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Much as Mr. Balfour's methods in the Venezuelan case resemble pettifogging, one must concede the marvelous cleverness with which he has utilized them to baffle Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt has studiously endeavored to save the Monroe doctrine by evading a direct issue upon it. But Mr. Balfour, with the cunning of a Tombs lawyer, has led him into a position where the direct issue seems unavoidable except by an absolute back down.

The first and supreme opportunity was missed by Mr. Roosevelt when he acquiesced in the "pacific" naval demonstration of the allies for the collection of public debts from the harassed and bankrupt South American republic. A word of friendly protest then would in all probability have prevented the Anglo-German expedition and broken up the disgraceful alliance. Or, failing that, it would at any rate have put Great Britain and Germany into the awkward position of defying the wishes of a powerful and friendly nation and of committing the first overt act of hostility.

But another, though much inferior, opportunity arose, and of this Mr. Roosevelt did essay to take advantage. The "pacific" blockade of Venezuela could be objected to without directly raising the issue of the Monroe doctrine, and Mr. Roosevelt set in motion the appropriate diplomatic processes. It was here that Mr. Balfour's pettifogging came into play. Both Great Britain and Ger-

many had all along insisted that they were not making war upon Venezuela. The ultimatums were but civil notices to settle. The seizure of the Venezuelan vessels was "not a measure of war" but only a provisional something or other to "enforce ordinary courtesy." The bombardment of Cabello was strictly "pacific," and so the blockade was to be. But when Mr. Roosevelt intimates the unwillingness of the United States to recognize a blockade not made in the prosecution of war, Mr. Balfour suddenly abandons his "pacific" masquerade, concedes that there is no such thing in international law as a "pacific" blockade, and declares that actual war exists. To be sure, there has been no formal declaration of war; but how, blandly asks Mr. Balfour, can you seize ships and bombard forts, unless there is war?

So the blockade is to be made effective as a war measure, and the United States, no longer able to object that it is unlawful, but forced by Mr. Balfour into the position of a neutral, are obliged to warn away their merchant ships from Venezuela and to look on while the European powers make wanton war upon her, reserving the right to interfere only if Venezuela territory is occupied "permanently," whatever that may happen to mean, and in contravention of the Monroe doctrine. How Mr. Roosevelt can any longer conserve the Monroe doctrine except by casting the United States in the role of an aggressor, and raising that issue directly, it is very difficult to see.

Without at this time discussing the merits of the Monroe doctrine, one or two observations regarding it are necessary in view of the kind of comment the newspapers and some public men

are making. It is urged, for instance, that if the United States is to guard the American republics from European conquest, it ought to make itself responsible for their good behavior. The absurdity of this contention is transparent. The United States guards the States of the Union against all foreign aggression, yet it is not responsible to anyone for their good behavior. So long as their behavior is within their reserved rights of sovereignty, the United States are not answerable for them, yet will not permit a foreign attack upon them. Though no foreign power can collect debts with warships of any of the States, the United States makes no guarantee of any State debt. Why, then, should the Monroe doctrine, which makes the United States the self-assumed guardian of neighboring republics, impose upon them any obligations to answer for debts or other shortcomings of those republics?

The fact is that defaults by these small republics in the payment of their debts, are among the contingencies that have entered into the bargains under which their debts have fallen into foreign hands. The bonds of Venezuela have been bought by foreign speculators for a song because they might be paid, or they might not. Possibility of default and repudiation was among the factors that fixed the market value. To say that non-payment of such debts constitutes an outrage upon the nations whose speculative citizens hold them, and that it justifies war, either pacific or bellicose, is to say what is not only absurd, but what is apt to be malignantly so.

Prof. Jenks's report to the secretary of war on the question of Chinese labor in the Philippines has attracted the attention and excited the

hostility of Samuel Gompers, Ernest H. Crosby, Daniel Harris, A. J. Boulton, Charles B. Spahr and Henry White, all representative men, who have issued a public letter denouncing Prof. Jenks's recommendations. They quote the recommendations, which propose empowering the Philippine Commission to legislate regarding the admission of Chinese labor under contract. The details have evidently been nicely adjusted with a view to creating and maintaining a system of coolie slavery in our Asiatic "possessions." Employers of "not less than, say, twenty-five laborers," would be allowed, under Prof. Jenks's system, to import "Chinese under contract for a period of not over three years," and the employers would be required to give bonds to secure proper treatment of their imported Chinese coolies, as well as for their security and employment at the work specified in the contract, and their return to China at its expiration, unless "the contract is renewed under the special permission of the government granted separately in each case." Over this system of coolie slavery an inspector or "protector of the Chinese," appointed by the governor of the Philippines, would preside, to rigidly enforce the law by, among others things, preventing the imported coolie from "absconding and going elsewhere in the islands as a regular inhabitant." In other words, what the delectable Prof. Jenks calmly proposes is that large employers in the Philippines shall be allowed to establish a system of term serfdom, the serfs to be bought for importation and reexported at the end of their terms, being meanwhile closely confined to their masters' domicile. Commenting upon this iniquitous proposal, the gentlemen named above justly define it as meaning "the establishment of the contract system of coolie labor in its most objectionable form, in many respects resembling slavery." Little by little the real purpose of the policy of imperialism discloses itself to those workingmen who voted for a "full dinner pail" in 1900, with no

thought or care for the "obsolete" rights of man they were thereby trampling upon in the Philippines. Prof. Jenks's proposals are abhorrent, but they are in the regular order of evolution under the duty and destiny policy.

A valuable contribution to the subject of figure cooking in the statistical kitchen at Washington has been made by the Baltimore News. One of the reports of the bureau of statistics of the treasury department had shown for 1901 a great increase in American exports to China—an increase of 350 per cent. in six years. This compared favorably, from the "favorable balance of trade" point of view, with British and Russian exports to China, the latter having increased only 60 per cent. and the former only 25. But the Baltimore News was skeptical and investigated—with impressive results. It learned that the period from 1895 to 1901 had been selected because our exports to China were exceptionally low in 1895. They could consequently be compared with those of 1901 with an effect almost spectacular. If the figure-cooks had gone back four years and begun with 1891 instead of 1895, the increase would have been much smaller, for the exports to China in 1891 were two and a half times as great as in 1895. Or, if they had begun in 1897, they would have been obliged to record, instead of an increase of 350 per cent., an actual decrease of 12½ per cent. This exposure shows much delicate skill on the part of the figure cooks, but of what public use are figures so cooked?

Down in Delaware there is a Republican of the name of Addicks, who has all over the country a bad name as a political corruptionist. The bad name is doubtless well deserved. But in condemning Addicks and his offenses one should be careful to avoid creating the impression that the conditions Addicks is fighting are altogether pure. In a recent interview Addicks is reported as saying:

In 1893 there were five or six thou-

sand disfranchised Republicans in the State. The law required each voter to pay a poll tax of \$1.20, and if on election day he was eighteen months in arrears he found himself on the delinquent list and unable to vote. Those five or six thousand Republicans were kept from exercising the franchise by every conceivable device. The State was wholly Democratic. The courts and the boards of tax levy and the sheriffs were Democratic. Even the privilege of serving on juries was used as a Democratic prerogative. There never was a more absolute despotism in this country. Not only were the Republican Negroes and poor whites strictly held to their poll-tax responsibilities, not only were they falsely charged with dog taxes, but when they wanted to pay and qualify themselves for voting the tax receivers would evade them, sometimes even leaving the State to prevent payment in time for voting. On the other hand, it was not uncommon to find Democratic officials giving Democrats receipts for taxes they had not paid, in order that they might vote, and afterward declaring the receipts to be errors.

Whatever may be said about Addicks, his indictment of the Delaware oligarchy is true. The difference between him on the one side and the highly respectable gangs with which he has come in collision in Delaware politics, is only that their rascalities are garbed in traditional respectability. Low type of public character as Addicks is, it is questionable if he is not doing good work in breaking up the gangs of respectable rascals. As for democracy, the Delaware Democrats don't know what it means. Look at Judge Gray, for instance, and consider the game which that Delaware Democrat played for a judicial appointment at the hands of a Republican President. If the press were to make as much of those circumstances as they do of Addicks's political performances, Addicks would begin to look white by contrast.

Secretary Shaw is reported as advocating the abolition of customs houses at points where business is greatly disproportionate to the expense of keeping up the establishment. One custom house, for instance, costs the government about \$250 for every dollar of duties it collects; and there are others which resemble it, though the ratio of receipts

to expenditures is not so disproportionate. These are the kind of custom houses Mr. Shaw would abolish. Evidently he is not as good a protectionist as he is supposed to be. The principal object of customs houses is not to get revenue. That is only incidental. The principal object is to keep foreign goods out of the country, so that our exports may exceed our imports and a "favorable balance" of trade be thereby maintained. It is in this manner that protectionists save American markets for American producers. Now, a custom house that costs \$350 for every dollar it collects on imports may be serving that purpose as well as any of the others. In fact, if no custom house was able to collect more than one dollar in duties for every \$350 necessarily expended to maintain it, the principal purpose of the protective tariff would be served better than it is now served. Mr. Shaw's reasons for abolishing the kind of custom houses he indicates are utterly invalid—from the protection point of view.

The committee on education and labor, of the Federal Senate, is doubtless in receipt of a large mail just now, burdened with a varied assortment of objections to the eight-hour bill (House bill No. 3076) which has passed the House and is about to be considered by the Senate. It may be useful, therefore, for the committee to know that the objections are inspired by the National Association of Manufacturers, a trade union of employers who are opposed to trade unions among workmen. This organization recently sent out a confidential circular, enumerating 32 objections to the bill; and with the circular it enclosed a letter requesting the recipient to write the Senate committee urging an unfavorable report upon the bill, giving at least two objections—not copying them verbatim from the circular, however, but elaborating them. In this way it is evidently hoped to secure the appearance of "spontaneous" expressions of disapproval which in fact are

perfunctory and made in response to the call of the employers' union. Such expressions have their value, but it is important that the facts about them be known, so that they may not pass in the Senate for more than their value.

