

# THE ARENA.

---

VOL. XVIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1897.

No. 94.

---

## THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH, ITS CAUSE AND RESULTS.

---

BY HERMAN E. TAUBENECK.

---

### PART I.

WHOEVER has talent for observation, and taste for the study of political revolutions, cannot fail to discover that we are standing on the threshold of a great conflict,—a conflict between concentrated wealth on one side, and the organized wealth-producers on the other. The longer this issue is kept in the background the harder the struggle will be when it does come, for come it must. Great questions, like heavy trains, move slowly; but when they do move, the opposing forces meet with the clash of colliding worlds. Evolution and the progress of ideas have the same effect on laws and governments as they have on customs and habits; and the older a form of government is, the less it suits the present condition of the world. Laws which are considered right and just in one age are often repealed as wrong and unjust in another.

Nations count their strength and prosperity by the values produced by those who dig in the mines, till the soil, and toil in the workshops. These are the creators of wealth, and no government can exist long which neglects and oppresses these three classes. "Wealth," says the politician, "must be dug out of the earth." This is true; but it is likewise true that it is the first and highest duty of every government to protect those who are doing the digging.

#### THE GREAT PROBLEM.

The great problem which confronts the American people

to-day is how they can prevent the rapid concentration of wealth into the hands of a small percentage of their population. The immediate and direct cause of all the distress and discontent in our land is due to *the unjust and unequal distribution of wealth*. Society is divided into two great classes, the one immensely rich, and the other correspondingly poor. History teaches that the greatest calamity that can befall any nation is the concentration of its wealth. There has been no nation that flourished and fell but what the concentration of wealth always preceded the fall. History does not record one exception. The *Progress*, of Boston, in 1889 published the following :

The eloquent Patrick Henry said : " We can only judge the future by the past." Look at the past ! When Egypt went down, two per cent of her population owned 97 per cent of her wealth. The people were starved to death. When Persia went down one per cent of her population owned the land. When Babylon went down two per cent of her population owned all the wealth. The people were starved to death. When Rome went down, 1,800 men owned all the known world.

What was France before the revolution of 1789? Nothing but an aristocracy of wealth and birth on one side, and millions of half-clad, half-fed, impoverished toilers on the other. And what was the outcome? The bloodiest revolution known to history. They reaped exactly what they sowed.

#### IN THE UNITED STATES.

It requires but little observation to discover that we, as a nation, are drifting into the same channel, and that unless something is done we also shall reach the same destination, — with only this difference : in our age of steam and electricity we are travelling ten times faster and shall reach our destination ten times more rapidly than the nations that preceded us. It is only a question of time until the same cause which produced the French Revolution, the downfall of Rome, and the destruction of every nation of antiquity, will, unless trammelled up, also destroy this nation. We shall reap what we have sown, as they did.

#### GREAT INCREASE OF WEALTH.

It is true that we are the wealthiest nation on earth ; and

there never was a period in the history of mankind in which the ability of the race to create wealth was as great as at the present. To-day one man, with the aid of improved machinery, can create as much wealth in three hours as he could have created, fifty years ago, in thirteen hours. At the present time a farmer can do as much work in five hours as he could have done forty years ago in eleven hours.

The Census Report tells us that every month in the year we, as a nation, create \$150,000,000 more wealth than we consume. Every time the sun sets the people of the United States produce over \$5,000,000 more wealth than they use in the same time.

The *New York World* of December 19, 1889, and the *Chicago Tribune* of December 20, 1889, published a table compiled from authentic sources, giving the assessed and actual value of the wealth of the United States for the different decades beginning with 1850. Following is an extract:

YEARS.	ASSESSED VALUE.	ACTUAL VALUE.
1870.	\$11,342,780,366	\$30,068,518,507
1880.	16,902,993,543	43,642,000,000
1890.	23,719,000,000	61,459,000,000

The per-capita wealth in 1870 was \$780; in 1880, \$870; and in 1890, nearly \$1,000.

Ex-Senator Ingalls, in a speech delivered in the Senate, January 14, 1891, said:

Notwithstanding all the losses by fire and flood during that period of twenty years, the wealth of the country increased at the rate of \$250,000 for every hour. Every time the clock ticked above the portal of that chamber, the aggregated, accumulated, permanent wealth of this country increased more than \$70. Sir, it rivals, it exceeds the fiction of the Arabian Nights. There is nothing in the story of the Lamp of Aladdin that surpasses it. It is without parallel or precedent; the national ledger now shows a balance to our credit, after all that has been wasted and squandered, expended, lost, and thrown away, of between sixty and seventy thousand million dollars.

#### WHO OWNS THE WEALTH?

So far as our ability to create wealth is concerned, no one need complain. There is plenty for all; but this is not the question at issue. The question to-day is, who owns this

enormous increase of wealth which we, as a nation, have accumulated within the last thirty years? Does it belong to the farmer? NO. Because the price of his products for years has been steadily below the cost of production, and we have more tenant farmers and mortgaged farms in the United States to-day than at any other period in the history of the country. Do the laborers, the men who dig in the mines and toil in the workshops, own this wealth? NO. Because their wages, in spite of a protective tariff, have been coming down every year, until to-day strikes, lock-outs, and boycotts have become part of the regular order. It is a sad fact that those who have created and dug this wealth out of the earth own but a trifle of it.

The question then is, if the farmer, miner, and artisan do not own this wealth, who does own it? In answer to this question we will call three eminent witnesses to the stand, whose opinions are regarded as high authority, and who have made a careful investigation of this subject. One is George K. Holmes, in a review of the eleventh census, published in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1893. The second is an article by Thomas G. Shearman published in the September and November *Forum* for 1889; the other witness is Charles B. Spahr, who has made a careful investigation of "the present distribution of wealth in the United States," compiled from the records of the Surrogate Courts in the State of New York.

#### MR. HOLMES'S ESTIMATE.

Mr. Holmes estimates the total wealth of the United States at sixty billions of dollars, and the total number of families at 12,690,152; which, if the wealth were equally divided, would give each family \$4,728. The result of Mr. Holmes's computation is as follows:

#### WEALTH DISTRIBUTION BY CLASSES.

1,440,000 farm-hiring families worth \$150 above debts of indefinite amount .....	\$216,000,000
752,760 families owning incumbered farms worth less than \$5,000, deducting incumbrance and other debts of indefinite amount, and allowing \$500 for additional wealth .....	1,359,741,600

1,756,440 families owning free farms worth less than \$5,000, allowing \$1,000 for additional wealth above debts of indefinite amount .....	5,309,569,600
5,159,796 home-hiring families worth \$500 above debts of indefinite amount .....	2,579,898,000
720,618 families owning incumbered homes worth less than \$5,000, deducting incumbrance and other debts of indefinite amount, allowing \$500 for additional wealth .....	1,142,531,550
1,764,273 families owning free homes worth less than \$5,000, allowing \$2,000 for additional wealth above debts of indefinite amount .....	6,749,076,593
11,593,887 families worth .....	\$17,356,837,343

Thus, 11,593,887 families own \$17,356,837,343 of our nation's wealth; while the other 1,096,265 families own \$42,643,162,657.

Appalling as these figures are, yet no one can feel their full weight until analyzed. Here we have 11,593,887 families, each possessing, on an average, property to the value of \$1,496, and 1,096,265 families, each possessing property to the value of \$38,898. If we allow five persons to each of these two classes of families and divide their wealth among them equally, we receive \$299 as the average per-capita wealth for 57,969,435 of our population; while the other 5,481,325 of our population will have an average per-capita wealth amounting to \$7,780.

Mr. Holmes in his summary uses this language :

Ninety-one per cent of the 12,690,152 families of the country own no more than about twenty-nine per cent of the wealth, and nine per cent of the families own about seventy-one per cent of the wealth. . . . Among the 1,096,265 families in which seventy-one per cent of the wealth of the country is concentrated, there is still further concentration which may be indicated by taking account of the wealth of the very rich. The New York *Tribune's* list of 4,047 millionaires affords the best basis for this. . . . Without going into details, the conclusion adopted in this article is, that the 4,047 millionaires are worth not less than ten or more than fifteen billions, say twelve billions, or about one-fifth of the nation's wealth. This gives an average of about \$3,000,000.

We are now prepared to characterize the concentration of the wealth of the United States by stating that twenty per cent of it is owned by three-hundredths of one per cent of the families; fifty-one per cent, by nine per cent of the families (not including millionaires); seventy-one per cent, by nine per cent of the families (including millionaires); and twenty-nine per cent, by ninety-one per cent of the families. . . .

Only nine per cent of the wealth is owned by tenant families; and the

poorer class of those that own their farms or homes under incumbrance and those together constitute sixty-four per cent of all the families. As little as five per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by fifty-two per cent of the families; that is, by the tenants alone. Finally, 4,047 families possess about seven-tenths as much as do 11,593,887 families. . . . It will not do to let the few become exclusively the employers and the creditors. They are not qualified to exercise such a trust; and even if they were, the time must nevertheless come when the masses of the people will find their interest less in raising the standard of living than in promoting their independence by accumulating wealth. Beyond some varying point cost of living becomes inexcusable extravagance.

#### MR. SPAHR'S ESTIMATE.

Mr. Charles B. Spahr recently published the result of his investigation on the "Distribution of wealth in the United States." Although he arrived at the same conclusions that Mr. Holmes and Mr. Shearman did, yet he pursued an entirely different line of investigation.

In 1892, the New York legislature passed an act requiring the Surrogate Court to keep a public record of all estates, whether real or personal, brought under their jurisdiction, with the estimated value of each. Mr. Spahr, with the assistance of the clerk of the Surrogate Court, collected the facts from the court records, as the basis for his estimates. In his summary, he gives the distribution of wealth for the whole country, as based upon the returns of the Surrogate Court of the State of New York, as follows:

In other words, there are about seven million property-owning families, and only five and a half millions who could justly be spoken of as propertyless. If, then, we assume that the latter, as a rule, have household property worth \$150, the final table stands as follows:

#### THE UNITED STATES, 1890.

ESTATES.	NUMBER.	AGGREGATE WEALTH.	AVERAGE WEALTH.
The wealthy classes, } \$50,000 and over,	125,000	\$33,000,000,000	\$264,000
The well-to-do classes, } \$50,000 to \$5,000,	1,375,000	23,000,000,000	16,000
The middle classes, } \$5,000 to \$500,	5,500,000	8,200,000,000	1,500
The poorer classes, un- } der \$500,	5,500,000	800,000,000	150
	<u>12,500,000</u>	<u>\$65,000,000,000</u>	<u>\$5.200</u>

If we add to the families of the "wealthy classes" the families of the "well-to-do classes," we have 1,500,000 families

owning \$56,000,000,000 of the nation's wealth, or an average of \$37,333 per family; while the other 11,000,000 families own \$9,000,000,000 of the nation's wealth, or an average of \$820 per family. Twelve per cent of the families own eighty-six per cent of the wealth, and the other eighty-eight per cent of the families own only fourteen per cent of the wealth.

Again, the estates of the "wealthy classes," those who own \$50,000 worth of property and over, constitute but one per cent of the families, and they own fifty-one per cent of the wealth; while other ninety-nine per cent of the families own but forty-nine per cent of the wealth. One family of the "wealthy classes" owns more property than ninety-nine families of the other classes.

Mr. Spahr in conclusion says:

The conclusion reached, therefore, is as follows:—Less than half the families in America are propertyless; nevertheless, seven-eighths of the families hold but one-eighth of the national wealth, while one per cent of the families hold more than the remaining ninety-nine.

On the same subject Mr. Spahr quotes from the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Report, as follows:

Part II of the report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894 publishes the inventoried probates for the entire state of Massachusetts during the three years 1889, 1890, and 1891. Although the estates for which no inventories are filed are, as a rule, the largest, the following concentration of property is exhibited:

INVENTORIED ESTATES IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1889, 1890, AND 1891.

	NUMBER.	VALUE.
Under \$5,000.....	10,152	\$16,889,479
\$5,000 to \$50,000 .....	3,947	53,489,893
\$50,000 and over .....	509	85,179,416
	14,608	\$155,558,788

In other words, the estates of \$50,000 and over aggregated fifty-five per cent of the total amount of property; while estates less than \$5,000 aggregated but eleven per cent of the total.

MR. SHEARMAN'S ESTIMATE.

Mr. Shearman, in the *Forum* for September, 1889, after making liberal deductions, arrived at the following conclusions:

At this reduced rate the amount of wealth in the hands of persons worth over \$500,000 each in the United States, would be as follows :

200 persons at \$20,000,000 each .....	\$1,000,000,000
400 " " 10,000,000 " .....	4,000,000,000
1,000 " " 5,000,000 " .....	5,000,000,000
2,000 " " 2,500,000 " .....	5,000,000,000
6,000 " " 1,000,000 " .....	6,000,000,000
15,000 " " 500,000 " .....	7,500,000,000
<hr/> 24,600	<hr/> \$31,500,000,000

This estimate is very far below the actual truth. Yet even upon this basis we are confronted with the startling result that 25,000 persons now possess more than half of the national wealth, real and personal, according to the very highest estimate (\$60,000,000,000) which anyone has yet ventured to make of the aggregate amount.

