhaps not fail to be classed.

THE writer is no novice in literature. As bookmaker and newspaper correspondent he has already won reputation. This new work reveals the force and picturesqueness of long training. The soldier, the deacon, the minister, the lawyer, the philosopher, the business man—all these characters in the story are faithful creations. The few quiet scenes of home and love in the United States are no less vivid and truthful than the chapters having to do with events in the Philippines, depicting battle, rescue, struggle, torture, escape and defeat.

THE opening chapters are laid in Boston, and portray the clash of principles, prejudices and passions on the part of those who opposed and those who defended the Philippine war of conquest. Three heroes—loyal to the highest standard of patriotism, though judged to be traitors by the present standard—believing that true Americanism means equal rights for the strong and the weak and that it implies the brotherhood of all nations, prove true to that lofty patriotism and leave Boston to enter the Filipino service. The scene then shifts to the Philippines.

THE titles of the thirty chapters are interesting in themselves: "The Morals of an American Deserter;" "Loyal to Two Countries and to Principle Above All;" "The Filipino Fastness Again Attacked;" "Never Surrender;" "Women and Children Patriots;" "American Methods of Persuasion;" "Preparing for the Day of Judgment;" "An Oath Which Cannot Bind," etc., etc.

THROUGHOUT the story, the eternal rightfulness of the Filipino cause is affirmed, and every specious plea commonly urged for the course of the American administration is shown to be untenable in the presence of true American principles, whose ultimate triumph is foreshadowed in the prophecy of freedom for the Philippines through the return of reason to the American people.

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"TREASON" AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

"What ho! Without! Soap-and-water, sapollo, lye, and pearline instantly! Some traitor miscreant has been defacing our Imperial Wall!"

not writing specifically on the land question, but on the reconciliation of labor and capital. Mr. Adams shows that the monopolization of the land by the few is "an act creating slavery," and that the practical remedy "is certainly, obviously, simply thus: To abolish both 'classes' by merging them into a single one, the one great aggregate 'people,' whose common 'property' and heritage the land shall be, in such sense and degree that none may exclude others from the use of any part of it save on condition of paying them periodically the 'ground-rent' value of such exclusive privilege." There is no better evidence of the growth of the idea of the Single Tax than the fact that almost every recent number of this great review has contained an article in support of its justice and practicability. J. H. D.

The Valley Magazine, published at St. Louis by Wm. Marion Reedy, furnishes for January an inviting table of contents comprising a variety of comment, discussion, fiction and verse.

There is an editorial in the Outlook of January 10 on The Gifts of Millionaires, which is worth reading by the many who are taking interest in this question. The writer argues against "going behind the returns." The argument is at least soothing to those who would not know where to stop. At the present stage of the game of life this is of course a very difficult problem; for there is hardly a prominent educational or eleemosynary institution in the whole country which has not, at one time or the other, received money that was "not earned." Where, in the midst of present conditions, is a line to be drawn? Shall an institution founded on money that came from great rises in real estate refuse money that came from the protective tariff? Shall the "unearned increment" be immaculate and "trusts" sinful? There is perhaps some danger of pharisaism, and surely there is a call to work for a change of conditions, which shall free many well-meaning folks from so miserable a problem. In the same number there is an interesting article on the Mosely Commission, a study of American workmen by British workmen, and an appreciative article by Justin McCarthy on James Bryce, proclaiming the need of such men for the rejuvenation of the Liberal party. Perhaps a little more of radicalism is needed than Mr. Bryce has yet shown. J. H. D.

The Independent of January 15 has a very striking unsigned article on Free Speech in the South. One feels like asking the writer, where shall free speech be found, and where is the place of freedom? The fact is that free speech is al-

together a relative term—relative to the location where it is uttered. One subject is "free" at one place, and another at the other. There will not be free speech universal for some decades yet to come. We are living in the midst of a false civilization, touchous on many sides; and the question at present is, which location has which tender spot. At a polite dinner party in New Orleans, though you could not bring up the Negro problem, you would be freer to rail against concentrated wealth than at a snail function in New York. It is altogether unfair to single out any location for animadversion. The same number has an interesting contribution on Trusts from a European Point of View, by the well-known author, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. J. H. D.

HENRY GEORGE ASSOCIATION LECTURES.
Handel Hall, Sunday, Feb. 1st, 3 p. m.
JUDGE WM. PRENTISS,
"The Taxation of Capital Stock and Franchises."

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