Under the title of "The Menace to Economic Independence," the Independent of December 4 has a striking editorial contribution to this subject, which the ruthless march of events is forcing upon public attention more and more. "It seems certain," says the writer, "that before long it will be impossible for any man on his own account to engage in even so simple a business as selling smoking tobacco and cigars, retailing cut flowers, selling newspapers, or even peanuts and bananas on the street corner. Every man who is not a multi-millionaire will be a millionaire's man, dependent upon the good will of a superior for his daily bread. Could there be a more melancholy outcome of our great American attempt to build up a civilization in which every man might be independent and self-respecting?" The editor sees the danger at either end: There will be a great extension of trade union methods. "We shall see," he predicts, "innumerable unions within the salaried class, each striving to bar out competition . . . to maintain a rigorous monopoly of the job." There are many indications that this prediction will come true; for the fact at present is that the so-called salaried classes, including mainly clerks and teachers, are the most dependent and servile portion of any community. We use the latter epithet in no spirit of offense, but rather of pity. Tied to their job, and without the feeling of strength that comes to some extent from organization, they are absolutely helpless, and have only one door of freedom, that is, to quit and sink into one of Ghent's lower strata. In many communities you will find that the wage-earners, to use a distinction that is easily understood, are clearly more

independent personally than the salaried-earners. Among the latter one can see far more cringing and a far more manifest bearing of subservience. If you want to see tremulous homage, be present when the superintendent, or the president of a school board comes into a group of teachers. Then see them "process" to the platform, and hear them lead the young voices in singing "Sweet land of liberty," or "The land of the free and the home of the brave!" If any, even a temporary, spirit of independence could come to them and others of the salaried classes from any kind of union, it might be welcomed as a temporary release, even if it should lead to the charge of trying to monopolize the job. But the important work at present is to get the American people to come to a consciousness of the situation of dependence into which all but a very few are being rapidly corralled.

Wall street is in bad plight. Its affairs are on the brink of collapse, and the United States treasury refuses it further help. This refusal is encouraging, but the reason calls for special wonder. Further help is withheld not for the good reason that the government has no business to dabble in Wall street speculations, but for the bad one that the previous aid extended has not lessened the demand for more aid, and that there seems to be no end. "The best posted men in the treasury," writes "Raymond" to the Chicago Tribune (Republican), for which he is the Washington special correspondent—

say the government has simply been pouring money into a rat hole, and there is not the slightest prospect of being able to supply funds enough to meet the extraordinary demands of Wall street any longer. Every dollar which could be spared from the United States treasury has been loaned to the banks without interest, and in a few cases without any too good security. In addition to this the ordinary interest payments have been anticipated for a long time to come. The secretary of the treasury has gone to the danger line in the matter of purchasing bonds, and has submitted to rank extortion and paid extraordinary premiums merely that the government should do

everything in its power to prevent a threatened panic. Every bond bought takes away from the banks just so much basis for circulation, so there is no benefit to be derived from any bond purchases. In spite of this condition of affairs the appeals from Wall street have become more and more urgent, etc., etc., etc.

What right had the administration to pour public money into a Wall street rat hole? What right had it to lend the banks without interest public money on which it is paying interest? What right had it to risk public funds "without any too good security?" What right had the secretary of the treasury to "go to the danger line," and submit to "rank extortion," and to pay "extraordinary premiums" for government bonds before they were due, all to prevent a "threatened panic" in the nest of Wall street gamblers? Does anybody know?

"As prosperity increases, the hardships of poverty increase proportionally. "This is the paradoxical form in which the superintendent of the Chicago bureau of charities sums up the situation in Chicago. It sounds a little like saying that "as the cold increases the ice melts proportionally," or "as the heat increases the vegetation freezes proportionally," or "as a tree grows it becomes smaller proportionally." One might suppose that as prosperity increases the hardships of poverty would proportionally diminish. But the prosperity we are having is not of that kind. As the Chicago charity superintendent observes, "prosperity raises prices but does not raise wages of washerwomen and scrubwomen and day laborers." He seems to be what you might call a "calamity howler." To talk in that way is almost reckless. What if Prosperity should take offense!

"I was taught to believe in nothing worse than burning brimstone," protested the coal operator.

"Oh, they all say that," muttered the demon, as he gave the man a number and showed him the company store where he could run everlastingly into debt.

G. T. E.

ROYAL DEBT COLLECTORS.

Ostensibly, the war which the king of Great Britain and the emperor of Germany are making upon the republic of Venezuela, is for the collection of debts alleged to be due from Venezuela to certain influential persons or classes among the subjects of those potentates. Though other claims are referred to, they are indefinite and shadowy. The obtrusive claim is the debt claim; and this is the one which has secured for Great Britain and Germany the approval of the United States (through the Roosevelt administration) of their joint naval demonstration in the waters of Venezuela.

"The right of all nations to collect their debts is recognized by all governments." Such is the substance of the utterances regarding that demonstration which emanate from Washington. Upon this basis Great Britain and Germany have been encouraged by the Washington authorities to proceed; and for this reason, primarily, the war to the south of us has been precipitated.

But when and how, it may, with peculiar propriety, be asked, did this debt-collecting prerogative of nations come to be a recognized feature of international law? That it is something quite new is obvious to every American who has even so much as a superficial knowledge of the history of his own country.

As late as 1852 the State of Mississippi repudiated part of her public debt. Her statesmen had put her into the banking business during the flush times by selling State bonds for the purpose of raising capital for the Planters' bank. This institution flourished for awhile and then went to wrack and ruin; whereupon the people themselves, by popular vote at the presidential election of 1852, repudiated those bonds.

Although they were held in other States and in other countries, no attempt was made to collect them, either by other States through the courts of the United States or by other countries by means of naval demonstrations.

The reason is not far to seek. Down to that time, at least, the sovereignty of States and nations was under-

stood to include the right to repudiate their public debts, no matter who the creditors might be. It was esteemed dishonorable and impolitic, but no one disputed the legal right nor dreamed that international law recognized the propriety of collecting them by force.

That is the reason, doubtless, why Sydney Smith appealed only to the American sense of honor when Pennsylvania set the example in the early 40's which Mississippi followed in the early 50's.

Sydney Smith was not the only foreigner, nor the only Englishman, who had burned his fingers with the Pennsylvania bonds upon which the State defaulted. Large numbers of English families suffered, and if this indignant wit is to be believed, in every grammar school in Europe "ad Graecas calendas" was translated "American dividends."

But neither he nor any of his fellow sufferers appealed to their respective governments to send a fleet up the Delaware river and seize the Philadelphia tax office.

They knew it would be useless. For all governments then recognized the sovereign right of every nation to repudiate its debts if it wished to, and Pennsylvania was a sovereign nation in that respect. Whatever its moral duty in the matter may have been, its legal right to repudiate was unquestioned.

Sydney Smith's excoriation of the Pennsylvania defaulters is interesting reading at this time, when the British king is out in couples with the German emperor, collecting a Venezuelan debt with guns. If the repudiation had been a result of war, produced by the aggression of powerful enemies; or if it had resulted from civil discord; or if it had been due to improvident investments made in the early years of self-government; or if the State had been poor—then every friend, wrote Sydney Smith, would have been contented to wait for better times. But, he went on, "the fraud is committed in the profound peace of Pennsylvania, by the richest State in the Union, after the wise investment of the borrowed money in roads and canals of which

the repudiators are to-day reaping the advantage."

One, at least, of the very conditions that Sydney Smith names as an excuse for defaulting, exists in the case of Venezuela. Her default, if there has been one, is a result of civil discord. But the British government has selected the moment of Venezuela's emergence from the anarchy of civil war as the occasion for joining hands with Germany in this debt collecting war. Sydney Smith's voice comes out of his grave condemning his country for the untimeliness of her demand upon Venezuela, as well as reminding her that even so late as his day international law, as understood by Great Britain, recognized no right on the part of any nation against any other to enforce the collection of defaulted debts.

That this claim of a right by nations to collect private debts due from other nations is indeed a novelty in international law, is emphasized by the fact that the men who framed our Federal constitution made no provision for the collection of State debts.

It was so well understood that repudiation is a prerogative of sovereignty—in other words, that only the sovereign authority can decide upon the justice of sovereign acts—that each State was left free in its own sovereignty to deal with its own debts in its own way.

No other adjustment would have been tolerated. To have surrendered that right to the control of the Federal government would have amounted to a complete surrender of State sovereignty.

Consequently we have in full recognition in our Federal relations the principle of international law which royal debt collectors, seconded by President Roosevelt's administration, blandly assume to have been abrogated. No State in this Union can sue another to collect debts which the other owes her citizens. That was decided by the Supreme Court when Virginia repudiated. And of course the creditors themselves cannot sue a sovereign State—no more than they can make war upon one. Yet if there were no Union, interna-

tional law, as now interpreted by the great creditor nations, would justify one State in making war upon another to enforce the payment of debts due her citizens.

That is the doctrine under which the king of Great Britain and the emperor of Germany are now jointly waging war against the republic of Venezuela.

But when and how did this novel doctrine find a lodgment in international law? The only possible answer is that it has never found lodgment there at all.

Nor can it do so without altogether abolishing international law as heretofore understood; for it would undermine the basic principle of international law, which is the principle of national sovereignty. Abolish the principle of national sovereignty and you have no international law in the old sense of fair dealing between independent nations. You have then nothing left but the doctrine of might. And if you recognize the right, as a right, to collect private debts by force of arms, you do abolish the principle of national sovereignty.

Recognize this international debt-collecting doctrine, and the weaker nations would be divested of the sovereign right of repudiation, while the strong nations would retain it; and this first assault upon national sovereignty would be followed by other assaults, also in the thin disguise of changes in international law.

That is the meaning of the so-called recognition of the right of nations to collect private debts from other nations by taking forcible possession of their taxing machinery. It is not an alteration of international law; it is a step in the process of abolishing international law and bringing all questions in which weak peoples are concerned to the test, not of fixed rules of right, but of heavy armaments on the one side and pluck and endurance on the other. It is another step in the onward march of imperialism.

Isn't it a little dangerous to send Admiral Dewey with the South Atlantic fleet? He may hand us a South American republic some fine morning that we won't know what to do with. —The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

NEWS

The text of the ultimatums with which Germany and Great Britain inaugurated hostilities against Venezuela on the 8th (p. 567) have now been published; and as important documents in explanation of what may grow into a war of extraordinary historic magnitude, we reproduce them in full.

That of Great Britain, signed "Haggard," the name of the British minister, and addressed to the Venezuelan "Minister of Foreign Affairs," is as follows:

Replying to your excellency's note of the 4th inst., I have the honor to inform you that I have received instructions from his majesty's government to point out to the Venezuelan government in writing that, regarding the steamer *Ban Righ*, the British government has given full explanations and has shown that there exists no legitimate ground for complaint. Nor does his majesty's government think that there is any reason to attribute blame to the authorities of Trinidad, who only acted conformably with instructions.