In speaking of the wealth of seventy of our wealthiest millionaires Mr. Shearman says :

Making the largest allowance for exaggerated reports, there can be no doubt that these seventy names represent an aggregate wealth of \$2,700,000,000, or an average of \$38,500,000 each. No information has been sought concerning those worth less than \$20,000,000, but the writer accidentally learned of fifty other persons worth over \$10,000,000, of whom thirty are valued in all at \$450,000,000, making together one hundred persons worth over \$3,000,000,000; yet this list includes very few names from New England, and none from the South. Evidently it would be easy for any well-informed person to make up a list of one hundred persons averaging \$25,000,000 each, in addition to ten averaging \$100,000,000 each. No such list of concentrated wealth could be given in any other country. The richest dukes in England fall below the average wealth of a dozen American citizens; while the greatest bankers, merchants, and railway magnates of England cannot compare in wealth with many Americans.

*Incomes and income tax.* In speaking of the average income for the different classes by families, Mr. Shearman says :

As each worker has employed on an average three persons, including himself, the people may be divided into 15,000,000 families, or rather groups of three. (The actual number of real families was much less. It was under 10,000,000 in 1880, averaging five persons each.) On the basis of the careful estimate of Mr. Atkinson, 14,000,000 of these families must have been supported upon incomes of less than \$400 (in my judgment less than \$350), 700,000 on less than \$1,000, and the other 300,000 on larger incomes.

According to this estimate, which no one has yet had the courage to challenge, 93.3 per cent of the families in the United States live upon incomes less than \$400, and ninety-



eight per cent on an income less than \$1,000; consequently an income tax exempting all incomes of a thousand dollars and below will practically exempt ninety-eight per cent of the families in the United States.

In the November number of the *Forum* for the same year, Mr. Shearman compares the incomes of American millionaires with those of Great Britain, as follows:

The facts already stated conclusively demonstrate that the wealthiest class in the United States is vastly richer than the wealthiest class in Great Britain. The average annual income of the richest hundred Englishmen is about \$450,000, but the average annual income of the richest hundred Americans cannot be less than \$1,200,000, and probably exceeds \$1,500,000. . . . The earnings of four-fifths of American families do not average as much as \$500 per annum.

#### ANOTHER STATEMENT.

In the same number Mr. Shearman also gives a table estimating the "distribution of wealth" by families, "on the basis of the Boston tax returns." He divides the families into three classes, rich, middle, and working, as follows:

#### DISTRIBUTION IN CLASSES.

Class.	Families.	Wealth in millions.	Average per family.
Rich,	182,090	\$43,367	\$238,135
Middle,	1,200,000	7,500	6,250
Working,	11,620,000	11,215	968
	<u>13,002,090</u>	<u>\$62,082</u>	<u>\$4,775</u>

On this basis, 40,000 persons own one-half of the wealth of the United States; while one-seventieth part of the people own over two-thirds of the wealth. . . . It may safely be assumed that 200,000 persons control seventy per cent of the nation's wealth, while 250,000 persons control from seventy-five to eighty per cent of the whole. . . . The United States of America are practically owned by less than 250,000 persons, constituting less than one in sixty of its male population.

On another page Mr. Shearman estimates that the distribution of wealth in the United States, on the basis of the British income returns, is as follows:

Class.	Families.	Wealth in millions.	Average per family.
Rich,	235,310	\$43,900	\$186,567
Middle,	1,200,000	7,500	6,250
Working,	11,565,000	11,175	968
	<u>13,000,310</u>	<u>\$62,575</u>	<u>\$4,813</u>

On this basis 50,000 families would appear to own one-half of the national wealth. . . . The number of the very largest millionaires [in

the United States] has been kept down to very nearly the limit of the writer's personal information; while, in his judgment, there must be at least as many more of whom he has not heard. If this surmise is correct it would add, at once, \$2,500,000,000 to the share of wealth belonging to the millionaire class, and would confirm the writer's rough estimate in the *Forum* for September, that 25,000 persons own just about one-half of all the wealth of the United States.

It requires a second thought for the mind to grasp the magnitude of these figures. If the wealth of the United States averages \$1,000 per capita, then for each person who owns one million dollars, there must be 1,000 persons without property; for each person who owns ten millions, there are 10,000 persons without property; and for each person who owns one hundred millions, there must be 100,000 persons without property. For the 25,000 persons who possess \$31,500,000,000 of the nation's wealth, there must be 31,500,000 persons in the United States without property.

These last figures are corroborated by Mr. Holmes's statement, where he says: "As little as five per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by fifty-two per cent of the families."

#### THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH SYSTEMS COMPARED.

If we estimate the total wealth of the nation at sixty billions of dollars, and remember that it has taken the American people two hundred and seventy years to accumulate it, and that within the last thirty-five years 25,000 persons out of a population of 70,000,000 people have absorbed one-half this wealth, how long will it be, if this process of concentration continues, until our country will be in the same condition as Egypt, Rome, and other nations were when they fell? It is doubtful if chattel slavery, from the day the first negro landed upon American soil up to the time the negroes were set free, produced a single millionaire. Yet the dollar, in the form of organized capital, within thirty years has produced at least 20,000 millionaires. This is the difference between the two systems of slavery, of which the "Hazzard Circular" speaks. One is the Spanish system, which controls labor by owning the body; while the other is the English system, which controls labor by controlling the volume of money. In outward appearance the master has become more refined; but in practice he is as unrelenting and heartless as under the Spanish

system. Nothing in society is more degrading and despotic than the tyranny of concentrated wealth.

CAMERON AND INGALLS.

Senator Don Cameron, of Pennsylvania, in a letter dated June 11, 1894, addressed to the Republican League clubs in session at Denver, Colorado, said :

The single gold standard seems to me to be working ruin with violence that nothing can withstand. If its influence is to continue for the future at the rate of its action during the twenty years since the gold standard took possession of the world, some generation, not very remote, will see in the broad continent of America only a half-dozen overgrown cities keeping guard over a mass of capital and lending it out to a population of dependent laborers on the mortgage of their growing crops and unfinished handiwork.

In commenting upon Mr. Shearman's figures, Senator Ingalls, in a speech delivered in the Senate January 14, 1891, said :

Mr. President, it is the most appalling statement that ever fell from the lips of man. It is, so far as the results of democracy, as a social and political experiment, are concerned, the most terrible commentary that ever was recorded in the books of time; and Nero fiddles while Rome burns. It is thrown off with a laugh and a sneer as the "froth on the beer" of our political and social system. . . .

Our population is sixty-two and a half millions, and by some means, some device, some machination, some scheme, some incantation, honest or otherwise, some process that cannot be defined, less than a two-thousandth part of our population have obtained possession, and have kept out of the penitentiary in spite of the means they have adopted to acquire it, of more than one-half of the entire accumulated wealth of the country. . . .

Our society is becoming rapidly stratified—almost hopelessly stratified—into the condition of superfluously rich and hopelessly poor. We are accustomed to speak of this as the land of the free and the home of the brave. It will soon be the home of the rich and the land of the slave. . . .

A financial system under which more than one-half of the enormous wealth of the country, derived from the bounty of nature and the labor of all, is owned by a little more than thirty thousand people, while one million American citizens, able and willing to toil, are homeless tramps, starving for bread, requires adjustment. A social system which offers to tender, virtuous, and dependent women the alternative between prostitution and suicide, as an escape from beggary, is organized crime, for which some day unrelenting justice will demand atonement and expiation.

Why do not the political leaders of this country, who have charge of the government, raise their voices against this

evil, and provide a remedy by which the wealth can be more evenly distributed? They know the evils which follow the concentration of wealth. Why do they not protect the people of this country from the fate that has befallen the older nations of the world. Simply because the conventions which nominated them were controlled by the twenty-five thousand millionaires who own the wealth; consequently a politician has more to fear from one man of wealth than from a hundred or a thousand men who create it; and because the people in the past have thought more of their party than of their property. The politician will never act otherwise until the people rise and demand their rights in legislative halls.

#### THE CAUSE.

The next question is, Why is it that within the last thirty years more wealth has been concentrated in the hands of a few people than during the 246 years which preceded them? Why is it that those immense fortunes have been accumulated in such a short time? There must be a cause for it, otherwise these conditions could not exist. Is it because the millionaires have worked harder than other classes? No. Is it because they have saved their earnings better? No. *It is because Congress has so shaped our laws that the wealth has been legislated out of the pockets of the masses and into the pockets of the classes.* These millionaires are the result of a system of class laws, which caused the wealth to flow in one direction. Every time these laws legislated one dollar into one man's pocket, they also legislated one dollar out of somebody's pocket. I do not mean that Congress can create wealth, but I do say that our lawmakers can grant special privileges to one class at the expense of all others, and this is what Congress has been doing within the last thirty-five years. All that is necessary to prove this is to study the financial history of the United States since 1860.

#### THE EXCEPTION CLAUSE.

In 1862 Congress passed an act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue legal-tender Treasury notes, known as greenbacks. That act also provided for two exception clauses on the back of each note, which said, "This note is receivable

for all debts, public and private, except interest on the public debt and duties on imports." Every debt could be paid with these notes except those two; by law they were payable in coin. This act created such an unnatural demand for coin that a gold dollar or a silver dollar at one time was worth \$2.85 in greenbacks.

Thus every dollar the banker and money-broker made in exchanging coin for greenbacks, was money legislated into their pockets and out of the pockets of the people. This demand for coin was created by law. These two exception clauses were placed on the back of these notes for the special benefit of that class who owned the coin. Congress so shaped the law that the money-brokers could reap a rich harvest at the expense of the people.

*(To be concluded in THE ARENA for October.)*

# THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

## A REPLY.

BY DAVID OVERMYER.

THE *Forum* for February, 1897, contains an article by Senator David B. Hill of New York, under the title of "The Future of the Democratic Organization." As organization is only a means to an end, it would seem that the *end* sought by the great mass of the Democratic people must necessarily determine the future of the organization.

To ascertain the course likely to be taken by the Democratic party, it will be necessary to consider the conditions, economic and social, which exist in this country, how such conditions are regarded, and how they will be treated by the people. And yet, if we except a slight reference to sumptuary laws, Senator Hill utterly ignores the existence of any condition in this country requiring the attention of wise statesmanship or even sagacious political leadership.

Within the lifetime of the Senator himself such vast changes have taken place in this country as never before occurred in the world in any period of ten times the same duration. He has seen the population increase from 20,000,000 to 70,000,000 of souls. The aggregate wealth of the nation has grown to \$70,000,000,000, three-fourths of which is owned by less than two hundred thousand persons. All business, trade, commerce — in short, all enterprise — has been incorporated.

He has seen the independent, self-respecting mechanic pass away; in his place is the operative of machinery of marvellous power, propelled by steam and electricity, and owned and operated by capital without other human agency than that of *hired* men. He has seen the machine take the place of the *man*, and money take the place of *manhood*. He has seen the production of every staple monopolized, and the profits arising from the united endeavor of all, concentrated year by year in fewer and fewer hands, while transportation, pooled

and combined, plunders the public, baffles the law, and mocks at justice, and department stores devour competition. Mining, manufacturing, indeed all staple production save that of the fields, being absolutely controlled by trusts, a handful of men are enabled to limit the output and thus to control the supply and dictate the price to the consumer. It being impossible for farmers to combine, by reason of their numbers and wide dispersion, the amount of their production is not susceptible of arbitrary limitation. The land pirates have therefore seized the great marts to which the farmers' produce must go, and thus monopolizing the avenues through which his produce must reach the consumer, cornering opportunity, fencing in the fountain, and bestriding the stream, they dismiss the bewildered farmer with a pittance and with the bland assurance that all things go by the great law of supply and demand, and proceed to reap such profits as the wants of a world will afford.

Then there is the gold standard, the monopoly of money; also the fact that the land is now owned largely by landlords, and tilled by tenants, while the national taxes are laid upon labor and consumption.

Aside from the fact that our vast acreage and relatively sparse population afford an opportunity to live, out of proportion to the relation between numbers and property values, our condition is worse as a people than that of the French at the outbreak of the revolution.

The absolute silence of Senator Hill concerning these most grave and menacing conditions, forces me to exclaim: "Art thou a leader in Israel and knowest not these things?" Does the distinguished Senator really suppose that a party of the people can shut its eyes to these things?

This article is in the main a repetition of the Senator's argument against the platform in the Democratic National Convention of 1896. All that he says respecting the honorable and patriotic action of the Democratic party, and its heroic sacrifices and services during the Civil War, its intrepid and glorious defence of constitutional rights and of the writ of habeas corpus; all that he says against protection and in favor of civil, religious, and personal liberty and

against sumptuary legislation, will receive the hearty concurrence of every Democrat. But the Senator utterly ignores the fact that there is in this country an *economic despotism* which is crushing the independence, the manhood, the very life out of the people, with which vexatious and annoying sumptuary laws and the abominable but oblique tyranny of pseudo-religionists is no more to be compared than officious and offensive intermeddling is to be compared with highway robbery.