I have the honor to further express that his majesty's government regrets the situation which has arisen, but cannot accept your note as sufficient reply to my communication, nor as indicative of the intention of the Venezuelan government to satisfy the claims which his majesty's government has brought forward, and it must be understood that they include all well-founded claims which have arisen in consequence of the last civil war and the previous ones, and the ill-treatment and imprisonment of British subjects, and also include an arrangement for the foreign debt.

I have asked the Venezuelan government to make a declaration that they recognize in principle the justice of these claims; that they will immediately make compensation in the navigation cases and cases above mentioned, and in those in which British subjects have been unjustly imprisoned or ill-treated, and that respecting other claims they will accept the decision of a mixed commission as to the amount and guaranty which should be given for payment. I have also expressed the hope that the Venezuelan government will defer to these demands and not oblige his majesty's government to take steps to obtain satisfaction.

I have added that his majesty's government has been informed of the claims of the German government against Venezuela and that the two

governments have agreed to operate jointly for the purpose of obtaining an arrangement of all their claims, and that his majesty's government will require the immediate payment of a sum equal to that which in the first case should be paid to the German government. Any balance after the payment of urgent claims shall be held on account for the liquidation of claims which might go before the commission.

I have, however, instructions from his majesty's government to state clearly that this communication must be taken as an ultimatum.

The German ultimatum bears the signature of "Von Pilgrim-Baltazzi, German charge d'affaires at Caracas. It is addressed to "his Excellency, Senor Lopez Baralt, minister of foreign affairs, Caracas," and is in these terms:

In the name of the government of his majesty the German emperor I have the honor to make the following communication to the government of Venezuela:

The imperial government has been duly informed of the note of the minister of foreign affairs of Venezuela, dated the 9th of May last. In that note the Venezuelan government refused the demands of the imperial government relative to the payment of German claims arising out of the civil wars of 1898 to 1900, and to support their refusal referred to arguments already put forward. The imperial government even after examining those arguments anew do not think they can consider them satisfactory. The government of the republic argues in the first place that, owing to the interior legislation of the country it is not possible to arrange the claims of foreigners arising from the wars by the diplomatic course, thus asserting the doctrine that diplomatic intervention is excluded by interior legislation. That doctrine is not in conformity with international law, since the question of judging whether such intervention is admissible must be appreciated not according to the dispositions of the interior legislation, but in accordance with the principles of international law.

The Venezuelan government, with the object of making a demonstration of diplomatic defense, claim that this is inadmissible and rely on the twentieth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation between the imperial government and the republic of Colombia of the 23d of July, 1892.

This argument is wanting in efficiency, firstly, because the treaty is valid only between the German empire and Colombia and because sec-

tion 3 of said article puts no obstacle in the way of diplomatic defense against German claims arising out of acts committed by the Colombian government or its organs. Likewise, the affirmations of the Venezuelan government are not correct that foreign claims consequent on Venezuelan civil wars have never been arranged by diplomatic course, for, because of like arrangements which Venezuela concluded with France in 1885 and with Spain in 1898, a formal agreement was signed on February 6, 1896, between the German minister at Caracas and the Venezuelan minister, at the order of their respective governments, for the arrangement of the German claims consequent on the civil war of 1892.

Nor can importance be given to the other objection of the Venezuelan government, that diplomatic defense of the present claims is inadmissible because an adequate road to a settlement is open by the decree of the 24th of January, 1901, since the proceedings provided for by the decree do not constitute a guaranty for a just solution of those claims.

By order of the imperial government, I have to ask the Venezuelan government to make a declaration immediately that it recognizes in principle the correctness of these demands and is willing to accept the decision of a mixed commission with the object of having them determined and assured in all their details. The imperial government hopes the government of the republic will satisfy the just demands of Germany and not oblige the imperial government itself to force their satisfaction.

At the same time the imperial government thinks it should not omit to mention that it has been informed by the British government of its claims against Venezuela. The two governments have agreed to proceed jointly to obtain satisfaction of all demands.

President Castro replied to the ultimatums on the 10th. The text of his replies is still withheld, but the substance of the one he makes to Germany was disclosed at Berlin on the 13th in the form of an official bulletin from Pilgrim-Baltazzi, the German charge d'affaires, cabled by that official on the 10th from Port of Spain on the island of Trinidad. According to this bulletin President Castro's reply, which had been placed in Pilgrim-Baltazzi's hands on the 10th, refused compliance with the demands of the ultimatum on every point. The substance of the reply to Great Britain was drawn out in the British parliament on the 15th. The foreign secretary explained that a

cable summary had been received from Mr. Haggard, the British minister, and that by this Venezuela appears to complain that no reparation was offered by Great Britain for the landing of marines and for certain misconduct of the British authorities at Trinidad, and to assure Great Britain that as her treasury is exhausted it is impossible to meet her debts for the moment but that as soon as peace is declared in the civil war it will not be necessary to remind her of her obligations.

But Castro has not confined his response to a refusal to yield to the ultimatums. On the 12th he sent to the United States through the American minister at Caracas, Mr. Bowen, a proposal to arbitrate. Mr. Bowen was instructed by the Washington government that he might act for Venezuela in the matter, it being understood, however, that in this connection he was in no wise representing the United States. His communication transmitting President Castro's proposal to arbitrate was accordingly forwarded on the 12th to the British and German governments, with the cautious but diplomatically suggestive intimation that the United States would regard a settlement by arbitration with favor. The German foreign office is reported from Berlin as informally stating in response that the offer to arbitrate had come too late, and Premier Balfour has made substantially the same objection in parliament.

No reply having been received at Washington to the arbitration suggestion, the American government was reported on the 17th to have addressed notes to the two European powers, specifically inviting one; and it is understood that the Berlin and the London foreign offices are in communication with reference to this invitation.

Further efforts to avoid war were made by President Castro, who sent a commission composed of the leading merchants of Caracas to the invading powers. This commission reached La Guayra in the afternoon of the 15th and went aboard the British cruiser Charybdis and the German cruiser Vineta. Their proposals, the nature of which is not reported, were presented to the representatives of the allied powers, but were rejected.

Meanwhile the two powers are

prosecuting their war against Venezuela. It has been officially called "pacific" notwithstanding repeated acts of war, because no declaration of war has been made by either side. This theory is an outcome of the union of the great powers in their war in China two years ago, which was carried on "peaceably," that is, without a declaration, for the protection of foreign interests. In the prosecution of these "pacific" hostilities against Venezuela the fleets of the two European powers captured and sunk four Venezuelan government vessels in the harbor of LaGuayra on the 9th (p. 567) as reported last week. It was then explained that this had been done in reprisal for the arrest of German and British citizens in Caracas, but that appears now not to have been true, the arrests having been made after and not before the seizure of the Venezuelan ships. They were made in reprisal for the seizure of the vessels. It is evident that the seizure was made simply in pursuance of the original purpose of the expedition, for this reason was assigned by the German commander in his formal demand for the surrender of the vessels, which is now published. He delivered the following document to each of the Venezuelan captains:

By order of my sovereign, and at the command of the commodore of the German squadron in West Indian waters, I, the commander of the Panther, request you to lower your ship's flag immediately and leave your ship with your crew within ten minutes. This is not a measure of war on the part of Germany, but only with the object of making a provisional seizure of your ship in order to oblige the Venezuelan government to recognize our just demands. In case you disobey and wish to defend your ship, I shall be obliged to prevent you from doing so by the discharge of arms.

Other Venezuelan vessels have since been captured. They were ordered to surrender, the demand being declared to be not an act of war but an embargo and a precautionary measure. One refused and was given ten minutes in which to comply. Her commander complied.

On the 13th the allied fleets bombarded the Venezuelan defenses at Porto Cabello, some 70 miles west of La Guayra. The bombardment was for the ostensible reason that a Venezuelan mob had lowered the British flag from the British "tramp" steamer in Cabello harbor. She had discharged a cargo of coal but was un-

able to sail because her machinery had broken down. In this predicament she was boarded by a mob of over-patriotic Venezuelans who damaged her equipment and lowered her flag. The captain consequently complained to the commander of the British warship Charybdis, who demanded reparation within two hours. The American consul being then appealed to by local merchants intervened, but the British commander refused to modify his demands, and at 4:30 on the afternoon of the 13th he delivered the following ultimatum:

To the Comptroller of Customs at Porto Cabello, Venezuela, Dec. 13.—We have the honor to call your attention to the following facts: The British steamer Topaze, while discharging coal here recently, was confiscated and pillaged. Her officers and crew were subjected to great indignities and subsequently liberated and permitted to return to their vessel. Yesterday her captain was compelled to lower his flag. The American vice consul has informed us that this was done by the populace, without the intervention of the local authorities. We request you to send immediately to the British commodore complete satisfaction on the part of the government of Venezuela for the insult offered to the flag of his country and also a guarantee that similar proceedings shall not recur, and that the German and English residents at this port shall not be molested. If we do not receive communication of your answer by 5 o'clock this afternoon we shall proceed to demolish the forts and, if the fire is returned, the custom house also. Consequently we urge on the official commanding this city to remove prisoners and troops from the fortress in order to avoid unnecessary loss of life and to take steps to avoid that unauthorized persons return the fire. Neither of the governments of Great Britain and Germany desires to meddle with private individuals, and the seizure of the Venezuelan government ships is made only to enforce ordinary courtesy and to obtain satisfaction for the innumerable offenses which remain unanswered for.

Meanwhile the local authorities had communicated with President Castro, who ordered them to apologize and offer ample amends. His response was delivered to one of the foreign consuls at 4:45, but before the consul could transmit it to the British commander the hour of grace had arrived and the bombardment began. Both the Charybdis and the German war vessel Vinetta participated. The bombardment lasted 45 minutes, being feebly replied to by the fort-

ress, and at its close the Charybdis sent marines ashore to occupy the almost demolished fortifications.

In consequence of the bombardment of Porto Cabello, President Castro has issued the following proclamation:

Another act of very grave nature on the part of the perfidious foreigner has just been effected against the city of Porto Cabello, viz: The bombardment of that port by the combined fleets of England and Germany without any previous declaration of war or the fulfillment of any of the formalities observed by law for the carrying on of an act of force. It is no longer an act against the government and the people of Venezuela, but against the general principles of civilization and against those nations who have valuable assets in that port, and who, therefore, have a perfect right to expect the fulfillment of the necessary formalities in such cases, which were utterly ignored, as no time was given for the withdrawal of women and children from the dangers of the bombardment. This is not only cowardly but it is an insult to all the nations, and I denounce it as such in the name of the principles of civilization professed by Venezuela. The august shades of our liberators are no doubt rising from their tombs, majestic and severe, to awaken in the Venezuelans in these solemn moments the love of their country, which is once more under painful trial. I call on you to answer to their summons.

Also inspired by the Cabello bombardment, the Venezuelan president delivered on the 14th the following speech to a mass meeting of 10,000 angry people, before whom some of the speakers had advised reprisals upon resident foreigners:

Citizens: The size of nations like the size of men is measured only by their acts. Those born brave prove their valor on the battlefield, not against defenseless citizens, who perhaps are innocent, who are in their hearts with us, and who are ashamed of the infamy of their compatriots. We will seek prisoners for Venezuelan jails on the battlefield. Our action will be directed only against those who come armed. However great may be our indignation, we must behave as a cultured and civilized people, especially now, and when the most powerful nations of Europe are behaving like real savages. I counsel the greatest prudence in order not to abandon our rights, the justice of our cause, and our reputation. The good name of Venezuela must remain always secure, whatever emergencies may arise in the struggle. If we fail, it will be gloriously and heroically, but I assure you that our

country will be saved because the Supreme Being above, who sees and directs all, cannot abandon us in this fatal emergency, justice and right being on our side. I, who never trembled before danger, will swear I will fulfill my duty and joyfully sacrifice my life for the honor and dignity of the nation. I recommend great circumspection, prudence, and even cordiality, so that strangers resident in our country—Americans, French, Italians, Spaniards, and even the Germans and English—may be the first to proclaim in the face of the world that Venezuela is a cultured and civilized nation.

That the Venezuelan government has intended to resist this European invasion is evident, as it also is that the people, suppressing all domestic quarrels in the face of a common enemy, are one for the defense of their country. President Castro has called 250,000 men into the field and enlistments are pouring in. More than 40,000 well equipped troops are already in the field. There are indications also that other South American states, fearing that this assault upon Venezuela is only the first move in a general policy of European conquest in South America, are preparing to support Venezuela. On the 17th, however, a large committee of leading citizens of Caracas addressed a note to President Castro on the following terms:

In view of the acts of violence already committed, and of the absolute impotence of Venezuela to meet force with force in response to the allied action of Germany and Great Britain; in view of the fact that Venezuela has exhausted all the means required by civilization and diplomacy to put an end to the present situation; and the government and the people of Venezuela having complied honorably and worthily with the demands of national honor, we consider, with all due respect, that the moment to yield to force has arrived. We therefore respectfully recommend that full powers be given to the minister of the United States of North America, authorizing him to carry out proper measures to terminate the present conflict in the manner least prejudicial to the interests of Venezuela.

This communication is the basis of a report from Caracas that Venezuela is about to yield.

The European alliance in this movement has now been increased by the accession of Italy, which also makes pecuniary demands against Venezuela. Her claims are for \$565,000 damages sustained by Italians

during the Venezuelan revolutions. On the 13th the Italian minister at Caracas forwarded to the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs an ultimatum similar to those of Great Britain and Germany. President Castro refused the demand with a statement that there were tribunals in Venezuela for the adjudication of such claims. Italian interests have been placed in charge of the American minister and on the 14th an Italian cruiser arrived at LaGuayra to enforce the ultimatum. Spain and Belgium also have filed claims. But they make no ultimatum. They simply demand the same consideration regarding their claims that Venezuela may give to those of other powers.

The possibility that this South American invasion will involve the United States has been imminent. Besides inviting Great Britain and Germany to reply to the proposal of arbitration made by Castro through Mr. Bowen, as noted above, the Washington government formally indicated their opposition to the kind of blockade the powers were proceeding to establish along the Venezuelan coast. When these powers were preparing for their expedition to Venezuela they communicated with the United States government (p. 552) advising it that they intended only to collect over due debts and to that end to establish a peaceful or "pacific" blockade. The process of establishing the blockade began on the 12th, and on the 15th both the British and the German commanders declared a blockade of LaGuayra, forbidding all vessels to enter and discharge cargoes. Pursuant thereto and on the same day, they turned back the steamer Yucatan from Curacao. The declaration was made in the form of a note to the Venezuelan government, "requesting" that Venezuelan ships refrain from sailing from the port of LaGuayra until the issues between Venezuela and the allies are settled. The Venezuelan authorities refusing to receive the note, it was sent to Minister Bowen for delivery. Startled by the seizure of the Venezuelan war ships and the bombardment at Cabello, the American government became suspicious of the "peaceable" character of this blockade. Moreover, its design of shutting out all vessels, which would include those of the United States, was not acceptable to this government. Consequently American ships

were allowed to depart from American ports for Venezuela without official warnings of the blockade, and Secretary Hay was reported to have intimated to Great Britain and Germany that the blockade could not be recognized by the United States as applying to American ships. Specifically he requested these powers to explain the character of the blockade they were maintaining. A similar request and intimation was made to Italy after she joined the Anglo-German alliance. The point involved was this: An effective blockade in time of war, one which excludes all commerce, is a recognized device of warfare; but an effective blockade in time of peace is a novelty which the United States rejects. Consequently, in the American view, war must be declared or an attempt to exclude American commerce from Venezuela would amount to an act of hostility toward the United States. But the American objection was skillfully met by the British government on the 17th when Mr. Balfour, the premier, made a long statement in the House of Commons conceding,—personally, however, and not officially for the ministry—that there is no such thing as a "pacific" blockade, and asserting that a state of war actually exists between Great Britain and Venezuela. In consequence of this statement it is reported from Washington that the United States will acquiesce in the blockade if effective and generally enforced, and maintain the attitude of a neutral so long as no permanent occupancy of territory in contravention of the Monroe doctrine takes place.

Great Britain issued a parliamentary paper on the 15th containing the correspondence relating to the Venezuelan trouble. It begins with a memorandum indicating the British causes of complaint, but in a general way. According to the correspondence, Germany suggested and Great Britain acquiesced in a conference with a view to joint action as early as July 23, 1902. On Sept. 27 Vice Admiral Douglass advised the government that it would be necessary, in order to bring effective pressure upon Venezuela, to blockade the ports of La Guayra, Porto Cabello and Maracaibo toward the end of November and to seize all Venezuelan gunboats. Lord Lansdowne, secretary of state for foreign affairs, appears on the 22d of October to have written that the proposed blockade is "open to some

objection," but to have approved the proposed seizure of the vessels. On the 11th of November Lord Lansdowne noted the agreement of alliance with Germany, and in the course of his communication, which was to the British charge d'affaires at Berlin, he wrote:

As to the joint execution of measures of coercion, the German government recognized that there was a sharp distinction in the character of the British and German claims, but that nevertheless the two claims ought to stand or fall together, and that we ought to exclude the possibility of a settlement between Venezuela and one of the two powers without equally satisfactory settlement with the other.

The last communication in this parliamentary paper is from Lord Lansdowne to Mr. Haggard, the British minister at Caracas, instructing him as to the terms of the ultimatum.

So meager has been the information which the British ministry has disclosed regarding the merits of the British claims against Venezuela, that on the 16th it was called to account in parliament. A motion to lay aside the regular business of the House of Commons for the purpose of discussing Venezuelan matters was made by an advanced Liberal, which, while not supported by the Liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman, called from him a speech expressing dissatisfaction that the information accorded by the ministry was so meager, and declaring that Great Britain seemed in this alliance to have been bound hand and foot to Germany. On that point he said: "We could do nothing with regard to our claims unless the Germans are perfectly satisfied with the settlement of their claims. Such an agreement is contrary to the country's best interests." He added, referring to Lord Lansdowne: "The noble lord has said nothing about an important communication received from the United States. There would be universal satisfaction if that communication was of such a nature as to lead to a peaceful solution of what, after all, seems to be a somewhat squalid difficulty." This brought the premier, Mr. Balfour, to the floor, with the declaration, says the Associated Press report, that—

the United States government had not suggested arbitration. It was from Venezuela, through the United States, that the suggestion for arbitration had come. On that point he would only say

it was unfortunate that Venezuela should not have thought of the advantages of arbitration during the long period covered by these controversies and until actually engaged in hostilities.

Mr. Balfour insisted, according to the same report, that—

there was no justification for the assumption that the government was prepared to go to war for the Venezuelan bondholders. The crux of the matter was a series of outrages by Venezuelans on British seamen and ship-owners, for which not only had compensation been refused, but Great Britain's remonstrances had been entirely disregarded. It was an intolerable situation, and the premier denied that the government had been unduly hasty.

He gave the assurance that in so far as the financial claims were concerned the government was prepared to agree to a tribunal to assess them equitably. In the course of this debate Lord Lansdowne referred to the Monroe doctrine, saying that the United States took "the sensible view that Great Britain's insistence that Venezuela should meet her engagements was not an infraction of the Monroe doctrine," and adding:

No country has been more anxious than Great Britain to assist the American government in maintaining that doctrine.

The motion to discuss the Venezuelan subject having accomplished its purpose of evoking such a discussion, was defeated without division.

But on the 17th further information was asked by the Liberal leader, and it was in reply to this interpellation that Mr. Balfour made the statement noted above, that there is no such thing as a "pacific" blockade, and declared that a state of war with Venezuela actually exists. The parts of his speech in which this declaration occurred were as follows, according to the Associated Press report:

"The blockade will be carried out by Great Britain and Germany along different parts of the coast, and though the two fleets will have the same objects they will not act as one force. We never had any intention of landing troops in Venezuela or of occupying territory even temporarily. We do not think it desirable on either military or other grounds. All the conditions governing such a blockade have been considered carefully and will be published in due time for the information of neutrals. The government is most anxious that these operations, the necessity for which we deeply regret, should be as little inconvenient to neutrals as they can possibly be made. No differ-

ence will be made between the vessels of the various neutral powers. I think it is quite likely that the United States will think that there cannot be such a thing as a 'pacific blockade,' and I, personally, take the same view. Evidently a blockade involves a state of war."

Asked by Mr. Healy, Irish Nationalist, if the United States assented to a blockade which would exclude United States vessels, Mr. Balfour replied: "Neutrals are not consulted when you are in a state of war with a third party." "Is war declared?" asked Mr. Healy. The premier replied: "Does the honorable member suppose that without a state of war you can take vessels and have a blockade?"