The fundamental infirmity of Senator Hill's article is that it ignores the burning issue of the day, that is, *industrial, commercial, economic emancipation*. He assumes to direct the future course of the Democratic organization, without forecasting its attitude respecting the most gigantic and dangerous evils that ever afflicted a free people.

Shall we rail at those who would prescribe our diet and our apparel, and shall we say nothing of those who impoverish, degrade, and disinherit us? Shall we heap curses upon the ignorant and narrow bigots who strive to coerce us to their conception of morals, while we are dumb as death respecting the talented rogues, the educated and efficient devils, who are preparing for posterity the bitter and hopeless bondage of debt and the pangs of want, poverty, and sorrow? Senator Hill grounds his contention upon the principles of Jefferson, and seeks to contrast these with what he is pleased to term Populism. He says:

The Democratic creed was enunciated in Jefferson's first inaugural address, wherein he laid down certain fundamental principles of government,—sixteen in all,—the maintenance of which he deemed essential for the well-being of the country.

That address is worthy of careful study by every student of American political history, and it may safely be asserted that the administrative policies therein proclaimed are as necessary to-day to our national prosperity and happiness as when they were first promulgated.

Strangely enough Senator Hill does not set forth a single one of these sixteen Jeffersonian principles. Possibly he realized that not one of them could he invoke to support his assault upon the Chicago Democratic Convention and platform of 1896. For, however much either may be open to criticism from the Hamiltonian standpoint, or from the stand-



point of mere campaign expediency (which latter I deny), the fact remains that the convention did no act, and the platform contains no word, which is not strictly in accordance with the principles of Jefferson referred to. History may indeed be challenged to produce the record of any convention or assemblage of men so completely Jeffersonian in sentiment and in action as was the Democratic Convention of 1896. If, as Senator Hill contends, its platform is such that it cannot be maintained in the great forum of American public opinion, it is not because the platform is anti-Jeffersonian, but because American sentiment and opinion are anti-Jeffersonian. The sixteen principles announced by Jefferson in his first inaugural are as follows :

1st. Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political.

2nd. Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none.

3rd. The support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

4th. The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad.

5th. A jealous care of the rights of election by the people. A mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided.

6th. Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism.

7th. A well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war till regulars may relieve them.

8th. The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

9th. Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened,

10th. The honest payment of our public debts and sacred preservation of the public faith.

11th. Encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, as its handmaid.

12th. Diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason.

13th. Freedom of religion.

14th. Freedom of the press.

15th. Freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus.

16th. Trial by juries impartially selected.

Senator Hill says :

To exchange Jefferson's sixteen Democratic principles for one Populistic principle was not regarded as the part of prudence. To risk everything upon a single issue—and that one of questionable propriety—seemed to be unnecessarily imperilling the fortunes of a great political party.

In his eager determination to see nothing good in the Chicago platform, Senator Hill forgets to be consistent with himself, for he scarcely concludes his caustic criticism upon the impolicy of making "the silver question practically the sole or paramount issue," and of venturing "all the eggs in one basket," until he stumbles upon six other "unwise provisions, which, more than the silver question, tended to insure defeat." These, according to Senator Hill, were :

1st. The income tax.

2nd. The attack upon the Supreme Court.

3rd. Legal-tender paper money.

4th. Repudiation and an assault upon our national credit.

5th. Federal authority in the States.

6th. Life tenure in the public service.

It would appear that a convention which expressed its opinion upon all of these points, to say nothing of the silver issue, should be exempt from the reproach of having "ventured all of its eggs in one basket."

Again, Senator Hill says :

When the real question involved was whether silver should be coined at all (other than for subsidiary purposes), it was the height of folly to declare for such coinage at a precise ratio.

And yet the Senator himself offered, in the convention, the following as an amendment to the platform :

Our advocacy of the independent free coinage of silver being based on belief that such coinage will effect and maintain a parity between gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, we declare a pledge of our sincerity that, if such free coinage shall fail to effect such parity within one year from its enactment by law, such coinage shall thereupon be suspended.

If, as he says in his *Forum* article, it was the "height of folly to declare for such coinage at a precise ratio," why did he ask the convention to do so? And why did he affirm that his "advocacy of independent free coinage of silver" at a fixed ratio was based on the belief that such coinage would "effect" and "maintain" a parity, etc., at the ratio of 16 to 1? These glaring inconsistencies are cited not for the purpose of discrediting the Senator's powers of discrimination, but to evidence his insensate animosity against the convention and all of its works, and his implacable purpose to destroy the influence of those now in control of the Democratic party.

It would seem that a public utterance by one occupying such a high station and upon a subject so abstract and philosophical as "the future of the Democratic organization" might have been made free from the aspersions and resentments incident to disappointed ambition, and yet the Senator takes a gloomy view of the future of his party because, as he says, speaking of the convention, "fair-minded Democrats who had learned to respect the time-honored usages of the party, were astonished at the revolutionary proceedings of that body in arbitrarily and unnecessarily rejecting, contrary to every Democratic precedent, the selection of the National Committee for temporary chairman." The temporary chairman thus selected was Senator David B. Hill himself. Here, then, is the explanation of the passionate prejudice and the infinite unfairness of this production, the title of which justified the expectation that it would be impartial, discriminating, and doctrinal.

No one ever questioned the right of the convention to adopt or reject the report of the National Committee. Mr. McDermot of New Jersey, the first speaker in support of

the Committee's report, freely conceded the right of the convention. How, then, can a matter of this kind become a factor in the question of "the future of the Democratic organization," whose chief corner-stone is "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of majorities"? With which of the sixteen principles of Jefferson would Senator Hill contrast this action of the convention? Can he find in any of these sixteen principles any sanction for his attack upon the income tax? Nay! If he will consult the father of American Democracy a little more closely, he will find that Jefferson is on record in favor of an income tax. In a letter to Madison dated "Paris, Dec. 8, 1784," he says :

Taxes should be proportioned to what may be annually spared by the individual. . . . The simplest system of taxation yet adopted is that of levying on the land and the laborer. But it would be better to levy the same sums on the produce of that labor when collected in the barn of the farmer, because then, if through the badness of the year he made little, he would pay little.<sup>1</sup>

At that time agriculture was almost the only source of income. Can the distinguished Senator from New York find in the sixteen principles or in any of the writings of Jefferson, any justification for his criticism of what he is pleased to term "the attack upon the Supreme Court"? Will he invoke principle number twelve, which declares in favor of "arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason"? Would Jefferson, if living, agree with the Senator or with the convention? Would Jefferson explain that, when he declared in favor of the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason, he did not mean abuses by the Supreme Court?

When Senator Hill says, as he does, that "the true Democratic theory is that Congress has no constitutional power to issue any more legal-tender paper money, and should not issue any whatever," does *he* attack the Supreme Court?

If Jefferson were living, and were reduced to a choice between paper money issued by government and paper money issued by banks, would he hesitate for a moment to declare for the former, as did the convention? Or would he make an equivocal defence of the National Banks, as did Senator Hill?

<sup>1</sup> "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," by Ford, vol. 1v, pp. 15 and 16.

Again, the Senator says :

The declaration that "We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace," was vicious as well as unfortunate.

Did Jefferson ever favor the issuance of such bonds? Would Jefferson, if living, have defended those in charge of the government when they violated the contract of the United States, and made this nation the pliant instrument of a syndicate which enriched itself while looting the Treasury and saddling upon the people an interest-bearing, thirty-year debt of \$262,000,000? Did Jefferson refer to such practices when he declared for "economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened"? Would Senator Hill dare, before the people, to openly defend those scandalous bond-syndicate transactions? Shall the party of the people overlook such crimes? Did not Washington in his farewell address declare that "one method of preserving it [public credit] is to use it as sparingly as possible"? "Not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear"? And yet, because the Democratic National Convention adopted this very sentiment, Senator Hill charges it with "repudiation and an assault on our national credit." The convention did not deny the legal validity of these bonds; it assumed that they must be paid, fraudulent and corrupt as they were, and denounced the placing of such needless burdens upon the people for the purpose of maintaining the policy of gold monometallism. Does "the future of the Democratic organization" lie in the direction of anathematizing such just and wholesome sentiments as this uttered by the convention?

Senator Hill also objects to that resolution of the convention which declares :

We denounce arbitrary interference by the Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions; and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners; and we approve of the bill passed by the last session of the United States Senate and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempt in Federal Courts, and providing for trial by jury in certain cases of contempt.

Can Senator Hill point out wherein this conflicts with any of the sixteen principles of Jefferson? Was Jefferson in favor of government by injunction? Did he not declare for the "freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus," and "trial by juries impartially selected"? Did he not declare for "the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies"?

If Senator Hill had repudiated Jefferson, he would have been at least consistent. But to denounce the convention while adhering to Jefferson is the very height of absurdity, for, aside from those legislatures which adopted the famous resolutions of 1798 and 1799, no assemblage on earth ever resolved so completely in harmony with the teachings of Jefferson as did the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1896. If the Senator believed, therefore, that its platform should not constitute the future doctrine of the party, he should have frankly declared that Jefferson's doctrines are obsolete.

Senator Hill is horrified at the spectacle of the discontented and distressed elements of the population flocking to the Democratic standard. What and where would the Democratic party be without them? Did he seriously suppose that it could any longer compete with the Republican party for the favor of the great and powerful, the capitalistic classes, as it did during the Cleveland ascendancy? Has it occurred to the Senator that but for economic oppression and dire distress, which doom three millions of men to idleness and millions of people to penury, suffering, and starvation, there would be no "crowd of Populists, silver Republicans, single-tax men, old greenbackers, professional labor agitators, socialists, and Adullamites generally"? If he rejects all these, and all whom the companionship of pain and the instincts of justice and humanity cast with them, he will reject the entire American people save the immensely rich and the vicious elements of our metropolitan populace.

Again he says:

It is neither good politics nor is it honest to teach the people to expect the government to provide a living for them.

True, but did the Chicago Convention do so? Does the reformed and regenerated Democracy, the restored and reclaimed Democracy of 1896, teach any such thing?

Nor to lead them to believe that all the ills to which the body politic is naturally subject, can be cured by legislation.

When and where did the Democracy of 1896 ever say they could be? But the above assertion of the Senator is pregnant with apostasy to popular rights. It implies that it is useless to attempt to right existing wrongs by legislation. Which is saying in effect that the Democratic party, as Senator Hill would have it, should, in its platforms and public utterances, and in its acts if in power, wholly ignore existing evils. What sort of Democracy would this be? Ah! It would be the kind described by Mr. Andrew Carnegie in that mockery of democracy written by him some ten years ago and entitled "Triumphant Democracy." On page 470 he quotes with approval from Mr. Dicey, an English writer, as follows:

The plain truth is that educated Englishmen are slowly learning that the American Republic affords the best example of a conservative democracy; and now that England is becoming democratic, respectable Englishmen are beginning to consider whether the Constitution of the United States may not afford means by which under new democratic forms may be preserved the *political conservatism dear and habitual to the governing classes of England.*

The italics are my own. And Mr. Carnegie adds:

The laws are perfect. These being settled as desired by all, it follows that a vital question can arise but seldom. The "outs" are left to insist that they could and would administer existing laws better than the "ins." A politician may be safely challenged to state wherein the Democratic and Republican parties of to-day differ.

Such is the democracy of Carnegie and of Senator Hill. It is the democracy of plutocracy. It is not the democracy of the people. In fact, it is not democracy at all, but the vilest counterfeit that ever dared to masquerade in a worthy historic name. Since the passing of Tilden and the coming of Cleveland there has not been nor is there now, collectively, any *real* democracy east of the Alleghany Mountains and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers. As the shores of the Mediterranean under republican forms became the seat of

tyranny, and liberty found her home beyond the Alps amid the dense forests of central and northern Europe, so the north Atlantic coast, under republican forms, has surrendered to the rule of mammon; while manhood, and all that manhood can cherish, must find an asylum upon the farms of the central North, and upon the wide plains and indomitable mountains, and in the sunlit valleys, of the West and South.

Again, the Senator, after enumerating a score or more of things which he claims should not have been done, not one of which was done by the convention, naïvely observes :

Honest agitation for the correction of governmental abuses is legitimate, and deserves encouragement, but agitation for the mere sake of agitation may become mischievous and dangerous.

Granted. But the action of the convention was in strict conformity with the above rule as to agitation. There was no agitation "for the mere sake of agitation." The entire effort of the convention was to correct "governmental abuses," and was therefore, according to the Senator himself, "legitimate."

Says the Senator :

If success is to crown the future efforts of the party, certain agrarian and socialistic tendencies developed in the recent campaign, for which the Democracy was ostensibly responsible, must be promptly checked.

In what sense does he use the word "agrarian"? If he means that it was proposed to arbitrarily distribute lands, or to limit holdings by law, he is mistaken. If he means that it was proposed to "ease the people," to redistribute public burdens, and to equalize opportunities so as to do justice to farmers, laborers, and agriculturists, he is correct; but in that case he writes himself down as the enemy of agriculture, which has always been the object of the first and greatest solicitude of Democracy. The eleventh of the sixteen principles of Jefferson is, "Encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, as its handmaid." Even Mr. Carnegie, in his spurious "Triumphant Democracy," quotes Isaiah :

And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation. Neither shall they learn war any more.



And the Scotch parvenu, the pampered child of protection, adds:

Ceres is the prime divinity in the Republic. To her the American makes his most profound obeisance, upon him her sweetest smiles are lavished in return.

Even Mr. Carnegie, the plunderer of Ceres, felt that while posing in the garb of democracy he must at least make obeisance to Ceres, hollow and hypocritical though it might be. But Senator David B. Hill makes no obeisance to Ceres. He has not a word for the oppressed and rapidly vanishing farmer. He scouts at the idea that there are "wrongs" and "oppressions." He pleads for what he terms "vested rights." He pleads for "property." He sneers at "poverty." He deprecates the arraying of "class against class," thereby admitting the existence of antagonistic classes. He hurls the most scornful anathemas at the poor and unfortunate, and exalts the rich and powerful, defending their right to immunity from any change in law or procedure which will check their remorseless career of pillage and conquest, while bitterly inveighing against that just criticism of courts which is as essential to an honest administration of the laws as criticism can ever be for any purpose whatever.

Agrarian tendencies! Who but patricians, nobles, and aristocrats ever feared them? Was the agrarian law of Rome wrong? Is our law limiting and equalizing the amount of *public* land which a person may acquire by homestead or pre-emption wrong? Why were its homely limitations established? Is it wrong to advocate policies which tend to the ownership of lands by the many instead of the few? Is it wrong to support measures which will save from annihilation that remnant of proprietary farmers which still remains with us, or shall we go on "checking" and oppressing the "agrarians," and licensing the vultures of trade, till the lands are all owned by urban landlords and tilled by a tenant peasantry? Was not the maintenance of the agrarian law coincident with the maintenance of Roman liberty? Was not the Hebrew Jubilee redemption "agrarian"? Did not Aristotle declare that "the best republics were those in which the citizens themselves tilled the lands"? Were the martyrs

Cassius and the Gracchi wrong? Or were their arrogant, inhuman, purse-proud assassins wrong? Is the Democratic party to be democratic, or is it to be aristocratic? Shall "the future of the Democratic organization" be limited to an act of self-destruction, namely, proclaiming absolute enmity to all things "agrarian," all things plebeian, all things popular, all things ameliorative? — a proclamation of cruel scorn of poverty? fierce hostility to equity? base and servile submission to presumptuous and heartless plutocracy? Or shall its perpetuity and its future power and glory be assured by a brave return and strict adherence to the "agrarian" principles of its great founder, Jefferson, who turned to the forests and fields, and looked to the country, for political righteousness, but never dreamed that it could be found (except in isolated individuals) amid dense populations, where poverty and crime, want and squalor, debauchery and degradation, are the companions of cruel greed, merciless avarice, and inordinate wealth. Shall the Democratic party in the future content itself with reiterating its mere *adhesion* to the "eternal principles," and with chanting parrot-like the empty and vapid sophism, "I am a Democrat"? or shall it realize the full meaning of the "eternal principles," and that their beneficence is wholly lost if they are not constantly *applied* to the changing conditions of men? That the mere formal indorsement of the most sacred principle, *unless the principle is applied to, and made operative through*, the affairs of men, is the veriest mockery? That good principles, like other good things, are designed for use, and that a party which forever prates of principles, but never reduces its principles to use, never offers to apply them to existing conditions, will be repudiated by a disappointed and disgusted people?

In vain may Senator Hill summon before the experienced gaze of the restored Democracy the stale and antiquated ogre of socialism. The reclaimed Democracy is thoroughly conscious of its own identity, and of the legitimacy of its claim to the Jeffersonian inheritance. It is not socialism. It is not anarchy. It is not plutocracy. It is not lawless. It is not licentious. It is not predatory. It is not destructive. It comes as Tilden came, with "Reform" on its banners and

“healing on its wings.” It is apt, sympathetic, receptive. It has no Bourbon corpuscles in its strong healthy blood. It listens with interest, but with caution and criticism, to all men. It learns from the individualist that “Safety lies in distrust of power,” — not only governmental power, but also the power of property. And it is admonished by the growth, solidarity, and boundless ambition of property, that monopolies must be governed, checked, and controlled by *government*. Democracy recognizes the individual as the unit in the social and civil compact, and has, therefore, regard for numbers. The greatest good of the greatest number being the desideratum, and the presentation of the rights and opportunities of each individual being the effectual protection of all, Democracy is pledged by its very genius to abolish, remove, and destroy the great monopolies, which, having vanquished competition, rule commerce, trade, and industry with a sway absolute and exclusive.

In its choice of means, Democracy, while keeping in view the perils of paternalism, will nevertheless resort to restriction, segregation, and suppression, as likewise taxation, not only of incomes, but of undue accumulations, and by amendment of the Constitution where necessary.

It must make railways public highways in fact as they are in name, and it must not falter at any step necessary to accomplish this. It must banish protection and monometallism, disincorporate ordinary trade, disenthral commerce, emancipate labor, and restore to the people their lost right to live.

The preservation of human rights, the sole aim of Democracy, imperatively requires that *property* must be kept under control by *government*, lest *property control government*. The Magna Charta extorted from King John by the Barons was for the Barons; the Bill of Rights in our Constitution was designed to limit official action and prevent official encroachments upon the rights of the people. A new Magna Charta, a new Bill of Rights, must be proclaimed. A charter can and will be found in the “eternal principles” of Democracy, not only negative, restrictive, and prohibitive, but affirmative and suggestive, which will reach, treat, and dispose of

wrongs which have grown up in the very shadow of the republic, out of industrial, commercial, and economic conditions wholly unforeseen by the founders of our institutions. Liberty is the goal; character is the end; virtue the ideal. To the possession, enjoyment, and development of these, material independence, or at least comfort, is indispensable. Laws, therefore, which render inordinate accumulations of property impossible, and which tend to the dissolution and diffusion of existing aggregations of wealth, are imperatively demanded by every consideration which could move a wise, just, and humane people.

Civilization rests upon property. Property is at once the product and parent of civilization. He who has it can live as he will. He who has it not must live as he can. It quenches all thirst. It appeases all hunger. It ministers to every taste, responds to every impulse, supplies every want, satisfies every desire. Avarice, ambition, cruelty, greed, and ostentation join like a ravening pack in fierce pursuit of property. Except at intervals the world has been unable to withstand them. We have reached that stage in our development as a nation where we are face to face with the question whether ours shall be any exception to the fate of other nations. If we are incapable of self-government; if we are too voluptuous to be humane, too sordid to be patriotic, too selfish to be just, too cowardly to be free; if we are to go the way of all other nations, the sooner we succumb and sink into the inertia of hopelessness, the better. But in that case let us at least not pollute our souls by any false and puerile protestations in the name of *Democracy*.

If our bosoms no longer hold the celestial flame, if on the altar of our hearts no longer burns the Promethean fire, if cupidity and cunning have supplanted courage, justice, and compassion, then indeed it were idle to discuss "the future of the Democratic organization." Liberty, equality, fraternity were the watchwords of the old as they are of the *renewed Democracy*. Has Senator Hill the hardihood to assail them?

In Jefferson's day the preservation of popular rights depended upon successful resistance to authoritative preten-

sion and the invasive instincts of official power. In our day it depends upon successful resistance to a power more subtle, more insidious, and vastly more extensive; a power whose activities and potentialities extend to every home and touch with a silent but awful admonition every individual — the power of money, the power of capital, the power of property. If we prove equal to this unparalleled occasion, if we rise to the height of this stupendous era, it must be through the power of a Democracy as pure and as constant as that of Jefferson, and as much more bold, adventurous, and comprehensive, as much more defiant, direct, and concrete, as the power of Mammon is more hostile, more tenacious, more cruel, more able, far-reaching, and determined than the power of mere political ambition.

The future of the Democratic organization depends upon its being able to realize the presence of the most profound issues that have confronted mankind since the dawn of history.

Failure means Democratic extinction, national chaos, and revolution. Efficiency in this supreme hour means Democratic ascendancy, peaceable evolution, prosperity, justice, liberty.

# THE MULTIPLE STANDARD FOR MONEY.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY.

THE money question is a great, disturbing question in our economic and political life. It will continue to be such till it is settled right, and it will never be settled right till it is put on a true scientific basis. This paper is an attempt first briefly to analyze money, so that we may know the conditions of the problem; and, second, to suggest a synthesis from that analysis and a theory which shall be constructive and truly scientific.

## I. ANALYSIS.

Money has two functions or uses. It is a medium of exchange and a measure of exchangeable value. All of its functions are included in these two. Hoarding does not come under these heads, but hoarding is not a function or use of money. It is an abuse of it; it then loses its money quality and becomes a mere commodity.

### 1. A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE.

As a medium of exchange, money must have five properties. The material of which it is made must have, first, fitness; and, second, be hard to counterfeit. In itself it must have, third, exchangeability; fourth, be of sufficient volume; and, fifth, have sufficient elasticity of volume for the business which it is intended to promote.

Money is not the only medium of exchange. Checks, notes, drafts, credits, etc., unauthorized by the government, are as truly mediums of exchange as money when they are accepted. They are either founded on or measured in terms of money. All of them, when freely passing current, with money constitute the currency of a country. Money is that part of the currency of a country which is issued by the government and clothed with the legal-tender power. Should the government become so weak and issue so large a quantity of money that it ceases to pass at par, then money loses some

of its money power ; and it finally ceases to be money when it ceases to pass current at all. It has then ceased to be a part of the currency of the country.

In early times, and in all countries with unstable governments, alleged intrinsic-value money, or money of which the material had substantially the same exchangeable value as the money it composed, was used. We get our word "pecuniary" from the Latin *pecus*, cattle, because the Latins originally used cattle as money. In Africa they use ivory as money. In pre-revolutionary times, prices in the Southern States were reckoned and salaries paid in tobacco ; and there is still an officer at Washington whose salary by law is so many pounds of tobacco, but it is now paid in terms of the present money. In Tennessee, coon-skins were legal-tender, and the Governor's salary was paid in them. In some few transactions we now use gold or silver. Many other illustrations could be given of the use of commodities. This, however, is only a refined kind of barter.

To-day, in all civilized countries, from ninety-five to ninety-nine per cent of all transactions are consummated with currency which does not have its full exchange value in itself. Edward Atkinson is authority for the statement that three hundred million dollars of gold coin suffice as a basis for three hundred thousand million dollars of purchases and sales in every year. That is, that one dollar in every thousand, or one-tenth of one per cent of business, is transacted with gold. It may be a certificate of deposit or a promise to pay, but it does not have full value in itself. In many cases the promise to pay is very indefinite or at a distant date, in others it does not exist at all. The nickel used as a street-car fare is worth as metal less than a cent. This is true of all subsidiary coinage, which transacts the bulk of the retail business. In wholesale business, checks, notes, drafts, and other forms of credit currency transact at least ninety-five per cent. These may be currency, but no one will claim they are value-in-themselves money. The civilized nations are beyond value-in-itself money, which, after all, is but barter. The revival of barter-money is retrogression.

. It is said that money should represent value. True, and

all money should represent — not money, for that is reasoning in a circle — but value. But representing value is an entirely different thing from being value.

The currency of a country depends in part upon its laws and in part on its trade customs; but as the government becomes deeper-rooted and more stable and better able to enforce its laws, these laws become the controlling element in forming trade customs, so that under a stable government the money depends only on the laws. Hence every year that passes, making our government more stable and secure, registers both the less use and less need of value-in-itself money or barter money.

There is no such a thing as an international money. There may be an international currency depending on convention, but there cannot be such a thing as an international legal-tender money till there is an international government.

It is said that money is a promise to pay full value. Much of it is. The government at Washington keeps from five per cent to twenty per cent of the necessary gold in the Treasury to redeem its promises to pay on demand. This is true in about the same proportions of all European nations. If all the promises to pay were presented at the U. S. Treasury, it could not without borrowing, pay them to-morrow or the next day or probably the next year or score of years. This is true of the financial systems of all nations. Take our banknotes; they are based ultimately on United States bonds, which are promises to pay five, ten, or fifteen years hence. The full value could not be obtained for the banknotes under the term of years for which the bonds are issued or for any other money save as it is generally received.

Really there is no such a thing as intrinsic-value money. Use a gold coin for making jewelry or filling teeth, and it ceases to be money. It cannot be used as a commodity and retain its money powers. As soon as it becomes a commodity, it ceases to be money; and if there were no free coinage of gold, making an abnormal demand at an artificially appreciated price, the gold could not be turned into money again, and as a commodity it would sink to its normal or true value. Divide a silver dollar into one hundred equal parts, and each



part is not a cent, though worth as bullion much more than the metal in a cent. It has lost its stamp, become a commodity, and ceased to be money.

1. *Fitness for Monetary Use.* The money of a country should be convenient to handle, transport, use. In China, where wages are very low, prices low, and goods are bought in tiny quantities, the principal coin is a copper one, worth about a tenth of a cent; it has a square hole in the centre so as to be strung on a string. This is convenient for them; for us it would be cumbersome and useless. To-day the civilized world has settled on paper as the best form to materialize money. During the 1894 money famine in New York City, gold coin commanded a premium of one per cent over bullion, silver coin of two per cent, and paper of four per cent, showing that paper was preferred to metallic money.