The British education bill, a measure for the establishment of a denominational system of public schools in the interest of the Church of England, which was rushed through the Commons last month under closure (p. 502) was amended by the House of Lords on the 13th. In one or two respects these amendments are regarded as infringing the prerogatives of the lower House. The amendments, moreover, make the bill still more partisan as a measure in the interest of the established church.

Germany has now enacted the protective tariff bill over which the reichstag was thrown into commotion last week (p. 568) by Socialist opposition to the bill. The measure passed the reichstag on the 14th. It provides for an increase of duties on all provisions, and is especially aimed at farm products in the interest of the agricultural landlord classes of Germany.

In the French strike at Marseilles (p. 569) many persons were injured on the 12th by a charge upon the strikers by the police. It was the first collision since the strike began and is reported to have been the outcome of an attempt on the part of a mob of strikers to destroy the tracks in front of a car loaded with coal and on its way to the dock.

The American coal strike arbitration (p. 569) is still proceeding. On the 11th one of the independent operators, L. N. Crawford, was called as a witness by the miners to show the price of coal. He refused to answer. John Mitchell again testified on the 12th, and Samuel Gompers did

so on the 16th. A boy of 10 years testified on the 13th that all the pay he got last month was 24 cents, the rest of his wages having been collected for rent. On the 15th Mr. Darrow attempted to show in behalf of the miners what the illegal relation is between the mining companies and the coal carrying railroads, and that under it the railroads control the mining companies and charge exorbitant rates; but the commission ruled the evidence out for the present, holding that if when the coal companies present their case they undertake to show that they cannot afford to pay better wages, then the miners will be allowed to prove their ability to do so. On the same day it was proved that girls of 10 and 12 work 12 hours in factories, some in the day time and some even at night in order to eke out the scant wages of their fathers, who are miners. To break the force of this testimony the operators exhibited wage sheets to show that their fathers got from \$900 to \$1,400 a year; but on the 17th Mr. Darrow discredited this showing by drawing out an admission that these sums had to be divided with as many as from two to four helpers. The miners have produced over 160 witnesses. On the 17th they rested their case, and the case for the other side was opened.

Further signs (pp. 407, 502) of financial trouble in the United States are apparent. Business on the New York stock exchange was almost stagnant the first part of last week; and this condition was followed by a sag in prices and then a recovery, the meaning of which none of the experts seem to know. James J. Hill, president of the Northern Securities Company, the greatest railroad consolidation in the world, and a well-known optimist as to business conditions, explains it with the prediction that the idea of prosperity has reached its climax and that a downward movement is near at hand. His words were, as reported in an interview on the 12th:

Things look serious. They are bad already, and, what's more to the point, they are destined to grow worse. This country has reached the top of its prosperity. If the serious downward movement has not already begun, it is not far off. There are more reasons than one for this; chief among them is the uncertain state of mind in which the New York men find themselves from day to day. . . . Look at the way prices have fallen in the last two or three days. Somebody has to suffer when these

things occur. Just at present the future is dark to men who are in debt. In my opinion it has not been so dark in years. . . . One does not need to look at Wall street for support of this opinion. Tight money is not felt there alone. The manufacturing districts are suffering already. Their suffering will increase as things grow worse. Good evidence can be found, too, among builders. Where they were receiving orders for five buildings a year ago they are lucky if they are getting one to-day. Of course, I am not saying that my opinion is held by everybody in New York. Probably a good many men who have positive ideas about things would flatly contradict everything I have said, but there are many people in New York and elsewhere who agree with me.

Efforts are being made in Chicago to secure an amendment to the State constitution which will enable the city to adjust itself to the demands of modern conditions. Originally it was believed to be necessary to hold a constitutional convention and wholly revise the organic law; but latterly the promoters of the movement have decided that a single amendment (only one article of the constitution) will accomplish the purpose. The article which it is intended to amend is article V. The proposed amendment would add a section to be known as section 34. It is in substance as follows:

The general assembly shall have power, subject to the conditions and limitations hereinafter contained, to pass any law providing a scheme or charter of local municipal government for the territory now or hereafter embraced within the limits of Chicago. The law or laws so passed may provide for consolidating in the municipal government the powers now vested in the various boards and other local governments having jurisdiction of the said territory, and may provide for the creation and government of one or two counties in Cook, and lying just outside the present or future limits of the City of Chicago; and for the assumption by the said city of the debts and liabilities of the governments or corporate authorities whose functions shall be vested in the City of Chicago; and shall authorize said city in the event of its becoming liable for the indebtedness of two or more of the existing municipal corporations to become indebted to an amount not exceeding 5 per cent of the full value of the taxable property in its limits; and may abolish all offices the functions of which shall be otherwise provided for; and the general assembly may pass all

laws deemed requisite to effectually provide a complete system of local municipal government in and for the City of Chicago.

When this amendment came before the charter convention (a non-legal organization) on the 14th, upon a report of its executive committee, Judge Dunne, a member of the convention, admonished that body that it was ignoring the fact that the people have recently demanded the referendum, and offered the following substitute:

The general assembly shall have power, anything in the constitution of this State to the contrary notwithstanding, to pass any and all laws which may be requested by the city council of the city of Chicago (and the city councils of all cities in the State whose populations exceed 10,000), or which may be requested by 10 per cent. of the legal voters of said city, said law or laws to be applicable only to said city (or cities), and to take effect only when approved by a majority of all the legal voters of said city (or cities) voting thereon, at the next municipal election held not less than 30 days after the enactment of such law or laws.

So much discussion was provoked by Judge Dunne's proposal that the whole matter was referred back to the executive committee with directions to report on the 18th.

NEWS NOTES.

—Senor Silvela has succeeded in forming a new Spanish cabinet (p. 569).

—The American Roentgen Ray society held its convention in Chicago on the 11th.

—The widow of the late President U. S. Grant died at Washington on the 14th, aged 77.

—Bishop Quigley, of Buffalo, has been nominated as Roman Catholic archbishop of Chicago to succeed the late Archbishop Feehan.

—Arguments on the demurrer in the prosecution of the beef trust (p. 106) were heard on the 16th in the United States circuit court before Judge Grosscup at Chicago.

—A pool of \$50,000,000 has been formed by the large banks of New York for the purpose of easing the strain of trust investments and sustaining the money market.

—The laying of the Pacific cable from San Francisco to Honolulu was begun on the 14th. Communication between San Francisco and the cable vessel on her way to Honolulu is now open.

—The Glenn court-martial at Manila (p. 553) was organized on the

15th, and Maj. Glenn was arraigned for trial. He is charged with having unlawfully and willfully killed seven prisoners of war.

—Injunction suits brought by the Federal government against 14 railroads to prevent discrimination in freight rates, were argued in the United States circuit court at Chicago before Judge Grosscup on the 14th.

—The lower House of Congress inserted an amendment in an appropriation bill on the 17th appropriating \$500,000 to enforce the Sherman anti-trust law and directing the attorney general to prosecute all violators of that law.

—The municipal ownership commission of Chicago has recommended, in addition to the bill for the municipal ownership and operation of street railways (p. 569) a bill for the ownership and operation of gas and electric lighting plants.

—On the 17th the supreme court of Illinois refused a rehearing in the case involving the right of street car passengers in Chicago to transfers (p. 500), thus finally confirming the power of the Chicago council to regulate fares and require transfers.

—The Denver mayor and aldermen who voted the extension of a street car franchise against an injunction and were thereupon committed for contempt of court (p. 570) have appealed to the supreme court and are still at large on a stay of proceedings.

—On the 16th the board of aldermen of New York granted the Pennsylvania railroad a franchise to construct a tunnel under the Hudson and the East rivers. The vote stood 41 to 36. The opposition was based on the refusal of the company to agree to an eight-hour day in the work of construction.

—The official vote of the State of New York for governor at the fall elections (p. 485) was as follows:

Republican	665,150
Democrat	655,898
Prohibition	20,490
Social Labor	15,836
Social Democrat	23,370
Liberal Democrat	1,984
Greater N. Y. Democrat	950
Scattering	6,636
Republican plurality	9,252

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the five months ending November 30, 1902, as given by the November treasury sheet, are as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$567,236,055	\$418,657,590	\$148,667,465 exp.
G	12,652,152	18,826,048	6,173,896 imp.
S	21,196,904	11,583,408	9,613,896 exp.
	\$601,084,011	\$449,077,046	\$152,006,965 exp.

—The supreme court of Georgia has decided against prosecutions of

Christian Scientists. A citizen of Dublin, Ga., a Christian Scientist, refused to give medicine to his sick child. The child died and the father was arrested and fined \$300. The case was appealed to the supreme court, which has just reversed the judgment of the lower court, holding that failure to give medicine to children when ill is not a violation of the laws of the State.

—The Single Tax league of Boston, C. B. Fillebrown, president, gave a dinner on the 8th to professional economists at which the subject for discussion was, "Ground rent: What is its nature, operation and office; what causes it; what maintains it, how much is there of it?" The economists who participated in this discussion were Prof. Charles J. Bullock, of Williams College; Dr. C. W. Mixter, of Harvard University; Prof. Carl O. Plehn, of the University of California; and Prof. T. N. Carver, of Harvard.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE WAR IN VENEZUELA.

Buffalo Enquirer (Ind.), Dec. 15.—It is the plain duty of this nation to call a halt, to settle the Venezuela dispute by arbitration, to carry out the principle of The Hague peace conference, and it is up to the President to do it.

Chicago Chronicle (Ind.), Dec. 14.—It is high time for a twentieth century declaration to the effect that European nations having bills to collect "peacefully" on this continent shall not begin proceedings under a flag of truce with a proceedside.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 12.—The nose of the European camel is now well within the Venezuelan tent. The camel itself will not be slow to follow. And presently, it is feared, another murdered republic will be added to the score.

Chicago Record Herald (Ind. Rep.), Dec. 14.—Killing men on account of the ill-success of a few speculative investments would be considered an outrage, though on the present showing such ill success appears to have been one of the chief causes of hostile action.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Dec. 13.—And so the program marked out by the British-German alliance means, if carried to its logical conclusion, the destruction of the Monroe doctrine. If that doctrine is to be preserved, some party to the controversy must back down.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind.), Dec. 16.—Venezuela is not to be sustained in acts contrary to the law of nations or against the law of common honor, but it has rights which even powers like Germany and Great Britain are bound to respect, unless they wish to gain a reputation of being two big bullies, pounding and kicking a small state that perhaps has been impudent to them.