2. *Hard to Counterfeit.* The government stamp must be hard to counterfeit, else it will lose a large share of its exchangeability. The arts of paper-making and engraving and the science of detection have become so perfect that that question is practically settled. Yet few people see the importance which fitness and difficulty of counterfeiting have in determining what money shall be made of. They are the final controlling factors.

3. *Exchangeability.* This dominates all other properties. If money will not be accepted as money, it ceases to pass current, or be currency, and hence ceases to be money. It is necessary that money should be exchangeable, not in New York only, nor in any one centre or set of centres, but in every village, hamlet, and cross-roads in the whole country as well, to be a national money. The money issued by the city of St. Joseph, Mo., rarely travelled over forty or fifty miles from the city, but within its own locality it had a complete local exchangeability, and was a perfect local money, but was not money in the sense of being national.

Can any class or set or clique of men be intrusted with this duty of making money exchangeable or receivable? No. First, no class is able to completely set the standard of receivability all over the country; and, second, if it were intrusted with that duty, it would do as it has in the past, abuse that

privilege. It is too great a power to be intrusted to any class of men. The government, extending as it does all over the country, gathering money for its support as it does all over the country, is the one and the only one to fix and keep the standard of receivability of money. It should receive the money of the country for *all* its dues — not for one or two or the bulk of them, not even for all but one, but for ALL. This is the best method of making the money completely receivable. If there is no overwhelming suspicion of its stability, it thus fixes the standard of receivability on which exchangeability depends.

In fact, money ought not to be a promise to pay, as some class or clique of men may corner that article or articles, and demand payment from the government in those artificially appreciated articles. The fewer and scarcer these articles, the easier and more probable will such a corner be. At present a class of men have secured the limiting of the promise of ultimate payment of the money of the civilized world to one article, gold, and that article has greatly appreciated, and these men are reaping their reward at the expense of the rest. This could never happen if the money was an agreement to receive and not a promise to pay. Money of this sort was used in Venice for over six centuries, when she was at the height of her power, and it never sank below par and often commanded a premium. It was in use in Holland for several centuries, when she was the greatest commercial power on the globe. It is also adapted to small communities and short periods of time. The city of St. Joseph, Mo., has issued such a money within the past thirty-five years, and used and retired it without disturbance.

4. *Volume.* In our present system sufficient volume is supposed to be assured by the free coinage of gold, and previous to 1873 by the free coinage of silver, and between 1873 and 1893 by the coinage of a government-fixed amount of silver, and by the varying but recently steadily decreasing issue of National Bank bills and the fixed issue of the government greenbacks. This has been eminently unsatisfactory.

What is the gauge for the volume of money needed in a community? Is it the good or ill fortune of the gold miner,

or the gold and silver miners? No, because that makes volume depend on the chance of mining, and such is not scientific. Is it so much per capita, or head, of population? Only very indirectly and slightly, as some people use money in exchanging products much more than others. The city laborer buys almost everything he consumes, and buys in small quantities, usually paying cash, so that he makes many money transactions. The farmer produces much that he consumes, buys an assorted lot at one time, and often runs an account and settles with his farm products, so that he has few money transactions; and he has less need for money as a medium of exchange than the laborer. The same per capita would not fit both classes. Again, the rapidity with which money passes from one to another decreases the amount needed per capita. Again, society is becoming more highly organized, more specialized every year. This means that we are becoming more interdependent, have need of more exchanges, and so have need of more currency per capita. Hence the per-capita circulation which would be suited to a quarter of a century ago, would be too small for to-day, and to-day's would be too small in the next century. Again, so many transactions are consummated in prosperous times with credit currency that the same per-capita volume of money would be too little when that credit currency is largely cut off, as in time of depression.

But there must be some scientific method of regulating it. All economists have agreed that as the volume of currency, which includes all forms of credit which pass current as well as money, increases or decreases, so do the prices current of the staples of life increase or decrease. The two have the connection of cause and result. They obey the law of supply and demand. Decrease the volume of currency, and prices fall; there is less currency to buy things with. Increase the volume of currency, and prices rise; there is more currency to buy things with.

The government has no control and at present a very slight influence over the volume of credit which passes as currency, and which in ordinary times transacts a very large part — it has been estimated at ninety-five per cent — of the

exchanges of the country. It does control the volume of money. The gauge of the volume of money needed in any community is the legitimate demand for it as shown, not by the luck of the gold miner or the gold and silver miners, not by the rate of interest, which when perfectly ascertained shows the demand for capital, only indirectly by the population in a country, not by the price of one commodity, no matter how stable in value, as it will fluctuate some — gold has fluctuated — not by the price of two commodities, as gold and silver — they have varied and do vary in price — but by the prices current of the great staples of daily life, among which gold and silver might properly be reckoned. When the prices current of the great staples of life fall, it shows that more money is needed; when they rise, that less money is needed, to do the exchanges of the country. All the staples of life should be included in these prices current, and then it will be an automatic regulator.

5. *Elasticity of Volume.* The elasticity of volume of our money is at present supposed to be given to it by the varying issue of the National-Bank bills. It is supposed that the rate of interest measures the demand and supply of money, and that the issue of bankbills would automatically follow the rate of interest. When interest went up, it was thought the banks would issue more bills, and when it went down that they would retire them. This has not happened, for three reasons. First, the actual issuance of this money is intrusted solely to the banks, who do the loaning and control the supply. The demand has no voice in it. This is a one-sided affair. The issuance of money is a thing which concerns the whole people, and not one class only. At first the bankers did not constitute a class; they came from the people, were parts of the people, understood the people: but gradually they have been drawing together into a more and more compact class, with their trade papers and their special columns in the daily press, their organizations, and their quiet means of influencing public opinion. The giving to them of a special privilege has made them a privileged class. While this forming into a class was only a tendency, the National-Bank system worked well. Now that the influences

surrounding it have partially worked out their inevitable result, it has become a power and a menace. Twenty years ago banks and bankers were not regarded with the popular distrust which is now prevalent. While rarely reasoned out, this distrust is not illogical and unreasonable.

Second, the means of issuing banknotes is so slow that the damage has been done by the time the remedy is ready. The fact that the New York banks have combined to issue a currency based on their own credit, called clearing-house certificates, entirely without government sanction, and at times while they were violating the laws as to their reserves, is an attempt by private and extra-legal means to remedy this lack of elasticity in our money. Moreover the United States bonds, which are the basis of our bank money, have been so rapidly paid off, and have risen to so high a premium, that it is becoming increasingly difficult and less profitable for the banks to issue money, hence the volume is becoming less and rigider. This means at times great harm.

Third, the rate of interest is not a fair criterion for the demand for money, even if the banks automatically followed it. When properly ascertained, it is a criterion of the demand for capital; but capital and money are not identical, even in most cases. Capital and interest are measured in terms of money, and this has caused confusion. We say we want money when what we really want is capital. Interest is the measure of the demand for capital. It is not the measure of the need for money.

The measure of the need for money is price. As private credit-currency, which is not money, transacts so large a share of exchanges, and as it is liable to sudden breakdowns and contractions, it is evident that the public credit-currency or money must be so arranged as to quickly, easily, and automatically increase where private credit-currency breaks down and contracts, causing a sharp fall of prices. Recent financial history shows that private credit-currency is becoming more and more liable to violent breakdowns and contractions, and so the elasticity of the public credit-currency or money must reach a finer degree than ever before.

*Recapitulation.* Money has two uses. It is a medium of

exchange and a measure of exchangeable value. Money is not the only medium of exchange, but a part of currency. Anything that passes current is currency. Almost all things have been used as money, but money with value in itself has been almost abandoned. The revival of such barter-money is retrogression. No such thing as intrinsic-value money. As a medium of exchange, money should, in the material of which it is made, have, first, fitness, and, second, be hard to counterfeit, and in itself it should have, third, exchangeability. The government is the only one that can fix this. It should not be promises to pay, but agreements to receive for *all* dues. Fourth, volume. The gauge of this is not to be found in mining or in a per capita or in interest, but in prices of all the staples of life. Fifth, elasticity of volume is needed in a finer degree than ever.

## 2. A MEASURE OF EXCHANGEABLE VALUE.

For money as a measure of exchangeable value it is, first, an absolute necessity that its fluctuations should be reduced to a minimum; and, second, it is the material embodiment of an idea of relation.

1. *Unchangeableness.* Absolute, eternal unchangeableness is, of course, an impossibility in anything human, but money must be so near as to be for all practical purposes unchangeable in value. A measure is not a just one unless it is always the same. As all men are interdependent and becoming more so, a change in the yardstick with which they measure all their exchanges will do increasingly greater damage. Go back three or four centuries, when a farmer raised not only all his own food, but also the materials to clothe himself in, and made them into cloth and raiment, gathered his own fuel, built his own shelter, and was dependent only for a few luxuries on those outside of his own immediate circle; it made little difference to such a man whether the king changed the money standard or not. That is ended now. A change in the measure of value affects vitally every one of us. The crude standards then used were well enough for those times. They are too clumsy and inequitable for our interdependent, highly specialized system of business, ex-

change, and life. It is so evident that a standard must be kept invariable, and that in these times its invariableness must reach a higher and finer degree than ever before in the world's history, that it only needs statement and not argument.

Probably no one article can be used better as a measure of exchangeable value than gold. But it does fluctuate. Probably no two articles can be used better than gold and silver, and the two are better than one. But that unchangeableness which does not reside in any one article or any two articles, is found in an average. There is nothing so stable and constant as an average. The current market price of any one article is the buyers' and sellers' average estimate of the value of that article. The current market price of all articles is the average estimate of all buyers and sellers of all value, or it is the idea of value in the mind of man put in terms of mathematics. Hence from the current market price of all articles, which is the mathematical statement of the idea of value, one should be able to deduce the unit or measure of value, and this, being an average, would have a far finer degree of invariableness than any other measure known.

*An Exclusive Government Function.* Who can keep this standard inviolable? A group of men set off from their fellow-men? Lecky has said that no man or set of men have ever been intrusted with absolute power without abusing it. The power to swell or shrink the measure of value is vaster in its effects in modern society than that of the most absolute monarch. Give this power to one group of men and you create a privileged class, and privileged classes are contrary to the genius of our institutions. Disturbance and trouble will ensue till either the privileged class triumphs and democracy is overthrown, or democracy reconquers special privilege. Can that power be intrusted to the bankers? No. To the owners of gold? No. To the owners of gold and silver? No. Only to the whole people. It is an exclusive government function which the government cannot safely delegate.

2. *It is the Material Embodiment of an Idea of Relation.* A measure is not a material thing, but an idea of relation. It resides in the mind. It is an idea of capacity, power,

value, or some other property of matter. It is embodied to the senses in whatever material form is convenient. A pound is not a thing. It is an idea of weight. A pound weight may be made of anything that is convenient. On lever scales the same weight, by pushing it along the lever, is used to weigh one pound, five pounds, or five hundred pounds. A quart is not a thing. It is an idea of liquid volume. A quart measure holds a quart. It may be made of anything. The material of which it is made is not an intrinsic quart. A horse-power is not a thing. The steam-gauge measuring it is made of brass and steel because they are fittest for that purpose; if sugar and coffee were fitter, they would be so used. But the steam-gauge has no power.

A volt of electricity is measured by an instrument which has no electricity. The power of the eye is gauged by a thing which has no seeing. So one might go through all the measures and show that they are ideas which are embodied to the senses in whatever material forms are convenient; they are not material. This is why I have previously said that fitness and difficulty of counterfeiting are the final, controlling factors in determining what shall be the material embodiment of money, the representative to the senses of this idea of relation. The dollar is neither gold, silver, nor a piece of paper. At the bottom it is an idea of a certain amount of exchangeable value residing in the brain of man, and it is embodied to the senses in gold, silver, a piece of paper, or whatever else the determining power may fix on.

A curious illustration of this is found in actual operation to-day in British Columbia, according to Mr. Lee Meriwether, who writes in the November, 1894, *Cosmopolitan*:

At the Hudson's Bay Company's posts on the Mackenzie river, actual money is unknown, all the trade being conducted by means of an imaginary currency, the unit of value of which is one skin. What sort of a skin, one knows. In fact, it is no sort of a skin in particular. It is merely an imaginary skin about equivalent in value to half a dollar. The hide of a beaver is worth ten skins, a musk-ox is worth thirty skins, a fine silver-fox hide is worth three hundred skins. These are the big bills of this unique currency. Small change is made by the musk-rat hides, worth one-tenth of a skin, by mink hides worth two skins, and by lynx hides worth four skins.

All ideas are fixed as this one plainly is, in the brain of



man. Credit is only an idea; organize, classify, and publish it, as in mercantile agencies, etc., and it still remains someone's idea of somebody else's character and possessions. Yet almost the entire business of the world is done on credit — an idea. From this it follows that

*Labor is No Measure.* The time or amount of labor or exertion by an individual, whether physical or mental, is no proper measure of exchangeable values. To say so is to confound a source of value with the measurement of exchangeable values. It is true that the law of supply and demand will so regulate the production of any article in a free market that it will ultimately rise or fall to the spot where its price approximates the average cost of production as compared with other products, but this is rarely true of individual cases of production. It would be more true if the same exertion always produced the same value with all men. Such is not the case.

The exchange value of the products of labor varies not only as the quality of the labor, as the condition of the laborer, as the labor is well or ill applied, as whether they have good or poor tools, as the condition of the market, as fashion and custom, but also as many other things. In fact, so many conditions surround the determination of the value of labor's products that it is only of the simplest products that it can be roughly predicated with any degree of certainty that the same labor will produce the same value. Many economists, particularly of the socialist school, have fallen into this error of making the labor-time of an individual their standard of value.

Statisticians have generally agreed that the prices of the staples of life have fallen at least thirty per cent in the last thirty years. This means that the value of the measure or of money has risen. It has occurred simultaneously with the world-wide demonetization of silver. Many able men think that that demonetization, or the restriction of the volume of money in circulation produced by it, is the cause of this depreciation of prices and appreciation of money. I think it is. Others say that it is due to the marvellous progress of invention, which has so cheapened the labor cost

of production that they can be sold for less. This in a cloudy way makes the labor or exertion of the average individual the ultimate standard of value.

It is true that invention has wonderfully reduced the amount of labor needed for many articles. I think it would be safe to say for most articles. It is true that a reduction in the labor cost of one article may change its value relative to other articles. But invention cannot reduce the value of all articles and increase the value of the standard of value. The statement is then a contradiction; such is then a dishonest standard. It makes no difference whether a person thinks the cause of this depression of prices and appreciation of money is due to restriction of circulation caused by the demonetization of silver or to the progress of invention. The fact that it has occurred is sufficient; and the evidence of that fact is so ample that anyone familiar with the current economic literature will certify to it.

The fundamental cause of this is that the civilized world has taken as the mathematical statement of this idea of relation, money, the price of two articles, gold and silver, and within the last thirty years has contracted it to one article, gold. Such is too narrow a standard. The safer course is to enlarge it to the average price of the main staples of daily life.

This unit or measure of exchangeable value would then be not monometallic, founded on one thing as gold, an inverted pyramid perched on its apex, nor would it be bimetallic, an inverted pyramid swaying uneasily on two apexes, but it would be based on all the necessities of life, a pyramid placed fairly, squarely, and solidly on its base. Such a standard would be unimpeachable, incontrovertible, and unchangeable. Such is the multiple standard for money.

*Recapitulation.* As a measure of exchangeable value, money must have, 1st. Unchangeableness; and this must rise to a finer degree than ever before in the world's history, because we are becoming more interdependent. This can be found in an average better than anywhere else. The preserving of it cannot be intrusted to any one set of men; hence it is an exclusive government function. 2nd. It is the material embodiment of the idea of relation. All measures

are ideas of relation. Hence there is no such a thing as an intrinsic-value dollar. Credit is an idea. Labor is a source of value, but not the measure of exchangeable value. Prices have fallen. It is due to a narrowing of the standard of value. Increase it to all the main necessities of life, and you have the ideal standard or measure or unit for money.

---

## II. SYNTHESIS.

### A CONSTRUCTIVE SYSTEM FOR THE MULTIPLE STANDARD.

Of course in building up any constructive system, the details have to be filled in more or less fully, and these details are subject to revision or entire change as experience may show necessary as long as the main lines of the underlying principle are preserved. This part can be divided into three heads, 1. The getting of the standard, or measure, 2. The keeping of it uniform, and 3. Conclusions.

#### 1. THE GETTING OF THE STANDARD.

The government, through its various statistical bureaus, gathers from, we'll say, one hundred centres of commerce — this number may be more or less as is expedient; it is simply taken as a convenient number: but these centres of commerce should be numerous enough and widely scattered enough to fairly represent all the commerce of the country — the current market prices for, we'll say, two hundred staple articles of daily use. This number is also empirical, and may be more or less, but it should be large enough to cover the main staples or necessities of civilized life, and should be fairly representative of all these necessities. It should include such articles as wheat, corn, rye, oats, hay, cotton, flax, gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, iron, flour, cloth, and paper of certain standard grades, lumber, bricks, leather, sugar, etc., etc. It thus eliminates local fluctuations. It gathers these for a period of fifteen to twenty years. The period of fifteen to twenty years is fixed because it is long enough to eliminate time fluctuations, such as a big or a short crop, and because such a period is long enough to more than cover the average period when the time debts, such as mortgages, etc., now in force, were contracted. It then makes up the average price

of each of these two hundred main staples of daily life, gathered from the principal centres of commerce for fifteen or twenty years, and we have an average price with the elements of local and time fluctuations eliminated. It may not be known, but the facts for such a table are already in existence, and much of it is even now tabulated.

Then the actual consumption of a large number, say a thousand families, of working men widely scattered over the country is carefully recorded for a long enough period, say five years, to eliminate inequalities of consumption, and from this table is scientifically found out the proportion in which the staples of daily life are actually used by the average man. Such tables have already been made and are in actual use by scientific statisticians.

Having the scientifically fair average price of the staples of daily life and the proportion in which they are consumed by the average man, it is a very simple problem to figure out the quantity of each of these staples which should enter into a dollar or a thousand dollars, whichever is the more convenient unit to figure to. You then have a standard or measure of exchangeable value based not on the exchangeable value of one thing, like gold, or of two things, like gold and silver, but of all leading commodities; or it is the idea of exchangeable value in the brain of man as embodied in the average prices of commodities in the proportion in which they are used. This is an ideally just standard or measure.

## 2. THE KEEPING OF IT UNIFORM.

Prices are continually changing; how is this standard to be kept uniform? By varying the quantity of money in circulation, increasing it when prices in general fall, decreasing it when they rise.

The government issues paper money engraved in the highest style of the art, and surrounds it by the time-tested and effective laws preventing counterfeiting. The money is not promises to pay, but agreements to receive for *all* (no exceptions) government dues, and to be full legal-tender for all debts. It keeps on gathering these prices current of these two hundred staples of daily life from these one hundred cen-

tres of commerce, we'll say, once in three months, or oftener if necessary. If on multiplying the "quantities found" for the standard as above stated, by the prices gathered, the results foot up to more than \$1 or \$1,000, whichever figure is used as the convenient unit, then prices are rising all over the country, and there is need for less money; accordingly the government draws in money till the prices fall to par. Should this index price fall below par, it shows that prices are falling, and that there is need for more money, and so the government issues more till prices rise to the level again. The amount it shall issue or draw in as this index price falls or rises, will have to be empirically fixed at first. It might be one-eighth of one per cent decrease or increase of volume for every one-eighth of one per cent increase or decrease of this index price above or below par. There would also probably have to be a small annual or decennial increase of volume to make up for the loss of notes by wear and accident and for the increased need of money due to an increase of population. But a few years of experience can easily settle these points.

*Its Issuance and Retirement.* How shall this money be issued and then drawn back as needed? The first thing that should be paid by its issue is the expense of gathering and tabulating these prices and of printing the money and managing its volume. But this expense will use a very small part. It should only be used on regular government expenses to a limited degree, and when necessary to carry out the principle. It should be regarded as collective capital to be utilized for the benefit not only of present but of future generations. Hence it should be mainly used on permanent improvements, such as river and harbor improvements, the building of the Nicaragua Canal, the buying up of the telegraphs and railroads so that the government may operate them. When these channels are as full as the circumstances will permit, we should remember that there are other governments than the national government in this country, and the national government should loan this money to States and municipalities under proper restrictions as to security, and restrictions that it should be spent for

permanent local improvements, such as State roads, canals, asylums, colleges, etc., etc., and municipal lighting and water-works, street cars, schools, libraries, pleasure-grounds, sanitation, etc., etc. As this is national property, and as all localities will not want to borrow proportionately, a small rate of interest, say one per cent per annum, should be paid to the national government. If there is not enough money to fill these channels, then it should be given out in some fair ratio, and probably a fair one would be a combined ratio of the area and of the population.

If there is more than enough to fill these channels, it might be loaned to individuals and corporations under carefully drawn restrictions and at a higher rate of interest, say three per cent. To make this impartial, the money, after the property which was pledged as security had been most rigidly scrutinized to eliminate the risk, might be auctioned off to the highest bidder in the same manner as many building and loan associations now do.

*Using Postal Savings Banks.* If this government had a system of postal savings banks, such as almost all other civilized governments have,—and the movement for them is growing so strong that probably they will be established in a few years,—the change of the rate of interest in them could be used to regulate the volume of money in circulation to a limited degree. When prices were falling and there was need of more money in circulation, the rate of interest could be decreased so that it would be less profitable to keep money deposited in them and more profitable to draw it out and use it outside. When prices were rising, and there was need of less money in circulation, the rate of interest could be increased so as to make it more profitable to deposit money in them. Also the maximum amount bearing interest allowed to each individual depositor could be decreased or increased. But it is evident that, as this would only concern small depositors and not touch the large capitalists, these changes would have to be made slowly and carefully, and could only be used in a limited degree.

*Interchangeable Bonds.* John Brisben Walker, in a recent number of *The Cosmopolitan*, has proposed a significant plan

which would give rapid elasticity to this money. The government refunds its present bonded debt into long-term bonds — say fifty years — bearing a low rate of interest. Mr. Walker says two per cent; I would say, for convenience in calculation,  $1.82\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or one-half cent a day, on every one hundred dollars. He thinks that these bonds, with the privileges they would have, could easily be sold at par. I agree with him. If experience should prove the contrary, the rate of interest should be raised. They should be issued in low denominations to suit the purchaser, at least in multiples of one hundred dollars, and perhaps in multiples of twenty-five dollars. These bonds could be taken to any sub-treasury or large post office, say any money-order post office, and after the interest was paid to date, could be exchanged for money. It would follow from this that these banks could hold them as part of their legal reserve, as they would be exchangeable for money at any time.

*Practical Working.* Suppose there is a sudden contraction of credit currency and a money famine, as happened in 1893 and in 1896; the rate of interest goes up until a point is reached where it is more profitable to turn in these bonds and get the money for them than to keep them. The money famine is remedied, the rate of interest falls, and these bonds are bought back from the government. Thus a rapid elasticity is given to the volume of money in circulation.

Suppose there comes a prosperous season when credit is being extended, new enterprises are being floated, and prices are advancing; it then becomes the duty of the government to reduce the volume of money in circulation. Accordingly it calls in, say, ten per cent of the loans bearing the highest rate of interest, those to individuals. Times are flush; these are easily paid, and the money is withdrawn from circulation and cancelled. Should prices still continue to advance or even to remain above par, more calls are made till all the loans to individuals are paid back, and after this the loans to municipalities and States are retired. Remember, this is only done when prices are advancing and in a season of prosperity, when credit-currency is plenty and private loans are easily floated; hence it is easy to repay.

Then the rate of interest in the postal savings banks and the maximum amount allowed each depositor might be increased so as to persuade more people to deposit.

Should all the loans be called in and the index price still remain above par — a very improbable occurrence — the government could auction off its bonds which are interchangeable for currency. As this could only be done in seasons of prolonged prosperity, when there was a great redundancy of currency, whether private credit-currency, such as checks, notes, drafts, etc., or value-in-itself currency (the government could still coin all the gold and silver offered at a reasonable seigniorage without giving it the legal-tender quality), these bonds would doubtless be quickly taken above par. At the same time the government should increase its taxation so as to provide a sinking fund for the bonds and in a slower manner contract the currency. As this would only be done in a season of great and long-continued prosperity, this increased taxation would not be seriously felt.

Suppose the reverse to happen. It is a time of depression, credits are contracted, prices are falling, and it becomes the duty of the government to increase its money. Of course many of the interchangeable bonds are voluntarily presented and exchanged for money. The government calls in the excess of them, paying for them in newly printed money, and at the same time reduces the taxation, which has been put on to form a sinking fund and to contract the circulation. Both of these things would counteract the panic, as money would be freed for other investments. It follows this up, supposing it still to be necessary because of a fall in prices, by increasing its expenditures for great public improvements, thus employing more labor and putting money into circulation in small amounts in the wages paid. If the index price still remains below par, it loans money to States and municipalities for local public improvements, and, when that field is filled, to individuals; and it might lower the rate of interest and the maximum amount to each depositor in the postal savings banks.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS.