Seattle Mail and Herald (Ind.), Dec. 13.—Messrs. J. Bull and W. Hohenzollern have effected a merger of their imperial collection agencies and commenced operations in Venezuela. Some delayed damage claims and reminders of delinquency on railroad bonds are being presented with artillery accompaniment. The thirteen-inch gun is enforcing service of the ultimatum.

Dubuque Telegraph Herald (Dem.), Dec. 14.—The fault is with the President of the United States that this crisis impends. He should have advised the creditor nations that their policy of collecting private bills with great navies is in violation of the

spirit of the doctrine. The Monroe doctrine implies protection for the weak as well as protection for self. We are not protecting the weak when we acquiesce in any course these great powers may pursue in attempting to force blood from a turnip.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Dec. 11.—It is difficult to see how the United States is to avoid becoming involved in the quarrel, unless it abandons the Monroe doctrine. This government will be called upon to determine what shall differentiate temporary occupation of Venezuelan territory from permanent seizure of territory. Venezuela is without money. The only thing that it has with which to satisfy an indemnity demand, which, undoubtedly, will follow, is territory. Will Great Britain and Germany be permitted to pile up immense indemnity claims against Venezuela and hold its ports until they are satisfied? If so, then the Monroe doctrine might as well be abandoned.

Cleveland Wächter und Anzeiger (Dem.), Dec. 11.—How can a country justify making war against another country, merely to help a few of its citizens (venturesome ones) to get their money? How many wars of this kind are carried on to-day? Is it right—right against those others of its own citizens who remain at home? Are not these taxed in order that the army of the country may be used in foreign lands—not for their advantage and well-being, but for the purpose of satisfying the claims of certain individuals, whose possible gains they will not in anywise share? When a capitalist falls in some venture in his own country he must bear the consequences; but if the same capitalist becomes involved in some foreign country, the army and navy is at once mobilized in his behalf. This is called "protection of over-sea interests." Whose interests? The interests of the countries concerned, or the interests of a few promoters?

THE FINANCIAL CONDITION.

Commercial and Financial Chronicle (fin.), Dec. 13.—If there ever was a time when business on Wall street could be described as paralyzed, the situation the last two weeks, and especially the first half of this week, is entitled to that distinction. The last half of the week a kind of collapse in values—an inevitable sequence—has occurred, attended with material and general declines. Of course parties with narrow margins have suffered, but there has been no general liquidation.

THE IOWA IDEA.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Dec. 12.—While the consequences of free trade would not be disastrous, the issue shall finally be between it and high protection. Unless men of the Cummins stamp, who have yet to come under the spell of plutocratic influences as exerted at Washington, shall gain ascendancy in the party of the nation, that party will ever remain the champion of the "particular interests" as against the people. The Governor probably realizes this fact, and with that devotion to his conviction which has marked his public career, has determined to give the present leaders battle and be defeated, or achieve victory.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 36 of that publication.

Washington, Dec. 1-13, 1902.

Senate.

At the commencement of the second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, on the 1st, the Senate was called to order by the

president pro tempore, Senator Frye, and, after notifying the House and the President and taking formal notice of the death of Senator James McMillan, adjourned for the day (p. 1, 2).

On the 2d the President's message was read (p. 7).

The bill for regulating immigration (House bill, No. 12,199) was considered on the 3d (p. 31), and on the 4th only routine business was transacted. There was no session on the 5th, 6th and 7th; but on the 8th consideration of the bill for the regulation of immigration was resumed (p. 101), and continued on the 9th (p. 133), after the militia bill (H. 15,345) had been briefly considered (p. 131).

On the 10th the bill (H. 12,548) for the admission of Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona to statehood, came up, under the head of unfinished business (p. 180), it having at the previous session been made the special order for this date. Its consideration began accordingly, and continued on the 11th (p. 206), on which day, by unanimous consent, the bill making appropriations for the "Anthracite Coal Arbitration Commission" (H. 15,372) was taken up (p. 208), and, after amendment, passed (p. 219). The Senate then adjourned till the 15th.

House.

The House was called to order on the 1st by Speaker Henderson, and, after notifying the President and the Senate (p. 14), adjourned till the 2d, when the President's message was read (p. 20). On this day, also, the committee on appropriations reported a bill (H. 15,372) to provide for the compensation and expenses of the "Anthracite Coal Strike Commission," which, by unanimous consent, was ordered to be considered the following day. Accordingly, on the 3d, the bill was considered (p. 34) and passed (p. 44).

The House was not in session on the 4th, and the 5th was devoted to private business, while nothing of general public interest was done on the 6th (Saturday), nor on the 8th and 9th; but on the 10th a bill (H. 15,734) to release goods from custom house bonds upon payment of the duties in force at the time of the release, instead of those in force at the time of the bonding, was passed (pp. 186, 189).

No important public business was done on the 11th, 12th and 13th.

Record Notes.—Bill to incorporate the "General Education Board" to promote education in the United States, without distinction of race, sex or creed (p. 87).

MISCELLANY

TWO WINTERS.

For The Public.

Draw the velvet curtains close,
For the night is dark and wild;
Shrieks the gale, and drifts the snow;
Let the glowing hearth be piled.
Wheel the cushioned arm-chair nigh,
Luster soft of lamp be shed;
In this time of Fancy's lore
We'll forget the tempest dread.

(Fast the fluttering flakes are shed;
Think not of the homeless head.)

From the pictured page the glance
Wanders to the wreathing flame;
Visions fond of youth and love,
Visions bright, perchance, of fame,
Rise and glow as mounts the blaze—
Blend with memory's pensive dream,
As the embers spent and red
Smoulder on the hearth a gleam.

(There are those whom hope hath left;
Think not now of youth bereft.)

Now the fragrant urn invites
Laughter light and converse gay,
Ministry of fairy hands—
'Tis an hour for delay;
'Tis the dear reunion hour,
Love's illumined, sacred shrine!

"Wint'ry paradise of home,"

Well the poet named it thine.

(Hark! the wind wails in the street:
Think not now of wandering feet.)

So—good night! to happy dreams,
With a gentle prayer be sped.
Stretch the limbs and close the eyes—
Peace shall curtain round the bed.
Moans afar the dying gale:

As the babe on mother's breast
Slumbers, so the Heavenly Care
Folds the household to its rest.

(Ah! the garrets cold and dim,
Where the frost benumbs each limb!)
FRANCES M. MILNE.

SANTA CLAUS UP AGAINST A TOY TRUST.

A toy trust is the latest to organize. All the principal kinds of children's toys will, in future, be the product of the National Novelty Corporation, with \$10,000,000 capital. This monopoly of the gifts that Santa Claus disburses in the stockings of the little ones, will doubtless add to the cost and make it more difficult for the poor folk to bring a gleam of sunshine into the home at Christmas. There is a tariff duty of from 35 to 60 per cent. on all toys, which will allow the trust to add that much to what the cost would otherwise be.

R. M.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the original MS.

Dear John: I hear people on the street cars saying your action in shell-ing an American republic is a leetle fresh. You are not in Africa now, John; and you must expect me to take a leetle more notice. Of course I know you have my President on the string. In fact, I know all about it. Billy of Germany sends Brother Henry over to see Theodore, and give him taffy. Billy himself sends him presents—a gun or something. Then he goes over to London, William does, and says to his Uncle: "Ed," says he, "I've buttered Roosevelt's head; now let's swallow him—what do you say? Now is the time to push for colonization, dominion, and the control of the mouths of those big rivers," says William. "Theodore is so tangled up in vested rights that he don't own his own soul."

"Ich dien!" says Ed, which is English for "I serve for loot." And there you are—two big hulking cowards, each afraid to go it alone against a navy that can't fire a shot, and an army that fortifies the interior mountains to protect the coast. Excuse plain speakin', John. I've done it several times for your good. I gave you notice about the Alabama claims; but

you would venture, and—you paid the bill. I gave Louie Napoleon notice, but he didn't mind—sent troops to Mexico, and while I was engaged in the war of '61, set up Maximilian as emperor. Well, what happened? Nothing right away; but when Lee surrendered I had the whalingest army that ever had nothing to do, and the only navy there was in the world. I told Louis to get out, and he got,—bag and baggage, and the ghost of his uncle; and the Mexicans executed Maximilian, poor fellow! I always pitied him; his wife is insane yet, if living—the first royal victims of the Monroe doctrine.

And, John, about this Monroe doctrine; don't build too much on Republican precedents. You may have to answer before a Democratic administration. Keep your eye on Tom Jefferson! There are more Americans settin' their watches by Jefferson to-day than by Roosevelt or even Monroe.

When the matter was up in '23, Monroe sent to Jefferson, then in retirement. Tom wrote him ("Life," III, 491.)—Tom was always a writin'—proud of his round hand you see:

"Our first maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle in cisatlantic affairs. * * * That we will oppose with all our means the forcible interposition (into those possessions) of any other power as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and, most especially, their transfer to any power by conquest, cession, or acquisition in any other way."

Think this over.

But I own up, John, you've put me in a close place. My Republican boys are in office, and while I'm as shamed of it as can be, I own up—they're not honest. Can't be trusted with money, or property in trust. Why, I voted 'em fifty million to fight Spain about Cuba, and they used it to steal the Philippine republic. Yes, so they did! I don't dare send them to help Castro. It's the same old McKinley administration, and Manifest Destiny is too strong for it in the presence of anything to grab. They'd help Castro all right, and when they had him helped, they'd steal his ranch, and he would have to join Aguinaldo. Better quit in time, John.

UNCLE SAM.

Visiting Relative—For the land's sake, Car'line, can't you afford a good hired girl?

Mrs. Highmore—Afford it, Aunt Rachel? We can afford to hire an angel! All we want is the opportunity.—Chicago Tribune.

OPEN VOTE BUYING
IN MANY STATES AT THE LAST ELEC-
TION.
EFFORT IN INDIANA TO ERADICATE
THE EVIL.

All good citizens, to whatever party they claim allegiance, must condemn the growing evil of the purchase and sale of voters at election. The practice has gradually grown to be a great evil, and public opinion does not frown it down, if the buying and selling are for the benefit of their own party and candidates. Those states and districts, where the voters are nearly equally divided between the two great parties, are the fields where the rascally work is principally carried on, and it is too bad to have to say that there are no exceptions to the general rule. The New England States, the Central States, and the West are equally guilty where the election is close and the voters are worth the price paid.

Indiana has always been what is known as a close or doubtful State, and so debauched has it been that four years ago the Republican legislature amended the law that then punished the vote-briber and the bribed as equally guilty, so that now only the voter who sells his vote can be punished and the one who pays the money goes free.