The multiple standard thus secures to the nation using it a money having: 1st and 2nd. Fitness and difficulty in coun-



terfeiting, which two points have already been secured in the paper money now issued. 3rd. Perfect exchangeability founded on the legal-tender quality given to it by the government and its complete receivability by the government for *all* dues, taxes, etc. 4th. Sufficient volume; and, 5th. Elasticity of volume. The volume is automatically regulated to the country's needs. It increases when prices are falling, credits are restricted, and business is depressed. It decreases when prices are rising, credits expanding, and business is good. It provides for less taxation in the first case, and more in the second. It provides for more government expenditure in the first case, and less in the second. A quickly responsive elasticity would be given by the interchangeable bonds. 6th. Unchangeability. A debt contracted to-day is paid to-morrow or fifty years hence in exactly the same exchangeable value measured by the staples of life, the things that man most needs and values. 7th. The issuing of legal-tender, which is money, is exclusively in the national government's control. The mobilization of the wealth and credit of a land is purely an operation of the people's will, and must be sustained by the people's corporate act. The granting of it to a class separate from the whole people establishes a privilege. Privilege is not democracy, and so powerful a privilege as the control of the money of the land, if unchecked, will in time be subversive of democracy. And, lastly, it is the efficient embodiment in terms of mathematics of the idea of all exchangeable value residing in the mind, not of one man, not of one set of men, nor of one class, but of all the people of the country. That money is an idea is a fundamental fact in the creation of democratic institutions. It is not the representative of the demand or of the supply, but gives play to the demand when the supply is in excess, and of the supply when the demand is in excess, but it only allows the play of these opposing forces till the index price is returned to par. It thus makes prices more stable, cutting off speculation and drying up the gambling mania at its roots.

The idea is not new. It has been advocated in a more or less complete form by many economists of note. It has even been demanded in political platforms, and it was put in

actual practical use over a century ago in our own country by the New Englanders, who in political principles and policies were intellectual giants. By law, in 1780, the State of Massachusetts issued legal-tender money reading:

In behalf of the State of Massachusetts-Bay, I the subscriber do hereby promise and oblige Myself and Successors in the Office of Treasurer of said State, to pay unto \_\_\_\_\_ or his order, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ on or before the First Day of March, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and \_\_\_\_\_, with interest at Six per Cent per annum: Both Principal and Interest to be paid in the then current Money of said State, in a greater or less Sum, according as Five Bushels of Corn, Sixty-eight Pounds and four-sevenths Parts of a Pound of Beef, Ten Pounds of Sheep's Wool, and Sixteen Pounds of Sole Leather shall then cost, more or less than One Hundred and Thirty Pounds current Money, at the then current Prices of said Articles — etc., etc.<sup>1</sup>

This is the scientific standard for money, scientific because it places money above mere barter, because it considers and gives value to the qualities which underlie the idea of money, because, to keep this standard uniform, it utilizes great social forces which no man or set of men can control, and which act automatically in their regulating.

The great social force of a special privilege is striving to get a complete control of the money of the country. It has won some victories. Few people realize how subtly, how strenuously, it is striving. Should it succeed, it is a long step toward imperialism. The opposing forces have not grasped the situation or fully understood the battlefield. They have occupied a position which looks promising at present, but is not the impregnable citadel of the multiple standard.

The money question is a great disturbing question in our economic and political life. It will continue to be such till it is settled right, and it will never be settled right till it is put on a true scientific basis. This reform is great enough to wait the fit time for recognition and adoption.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See a reduced facsimile of one of these notes given as the frontispiece to this number of THE ARENA

<sup>2</sup> While the writer is alone responsible for the opinions in this article, he wishes to express gratitude for advice and suggestions in preparing it to Messrs. Henry Winn of Boston, J. W. Sullivan of New York, Dr. C. F. Taylor and Wharton Barker of Philadelphia, Richard J. Hinton of Washington, N. O. Nelson and Frederick C. Crunden of St. Louis, W. H. Harvey and Henry D. Lloyd of Chicago, and others.

# ANTICIPATING THE UNEARNED INCREMENT: REMEDIES.

BY I. W. HART.

THE business man in a newly settled country is naturally speculative by reason of the rapidly changing values all around him.<sup>1</sup> In proportion as he foresees these changes and takes advantage of them, he accumulates wealth. According to the nature of his business and his station in life, it may be assumed that he owns more or less real estate in the city of his residence. The prospects are more or less certain that the rapid increase of population in this city will cause his lots to double in value within a brief term of years. He therefore, in assessing their value to him, puts a prospective value upon them, instead of the present value for use.

All the other business men — we are now leaving the professional real-estate speculators out of account — are influenced by the same consideration, which is perfectly natural. For use, Robinson's lots may not be worth more than \$600 to-day, but why should he limit their value to that figure when he may be able to sell them for \$1,200 next year?

The result is that real estate as a whole, in any rapidly growing town, at a given time, is uniformly held at prices far in advance of its value for use; and this proposition is true of Eastern as well as of Western cities, although to a less extent, inasmuch as the speculative element in business is not so prominent in the East. Transactions in real estate in a growing city are therefore unavoidably more or less speculative. A shrewd purchaser may readily pay twice the use value, if he believes in the probability of being able to sell for three times the use value within a year.

---

<sup>1</sup>The speculative element in American business particularly impressed Mr. Bryce. In his chapter on Wall Street, he says: "There is, even in the eastern cities, where the value of land might be thought to have become stable, a real estate market in which land and houses are dealt in as a matter for pure speculation, with no intention except of holding for a rise within the next few hours or days; while in the new West the price of lands, especially near cities, undergoes fluctuations greater than those of the most unstable stocks in the London market." — "American Commonwealth," Part VI, cap. C.

Now, we will suppose that a purchaser appears who wants a lot for use, which means that he intends to build a house or a block or a factory on his lot, and is not buying simply "for the rise." Nevertheless, he must pay the speculative price instead of the use value, and this is a heavy additional tax on his enterprise at the start. He can recoup himself only by charging higher rents or higher prices for what he sells or produces.

Tenants pay rent according to advantage of situation. Other things being equal, a storekeeper might be willing to pay twice the rent for a certain corner in a city of twenty thousand people that he would for the corresponding corner in a city of ten thousand, since he might reasonably count on twice the business. But if he finds that rents in the ten-thousand city are already on the twenty-thousand basis, he must get even by charging up the extortionate rent to his customers in higher prices and inferior goods, and he will be able to do this because all the other storekeepers are in the same relative situation and avail themselves of the same alternative.

If we stop to analyze this fictitious element in rents in growing towns, we shall find that in many cases it exceeds the total amount of municipal, state, and national taxes, and that, like most indirect taxes, it bears most heavily on those who are the least able to bear it, the laboring and producing classes. It drives into tenement-house squalor myriads of wage-workers who under the proper working of our present economic forces, at the same wage they now receive, might enjoy decent homes. It lowers enormously the possible standard of comfort for all city-dwellers, except the favored few who are its beneficiaries; and in so far as it attacks the general well-being of the mass, it attacks their independence and usefulness as citizens. Remember that we are considering now, not simply the question of giving city land monopolists the "unearned increment" which they are to-day in a position to exact, but the question of allowing them to abuse their opportunity so far as to extort from us to-day the unearned increment which is not due until ten years from now. This is exactly what the craft and cunning of real-

estate speculation in all our growing cities is contriving, — to discount and pocket the unearned increment as far ahead as possible.

I once lived in a rather attractive Western city of seven or eight thousand people. Several years before my arrival the place had been "boomed." This boom, which lasted for about a year, marked prices of real estate up to a point from which they never afterwards receded to reasonable figures, although it was on the whole a "light case" of boom, not characterized by the virulence with which the craze often attacks small Western cities. Ever since the boom year business had been comparatively dull; still the city continued to grow steadily, just as it had done before the boom folly disturbed the even tenor of its way. But real estate has not, to this day, experienced any further increase in price, since the natural increase for many years to come had been anticipated by the boom.

Some six years after the boom in question I had occasion to inquire the price of a small cottage which was for sale, situated about a mile from the business centre of the town. If the town had really been built up over the whole area within a mile from its business centre, it would have contained something like seventy thousand people, but at least nine-tenths of the land within this area was vacant, and likely to remain vacant for years. The price of the cottage and lot was \$1,500, which was considered cheap. It was the sort of dwelling that would come within the means of a mechanic or clerk with an income of from \$700 to \$1,000. The agent admitted that the little five-roomed house and accessories could not have cost more than \$1,100, which left a supposed value for the lot of \$400, or at least ten times its value for any legitimate use at that distance from the centre of the town. This was also about the price, as I ascertained, of vacant lots, similarly situated, in that vicinity. Now, it is calculated that a landlord in this city, where interest rates are high, may reasonably demand every year fifteen per cent of his property investment in the form of rent, in order to recoup himself for his fixed charges of taxes, insurance, repairs, and depreciation. It may be urged that none of the fixed charges, ex-

cept taxes, properly fall upon the land alone. We will therefore admit that the landlord might be content with a return of eight per cent on his land investment in this case. On such a basis the perpetual annual charge on this \$400 lot to any tenant who occupied it would be \$32. At the risk of shocking my real-estate friends, I make the assertion that the use value of this lot is not now more than \$75, and that if all the city lots together were put up at auction it would not bring even that price. This means that there is \$325 of water in the valuation of the lot. An eight-per-cent annual charge on this water amounts to \$26, which is a pretty heavy tax for a wage-earner of moderate income to pay in order that a professional real-estate operator may skim the cream of the unearned increment and make a "good thing" out of an "addition." And it is none the less an extortion because it has probably never occurred to the tenant himself to complain of it. This particular form of exploiting the poor and middle classes is so universal that the average victim of high rent has never imagined any other possible system.

And it must be noted that the \$26 is by no means the end of the tax. For all the tradesmen who pay extortionate rent-tribute for the benefit of the unearned-increment anticipators, must charge our tenant higher prices for the necessities of life in order to make themselves even. Every time that he buys a bag of flour or a yard of calico, every time that he has a prescription filled for his sick child or replenishes his coal cellar, it is probable that he pays a further installment of this most subtle and insidious of all indirect taxes.

This explains why living in our American cities is so very much dearer than in the country. The expense of living ought not to be so much greater in centres of population, where production is specialized and distribution is effected with the least cost. Our western American comes east and is surprised at the cheapness of living in a stationary New-England town. The greater part of the cheapness arises from the fact that real-estate values are on a normal basis, since it is not expected that the town will grow appreciably larger, and there is therefore no inducement for unearned-increment anticipators to exploit the municipal site.

It is an experience common to humanity to be obliged to pay for the sins and errors of the past, but the denizens of our growing American cities must pay heavy penalties for presuming to live in them, on account of something which may happen in the future. It is not only that the unearned increment, which the people themselves have created by establishing a centre of population, goes into the pockets of speculators. If that were all, the case would not be so deplorable. But the speculators are not satisfied with taking possession of the unearned increment accruing from the present size of a town; they insist upon discounting the future, and greedily grasp at the unearned increment ten or twenty years ahead, — an increment, in fact, which may never materialize at all. Their efforts are crowned with success in a growing town, because the possession of land in a given place is a natural monopoly, and those who have it can hold up those who want it.

Suppose now that the man appears who wants it for use, — the capitalist who desires to erect a business block or an apartment-house. This is exactly the individual for whom the speculative bandits have been lying in wait. For such a purpose requires a particularly eligible site. The speculative element in the cost price of the site is therefore very prominent. How does the capitalist defend his pocket? The most approved expedient, in order to make the most of the forced investment of capital in a site, the valuation of which has been absurdly watered, is to erect a towering and unsightly edifice, as cheaply constructed as possible. There it stands, a monument of grotesque ugliness, with its mask of mongrel architecture fronting the street, and its huge slice of dreary brick wall, equally visible, bounding another side. The effect is very likely heightened by contrast with the adjacent half-block, occupied by one-story shanties because the owner holds it for a still higher price.

If private ownership of land, as its champions maintain, is defensible as a necessary condition of civilization up to a certain degree of development, then its right of continuance as an institution rests wholly on its continued usefulness to society, and wherever such usefulness is shown to have been

transformed into positive harm, there we may rightfully assume that the time has come for its abolition. There is no more certain indication that the institution of private ownership of land has outlived its usefulness in cities than the fact that it is associated more and more with tendencies which are distinctly reactionary as regards the social and economic welfare of city-dwellers.

Let us apply this test, for the sake of illustration, to a single one of these tendencies to which allusion has already been made.

A good many years ago Mr. Emerson asked: "Is not the selfish and even cruel aspect which belongs to our great mechanical works, to mills, railways, and machinery, the effect of the mercenary impulses which these works obey?" If Emerson were writing to-day he would include in his list of bad examples the "sky-scraping" apartment-houses which have sprung up like rank weeds in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis within the last decade. If the apartment-house as now constructed were indicative of any form of social amelioration, of any tendency to establish a true neighborhood or social unit among those who congregate under the same roof, — if it were leading the way, for instance, to co-operative housekeeping, — there would be some excuse for it. But it is not perceptibly associated with any such tendency. And does anyone suppose that, from actual economic necessity, dwelling-houses are built fifteen stories high in modern cities? On the contrary, this phase of urban development is the more anomalous when it is considered that the natural tendency of modern cities is to spread over a large area. It is no longer necessary, as in ancient and mediæval cities, that the houses of the residence quarters should be closely massed together in order to be included within walled protection from probable enemies. Furthermore, facilities of street transportation by cable and trolley, constantly improving in cheapness and convenience, together with the popularization of the bicycle as a means of locomotion, make it more practicable than ever before to reduce the density of city populations. Business men, clerks, mechanics, even day laborers, may reside several miles from their daily toil with positive advantage.