The Indianapolis Sentinel and the leaders of the Democratic party have constantly waged a fight to overcome this greatest offense that can be perpetrated against the institutions of a free country, and are now endeavoring to arouse public opinion so that a more efficient law may be passed by the coming legislature. The newspaper named, in its issue of November 17, has a number of interviews with leading Democrats and Republicans, all of whom declare against the practice.

Amongst these William L. Taylor, the State attorney general, voiced the opinion of many Republicans when he said:

I never did indorse the amendment to the election law which allows vote bribers to go scot free. At the same time I recognize the force of the argument made by those who advocated the amendment. It is easy to see that if only one party to the crime is punishable prosecutions are more likely than if both are punishable, for in the latter case both would have the same reason for maintaining secrecy.

The law as it stood before the amendment was adopted was practically a dead letter and the amendment was passed in the hope of making it effective. But even with the amendment the law is not much better than a dead letter. It is true there have been some prosecutions under it. In Montgomery county there were 30 cases brought against vote-sellers, and I believe there were some also in Spencer county. I see also that some man in Haughville has

succeeded in buying up a lot of voters that he now wants punished. These prosecutions have all been brought about by the reward clause placed in the amendment, which gives anyone who furnishes information that will convict a man of selling his vote \$100 from the county treasury. In my opinion, however, the vote-briber is as guilty as the vote-seller, and I do not know but what it would be advisable to amend the law again. But I do not know how the legislature will feel about it.

Not one of those interviewed hints that the charges are overdrawn of the extent of the evil.

In Connecticut vote buying on an extended scale would seem to be the rule, for startling charges are made and published in the Boston Transcript—good Republican authority—which on November 15th says:

William D. Bishop, Jr., of this city, the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Fourth district, has repeatedly declared since his defeat that three-fourths of the vote of the smaller towns is purchasable. Mr. Bishop is a man of high standing in the community and his words have exceptional weight. He says: "It is a fact that three-fourths of the entire vote in the small towns of Connecticut is purchasable. I gave the chairmen of the town committees to understand that while I would willingly pay all legitimate expenses that might arise in the canvass, I would not put up a single dollar with which to buy votes. Some of them received this information all right and some of them were not so well pleased. It is a peculiar fact that some years ago, when certain prominent Bridgeport men were running for office, they poured out money in many of the small and doubtful towns. In some towns, where the entire vote would not exceed 200 or 300 votes, they put in from \$2,000 to \$3,000 and votes sold as high as \$100 each. And there are in many of these towns a purchasable element that can be bought in every campaign.

The republican machine politicians that rule Connecticut, of which Senator Platt is the leader, must have had knowledge of this wholesale debauch of the voters, as they were the beneficiaries of the purchased votes, and it is well known that the Democrats, if willing, did not have the funds to bid against them.

B. W. H.

"LOBSTERS" I HAVE MET.
THE POLITICAL PILL PEDDLER OF
PONTIAC.

For The Public.

One August day in 1896, the year of the hottest political campaign in my experience, I had been talking over business prospects with the head of the firm, and was about to walk away, when he asked why I never went to Pontiac. "It isn't far out of your way, is it?" he inquired.

"No, sir," I replied; "about 60 miles, I should say."

"Well, Mr. Cruikshank, of Cruikshank & Burns, is an old friend of mine, and they have the best drug store in

Pontiac. I believe you could do some business with him."

"Very well, sir," I said, "on my next trip I'll run up there from Champaign."

I arrived in Pontiac one evening at ten o'clock, about three weeks after the interview with the "boss." It was pitch dark around the depot when the train pulled in. The hotel boy took my grip, and I followed him down the street.

"What's all the crowd around the depot for?" I inquired.

"They're up to see Billy Mason off," replied the boy.

"They can see him 'off' most any time in Chicago."

"Well, that crowd don't think he's 'off' that way," he replied, with a grin.

"That's a good thing for Billy. If the people ever get onto him he'll have to hustle for his meal tickets."

"You must be for Bryan?"

"You bet I'm for Bryan. Are there any Bryan people in this town?"

"Yes, sir, quite a good many."

Just then we came upon a crowd that had gathered near the hotel entrance. Telling the boy to go ahead with my grip, I stopped to see if there was anything doing.

There were probably 300 people gathered in front of the place, which had closed up for the night. I heard one of them say: "Why, the only people benefited will be the owners of the silver mines."

"How will they be benefited?" I asked.

The crowd about me at once opened up, and I pushed through.

"How will they be benefited?" he repeated, as he looked my way to get a glimpse of his new opponent. "Why, they'll get a dollar for every ounce of silver they bring to the mint, and it's only worth 53 cents now!"

"According to that they will make an extra 47 cents on each ounce of silver?"

"Yes, sir. I'm glad to see you're so good at figures."

"So am I," I replied; "and according to you the silver dollar will be worth 100 cents when we get free silver?"

At this a perfect pandemonium seemed to break loose, much to my opponent's discomfiture. It was as noisy a crowd as I ever saw.

Oscar went out of business and an insurance man took his place. I knew he was full of prunes before he'd said a dozen words. He must have sat up nights memorizing things that ain't so.

"I'll tell you what the value of a silver dollar will be if Bryan is elected," he said, like he was handing out

the real thing. "It will be worth just 87 cents."

"You and Oscar better get together," I replied, amid more laughter from the crowd.

"You must remember, my friend, that if we have free silver this country will be made the dumping ground for all the silver producing countries in the world."

"I suppose you'd be dead sore if a foreigner should dump a lot of silver in your yard?"

That was another question left unanswered, much to the delight of the crowd.

The insurance man being disposed of, a tall, lanky fellow, who looked as if he had been leaning over a fence all his life, now butted in. He began: "The trouble with you Democrats is you have a new issue every four years. First it was free trade, now it's free silver; the next time I suppose it'll be free love."

This made a hit for his side, and they cheered as if it was good for two bases.

"Did you ever hear of any love that wasn't free?" I asked; and the crowd broke loose worse than ever.

"No, my friend," I continued, "the next issue will not be free love, but free men. If we win you may be free yourself."

A big red-faced "guy" now took "Scissors" place. "You know very well," he said, angrily, "that if Bryan is elected we will have free trade."

"Well, what of it?"

"What of it? Don't you know if we have free trade we will buy everything abroad?"

"Well, really, I didn't know it till you told me, and I'm not sure of it now; but suppose we do, then what?"

"Then what? Great God, man, ain't you got any patriotism? If we buy \$1,000 worth of goods abroad the foreigner gets the \$1,000 and we get the goods, but if we buy here we have both the money and the goods." And he thought he'd made a killing.

"Oh, yes," I replied; "I never thought of that before. Now let's see. When you want your hair cut you go to a barber shop. The barber gets your quarter and you get your haircut. But if you are patriotic you stay at home and cut your own hair. Then you have your quarter, and your hair, and your haircut?"

I have heard noisy crowds before, but that one had them all beat to a frazzle. They yelled and danced and jeered like mad. Finally the red-faced geezer said: "Well, you just move on from in front of this doorway."

"I beg your pardon, sir," I replied; "I didn't know it was your doorway. Why didn't you order me away sooner?"

"Because I thought if you got rope enough you'd hang yourself."

"Yes?"

"Well, I'll bet you \$50 McKinley is elected."

"That don't prove anything, except you'd bet that way. The question is whether he ought to be elected."

"You're afraid to argue with him, Cruikshank," cried a voice in the crowd. Others took it up and amid jeers and cat-calls, with the big fellow fighting mad, the gathering broke up and I went into the hotel.

Several men followed and shook hands with me.

"You certainly raised hell with Cruikshank," said one.

"Which one was that?" I asked.

"The last one. He is chairman of the Republican county committee. They paid \$500 to get Billy Mason here to-night."

"You mean the man that told us to get away?"

"Yes; he owns the drug store we were in front of."

By that time I had got out my memorandum book and found the name of the firm I was to call on. As I did so a man inquired if I would be in town the next night.

"I guess not," I answered. "The first train goes north at 9:30 a. m. That's my meat." M. J. FOYER.

THE RESULT OF MAN-MADE LAWS.

A letter from R. T. Snedker to the Kansas City World, published in The World of Dec. 12.

In an otherwise well-written editorial on "Christmas for Poor Children," it is said: "Stop and consider this little girl's plea—this child of God's poor." That is a common error and a slander of the Just One. There are no God's poor children anywhere on earth.

Go with me to the forest and ask of the sweet songsters and gleeful barking squirrels: "What do you do for your poor on Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays?"

And their answer will be: "We have no poor among us. We are all fat or poor alike. No soup houses or poor houses for the workers. Only when Mother Earth fails are there any lean ones among us; and then we are all lean together! No one of our number fat and the others skin-poor."

Go to the prairie and mountain

range and ask of the wild horses and cattle, the buffalo, antelope and deer: "What do you do for your poor?"

And the answer ever is the same: "We have no poor among us. We follow the natural law. Each one enjoys what each one takes from Mother Earth. We are all rich or poor alike. Barring accident, there are no exceptions to the rule."

Go to the forests of Africa or South America and ask of the baboons, orang-outangs, chimpanzees or monkeys: "What do you do for your poor on holidays so as to keep them good the balance of the time?"

And the answer will always be: "We have no poor among us. Every day is a holiday. We take natural law as a guide for all our actions. No one can improve on God's law. Each one works for all he gets and gets all he works for, so there is nothing more for anyone to get. We do not force the ninety and nine to get up early and work hard all day gathering nuts and fruits, and at nightfall taking three-fourths of the daily earnings and giving them to one of our number so that he, without doing anything at all, could grow fat and strong, and we, weak and lean; the favored one, arrogant and despotic, we, humble and meek; the well fed without work, claiming to own the trees from which we gathered our food, while we had no right to their use, except by their consent and on their terms. No, we have no poor among us, but we all have equal rights to the use of the earth. That is the natural law."

But the "descendants of monkeys" cannot say so much. For among men, we controvert natural law, by denying men their natural right to the free and equal use of the earth. And in the distribution of the results of labor, this violation of human rights forces not ninety-and-nine to take three-fourths of their earnings and deliver them to one of their number, but in the case of 7,000,000 working families 1,800 are compelled to deliver three-fourths of their products to one of their number; and in the case of 7,000,000 more of the workers, 9,000 must take from their daily earnings and deposit them at the feet of one who does nothing at all.

In the face of such facts can we say: "God's poor?" Can any mind be so contorted as to conceive of an All Wise Intelligent Father constructing the human family on such lines as these?

If there are any poor people or poor children, it is because they are lazy and if so should not be fed; or laziness aside, if there are poor people they are man-made. "Give the devil his due," every time. God's law is right, but men in their ignorance will not take it as a guide.

Take the striking coal miners' case as an object lesson: What did the 150,000 striking anthracite coal miners want? They wanted to mine coal for the satisfaction of their wants and the wants of those dependent upon them.

Was there a scarcity of raw material? No. God in His wisdom, ages ago, placed abundance of coal in the earth to meet and satisfy the wants of men. Then why did not the miners produce coal? Because, under our man-made laws, Mr. Baer and his half-dozen associates had the power to monopolize all the anthracite coal and transportation. The miners were refused access to coal land, unless they would deliver to these monopolizers four bushels out of every five. This tribute to monopoly took from the producer of coal all he made except the poorest kind of a living.

Give these miners equal rights to the use of coal land and transportation, and there would be no poor miners or poor miners' children for some one to give Christmas presents to. The miners, like all other wealth-producers, would be able to buy presents for their own children, if we would stop robbing them by man-made laws.

But by our unjust distribution of wealth, based on our denial of man's equal right to the use of the earth, the store house from which must come everything that tends to satisfy the material wants of man, we have the children of 7,000,000 families who must have their Christmas made happy by charity.

Charity, how many crimes are committed in thy name! If we would follow natural law, if justice instead of charity, were given our fellows, the well-to-do would not be called on to donate Christmas presents to children of the poor in order to keep the parents contented with their lot, while we robbed them the ensuing year.

A Maiden, having learned a new Stitch, worked, while the weeks lengthened into months.

However, at least the Thing was done. "But what is it?" exclaimed the Maiden, in perplexity. "It is too small for an afghan and too large for a dolly."

And when, presently, she saw that the uncertainty was not unlikely to wear her young life out, she took alarm and repaired to a Soothsayer,

in the hope that he, deeply versed in the occult, might resolve her doubts.

The Soothsayer heard her Story with knitted brow. Then he drew her horoscope.

"It's a Christmas gift," said he, finally.

"Why, of course!" said the Maiden, with a great sigh of relief. "Why didn't I think of that?"

It was with a light heart that she paid the Soothsayer his Five Bucks and tripped away.—Puck.

BOOKS

WILLIAM MORRIS' DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

"There shall be more workers than the masters may set to work, so that men shall strive eagerly for leave to work; and when one says: I will sell my hours at such and such a price, then another will say: And I for so much less.

"Therefore, shall they sell themselves that they may live, as I told thee; and their hard need shall be their lord's easy livelihood.

"Nor shall any have plenty and surety of livelihood save those that shall sit by and look on while others labor; and these, I tell thee, shall be a many, so that they shall see to the making of all laws, and in their hands shall be all power, and the laborers shall think that they cannot do without these men that live by robbing them, and shall praise them and well nigh pray to them as ye pray to the saints, and the best worshiped man in the land shall be he who by forestalling and regretting hath gotten to him the most money.

"But the robbery they shall not see; for have I not told thee that they shall hold themselves to be free men. And their eyes shall be blinded to the robbing of themselves by others, because they shall hope in their souls that they may each live to rob others; and this shall be the very safeguard of all rule and law in those days."

"How mean you?" said John Ball: "shall all men be villains again?"

"Good friend," said I, "it shall not be so; all men shall be free, even as ye would have it; yet, as I say, few indeed shall have so much land as they can stand upon save by buying such a grace of their masters."

"And now," said he, "I wot not what thou sayest. I know a thrall, and he is his master's every hour, and never his own; and a villain I know, and whiles he is his own and whiles his lord's; and I know a free man, and he is his own always; but how shall he be his own if he have nought whereby to make his livelihood? Wonderful is this thou tellest of a free man with nought whereby to live!"

"This shall he do belike," said I; "he shall sell himself, that is the labor that is in him, to the master that suffers him to work, and that master shall give to him from out of the wares he maketh enough to keep alive, and to beget children and nourish them till they be old enough to be sold like himself, and the residue shall the rich man keep to himself."

"John Ball laughed aloud, and said: "Well, I perceive we are not yet out of the land of riddles."

This was indeed too much for John Ball. He could understand acknowledged slavery, or thralldom, or villeinage, but he could not understand the combination of freedom and slavery. He, of the fourteenth century, dreaming of freedom and better times for the people, could not comprehend this queer riddle of six centuries ahead of him: How a man could call himself free, imagine himself free, and still be a slave!

Such is the theme of the wonderful little classic by William Morris, "A Dream of John Ball"—a story, if it may be called so,

told with the perfect art of one of the greatest writers of modern times. The long quotation above, gathered from here and there in its pages, will be a better introduction to it, for those who have not read it, than any words of a reviewer; and those who have read it will pardon having any part of it repeated and recalled for them, for the characteristic of a classic is that it bears reading and rereading. Indeed, the first reading of a real classic is frequently disappointing. It may be so with this little classic before us; but the more one reads it, the more will he see that it is a work of rarest genius, infused with the seer's insight and the scholar's learning.

It is well that the publishers (Longmans, Green & Co.) have issued it in an edition which is both attractive and cheap. We cannot but think they would do a further service by issuing a school edition supplied with a few verbal and historical notes, sufficient to put young readers in touch with the social movement during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and to explain the archaic terms which the author has so cleverly interwoven.

J. H. DILLARD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Love Does It All; a 'Life' Story." By Ida Lemon Hildyard. "Life" Series. Boston: James H. West. Price, 50 cents.

—"Career and Conversation of John Swinton." By Robert Waters. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth ave. To be reviewed.

—"Usury; a Scriptural, Ethical and Economic View." By Calvin Elliott, (Millersburg, Ohio: The Anti-Usury League,) To be reviewed.

—"History of the French Revolution." By C. L. James. Chicago: Abe Isaack, Jr. Price in cloth \$1, in paper 50 cents. To be reviewed.

—"The Administration of Dependencies; a Study of the Evolution of the Federal Empire, with special reference to American Colonial Problems." By Alpheus H. Snow. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. To be reviewed.

—"Marked Severities in Philippine Warfare; an analysis of the Law and Facts bearing on the action and utterances of President Roosevelt and Secretary Root." By Moorfield Storey and Julian Codman, Pamphlet. Boston: Anti-Imperialist Committee, 23 Court St.

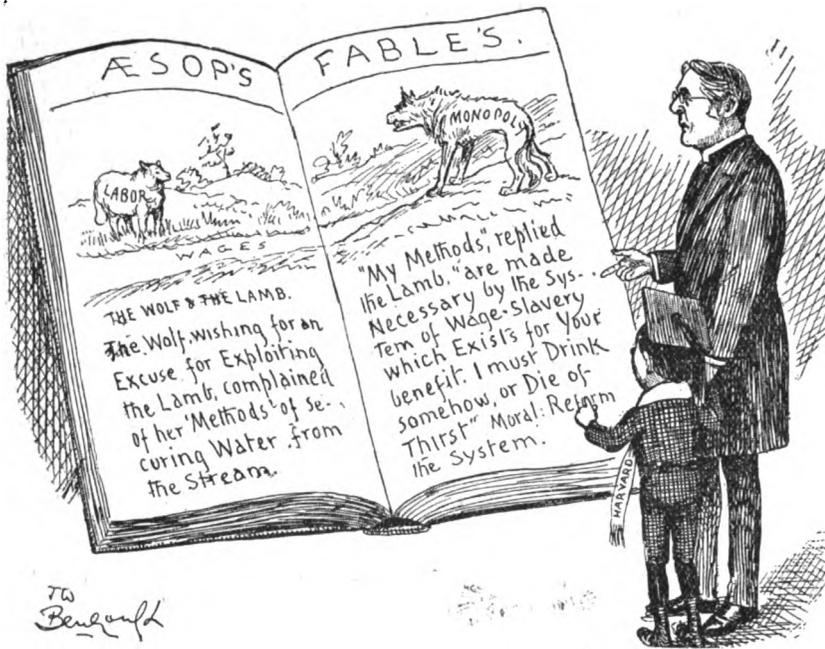
LITERARY NOTES.

The International Socialist Review for December publishes the lines for Socialist action in municipal affairs which have been suggested by a committee authorized for that purpose by the Socialist party. The kindred subject of the municipal programme of the Socialist party of Germany is treated by Ernest Untermann.

"To Thinkers, in any church or out of all churches," is the dedication of a "Swedenborg Perpetual Calendar," arranged by Julia A. Kellogg (Germantown, Pa.: Swedenborg Publishing Association. Price \$1.00). This calendar, in book form and attractively printed, furnishes a brief reading from the famous philosopher and seer, Emanuel Swedenborg, for every day of the year. The selections seem to be admirably adapted for such use, being of a character to produce calmness of spirit and elevation of thought.

The Free Trade Almanac for 1903 (Boston: American Free Trade League, 908 Pad-doch building. Price 5 cents) is an exceptionally effective document for the purposes of agitation against the protective tariff. It ought to be in every farmer's family, and it would be welcome there simply for its usefulness as an almanac. Its usefulness in other respects would soon be apparent. As it can be had in quantities for one dollar a hundred copies, no more inexpensive means of agitation could be desired by free traders who wish to propagate their doctrines.

The Fall issue of "Municipal Affairs" (New York: Committee on City Affairs of Reform Club, 50 Pine St. Price 50 cents; \$2 a year) is devoted to the housing problem. Housing conditions are described by Robert Hunter for the United States, Percy Ashley and Leticia Fisher for Eng-



THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM.

President Elliot.—One cannot help feeling benevolently toward the Lamb; but, my son, there is no doubt her methods—through trade unionism and so forth—are highly objectionable.

Harvard, Jr.—But, Papa, what about the System?

land, W. B. Guthrie for Germany, and Willard E. Hotchkiss for France; while remedies are discussed by Adna F. Weber on the subject of rapid and cheap transit, Louis F. Post on the taxing power, John Mann, Jr., on municipal homes for the very poor, John Edwards on socialism, Robert W. De Forest on municipal regulation, Ellen Collins on enlightened management, and Henry W. Wolff on cooperative housing. Biographical notes of the contributors close the number, which also contains a paper by Louis Windmuller on

the disposal of dead in cities, and a report to the Municipal Art Society of New York recommending a plan for the central grouping of the public buildings of New York.

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