The construction of the Babel-tower office building, structurally of doubtful security, æsthetically an abomination, is equally anomalous and indefensible in a modern city. With such time- and distance-annihilators as the telephone, the district telegraph, the stock-ticker, the pneumatic tube; with all our latter-day devices for simplifying and accelerating the transaction of business, it is downright imbecility to assume that it is necessary to confine the business centre of a modern town to a single narrow quarter, and to concentrate and huddle that centre to such an unprecedented extreme that its streets become sunless cañons.

A modern city whose development had never been cramped or distorted by land speculation, would expand continuously and symmetrically from a central nucleus; it would not straggle here and there, with its site pock-marked in one place by a block of vacant and wholly unimproved ground, and pimped in another by the monumental hideousness of a many-storied apartment-house. It would have wide streets, plenty of parks, or breathing-spaces, even in the poorest parts, with buildings nowhere so high as to prevent the admission of sunlight to the streets, or so thickly grouped as to be unwholesome for human habitation. Its citizens would no more permit a ragged skyline than our present city-dwellers permit deviation from a uniform street-line.

What, then, is to be the remedy? Shall we apply the Single Tax of Mr. Henry George to this festering evil of private appropriation of the unearned increment years before it falls due? Much is to be said in favor of the Single Tax on ground sites, as a basis of municipal tax reform. The abuses which are incident to the present systems of municipal taxation are so great, the gap between the use value and the speculative value of city land is so wide, and constitutes such a convenient breeding-ground for unequal and iniquitous assessments, that the experiment of the Single Tax could hardly result more scandalously than the actual working of the present system in such a city, for instance, as Chicago. It must, however, be admitted that the Single Tax would tend to perpetuate the dangerous power of assessors, and perhaps subject their virtue to even greater temptations than the present sys-

tem. With the corrupt conditions at present generally prevailing in our municipalities, it is not easy to see how an equitable imposition of the Single Tax on land is to be assured.

There is another alternative, which at first blush seems more radical than Mr. George's famous remedy, but which at least has the advantage of having been partially tested and of being already in successful operation. This is municipal ownership of the site, or of such a portion of it as to limit and control private speculation in it. In consideration of the great evils from which our city-dwellers suffer on account of the system of private ownership in city land, it will not be difficult to maintain that the municipality would be justified in acquiring the fee simple to its site;—that this site should really be, in every sense of the word, the *town* site, held by the municipal corporation in perpetuity for the benefit of the whole people, and no more to be alienated than the people's streets or parks. The ground sites would then be rented by the municipality at regular intervals, at public auction and to the highest bidder. The leases would be of sufficient duration to induce building and improvement on the part of the lessor, the value of such improvements to be appraised at the expiration of the lease and returned to the lessor. We already have an illustration of the practical working of this system on a large scale.

By a legislative enactment passed in 1870, the city of New York was authorized to establish a Department of Docks, and to issue bonds for the acquisition of dock and wharf property from private owners, and for the improvement of the same. Under the operations of this act the city is now the owner of a large part of the docks, and in time will acquire them all. Up to April 30, 1895, over twenty-six millions of dollars of dock bonds had been issued by the city for the purpose of acquiring and improving dock property. The rentals received by the city for docks and slips amounted for the fiscal year ending on that day to nearly two millions of dollars, while the expense of running the department, including repairs but exclusive of new construction work, was in round numbers only \$265,000.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Annual Report of the New York Dock Department for year ending April 30, 1895.

The public piers of New York are leased for terms of years, sometimes at public sale, sometimes by resolution of the Board. The lessees usually erect the buildings and make the improvements which the nature of their particular business requires. At the expiration of the term of lease the pier is put up for lease again. If the lease is not renewed to the same party, the former lessee has the appraised value of his improvements returned to him. The ordinary term of lease is ten years.

As to the practical working of the New York Dock Department, it must be noted in the first place that for nearly the whole of its quarter-century existence it has been under the domination of the predatory Tammany machine. Nevertheless, Mr. A. C. Bernheim, in a carefully prepared magazine article, says: "The result is gratifying, even though millions may have been lost by official negligence or corruption."<sup>1</sup>

The comparatively successful experience of New York City with her Dock Department, under unfavorable conditions, would seem to indicate that municipal ownership of a large area of the municipal site may be established upon such a basis that the minimum of opportunity shall be given to city officials for maladministration. Their duties in this connection, for the most part, need be only discretionary, and the performance of these duties can be made so public that it would be difficult to make an opening for corrupt practices.

A striking example of land municipalization is to be found in the great English town of Birmingham. About twenty years ago, the City Council, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, matured a plan for the condemnation, demolition, and improvement of ninety acres of slums in the heart of the city. "The chief monument of this undertaking is Corporation Street, Birmingham's finest public thoroughfare and business avenue, splendidly built up with new and solid structures that will become the property of the municipality when the seventy-five-year ground leases expire."<sup>2</sup> That is to say, the municipality acquired this por-

---

<sup>1</sup> *Century* for May, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> "Municipal Government in Great Britain," by Albert Shaw, p. 180.

tion of its site by condemnation proceedings, and then leased the lots fronting on the new street to individuals, who were not only willing to erect splendid buildings upon it at their own expense, but also to face the contingency that at the expiration of their leases the buildings would become the property of the city, without any compensation whatever to the lessees. This is in accordance with English usage, but it would seem better policy for the municipality to make the term of lease much shorter, and upon its expiration to allow the lessee the value of his improvements, as appraised, following the practice of the New York Dock Department. In this connection it is interesting to note the experience of the famous Randall estate, also in New York. This estate consists of about twenty-one acres of land, between Fourth and Fifth Avenues, and bounded on the south by Waverly Place. It was left in trust, nearly one hundred years ago, for the building and maintenance of a Sailors' Home, and was at that time simply a farm in the country. It was long ago solidly built over, mostly under twenty-one-year leases. No absolute right of renewal was granted to a lessee who had erected a building, but at the expiration of the lease the value of the ground rent and of the building were separately appraised by disinterested arbitrators, and the trustees had the option of taking over the building at the appraised valuation, or of granting a new lease to the builder at an annual ground rent amounting to five per cent on the newly appraised valuation of the lot. On such terms plenty of people were found in New York who were willing to erect buildings on leased land, and a very fine class of buildings too.

*Municipal Ownership vs. Municipal Control*, — this is the great municipal issue of the present. Heretofore an attempted municipal control of semi-public corporations has been considered more compatible with American political ideas. But nearly all the efforts on the part of our municipalities to efficiently control the powerful and unscrupulous corporations which steal and exploit municipal franchises have proved such lamentable failures that the drift of public opinion at the present time is certainly toward municipal ownership. The results of municipal ownership and manage-

ment of gas, electric lighting, and waterworks, even under untoward conditions of city government for spoils, have on the whole been such as to fully justify the movement in that direction. The points in the controversy, on the respective sides, are well stated in the papers by Mr. Richardson of Philadelphia and Mr. Loomis of Buffalo, read at the last Conference for Good City Government at Baltimore. In the interesting discussion which followed the reading of these papers, Mr. Richardson said :

We have had for nearly forty years in Philadelphia the complete power by the City Councils and the city government to control the street railways. They had the power under the original ordinance, before a rail was laid in the city, to take the property of every company that was thereafter allowed to lay its tracks, at cost. With that power they could certainly have controlled it, so far as legal power is concerned ; but as a matter of fact the companies have controlled the city, and control the City Councils to-day.

Now Mr. George's Single Tax, as well as all other tax reforms which aim to recover from city land, for the people, the unearned increment which the people themselves have created, is to be classified as a species of municipal control. Would it be treated with any more consideration by conscienceless millionaires and corporations who have permanent corruption funds for tax-assessors, than previous attempts at municipal control ? On the other hand, would not municipal ownership of the city site tend to do away with the bribery of tax officials, in proportion as the class of city landholders became extinct, just as, under the system of municipal ownership and operation of public franchises, bribery abates in proportion as there are fewer companies to do the bribing ?

Of course it is not practicable to put the system of municipal site-ownership in full operation in our old cities. The amount required to condemn and appropriate the site of New York City, for instance, would appall the imagination of the boldest reformer. But that is no reason why a beginning should not be made, the same as the New York Dock Department made a beginning. Wherever the slums are condemned and demolished, as they are sure to be, and wherever the land is not needed for parks, let the city hold and lease the cleared area, under conditions such as will insure its being rebuilt on

in a proper manner. Let the municipality be given authority, under carefully guarded provisions, to acquire additional areas, as favorable opportunity occurs, say after an extensive fire in the business or tenement-house districts, where the abuses of unearned-increment anticipation are found in their most malignant form.

But, however hopeless this problem may appear in our older cities, it need not be permitted to arise at all in the new cities which are still to be founded by the thousands in this city-building country. It is only necessary to apply the principle of land-municipalization at the start. In the far West, town-sites are still being carved out of land which is comparatively worthless until society has conferred a value upon it. How easy it would be for the infant municipality to hold its town-site intact, for the common benefit of all its people, present and to come, the same as the square reserved for the court-house and the block set aside for the school! How much baneful and demoralizing gambling in real estate would be forestalled, how many disastrous booms averted! As the new town grew populous and wealthy, the unearned increment from the municipal lots would construct the sewers, grade and pave the streets, uniform the police, and educate the children. There could be no unearned-increment anticipators in that city, and the maintenance of normal ground rents would reduce the cost of living and production to an extent quite astounding. It is probable that in such a city the line of life for the average man would approach much more nearly to the theoretical curve of ease, — the condition of greatest reward for least effort.

And that, after all, is only what we have a right to expect from a centre of human society.

# STUDIES IN ULTIMATE SOCIETY.

## I. A NEW INTERPRETATION OF LIFE.

BY LAURENCE GRONLUND.

*Author of "The Coöperative Commonwealth."*

"None is accomplished, as long as any is incomplete." — *Emerson.*

**C**OLLECTIVISM — that is rational socialism — is, exclusively, an economic system, which in its full-blown development will mean: public, or collective, management of all means of production, of land, machinery, raw material. It has nothing directly to do with morals and religion, but indirectly almost everything. The reason for this lies in the fact, too often overlooked, that economic, industrial relations are the foundation of society and of civilization, while morality and religion are the flower and fruit thereof. N. P. Gilman, in his "Socialism and the American Spirit," complains that "the monotonous emphasis of Socialists is upon the material side of life rather than on the slow moral advancement that conditions lasting material progress," and that "the characteristic article of the socialist creed is, that circumstances are all that we need to change." To be sure, we emphasize the material circumstances as the first thing to change — not "the all," by any means, just as in a garden the flowers and fruits, which of course, as the essential objects, entirely depend upon the roots underground and the seeds from which they sprang. We do say with complete assurance, that it is contrary to reason that the masses of our people should be moral and religious in their present material surroundings, that is to say, as long as they are cursed with the present insecurity and dependence, often not knowing where their next meal is to come from; as long, moreover, as they constantly are being tempted to immoralities, as in fact they are by the existing system. Huxley here agrees with us: "It is futile to expect a hungry and squalid population to be anything but violent and gross." It is for maintaining this evident proposition, that Gilman charges us with "wor-

ship of the majority!" Well, surely, this writer may rather be charged with "worshipping" the minority — the "remnant," as Mathew Arnold quaintly calls it; I mean the enlightened, warm-hearted few who are to be the instruments in raising the whole of society upon a higher plane; and they evidently must be filled with the very highest ideals, since it is these that will furnish them with the powerful motives they will need. But with the great majority of men, and with society as a whole, it is entirely different: they and it have no high ideals at all, can in fact have nothing worthy to be called an "ideal." I shall now try to show that the new economic system called Collectivism will naturally evolve the very highest moral and religious ideals, for which reason alone the noblest among us ought to bless and work for the advent of this new social order.

We have a competitive industrial system, and we have a reigning philosophy that justifies and upholds this system. I now call attention to the fact, that it is the competition in our daily affairs that has created this philosophy and made it acceptable to us. All the influential writers of our age are permeated by it, but it is Herbert Spencer who has been the principal expounder of this philosophy to us, so much so that he may be called *par excellence* the philosopher of this competitive era. There is a curious contradiction in Spencer's writings, which also Huxley<sup>1</sup> has observed; while he has devoted essays to demonstrating that society is an organism, all his social and moral speculations start from and are throughout controlled by the very opposite assumption, adopted, it seems, unconsciously to himself, to wit: that we men are purely "autonomous" individuals, with no vital organic relations between us at all; that we have come into this world, each exclusively for the sake of himself; that in consequence society, far from being an organism or anything like it, is rather to be compared to a heap of sand, a heap of conscious grains of sand, whose sole business with each other is simply that of getting along together as tolerably as possible. This, as a matter of fact, is the reigning philosophy, and Spencer has become so popular as he is, because

---

<sup>1</sup> In "Administrative Nihilism."



he has most perfectly given expression to it. One thing that shows that it is our competitive system which is really the parent of this philosophy is, that the latter originated with the genesis of private capital, and has spread with its growth; the preceding centuries knew nothing about it. Lecky confirms this by saying:<sup>1</sup> "When we look back to the cheerful alacrity with which in former ages men sacrificed all their material interests to what they believed to be right, and realize the unclouded assurance that was their reward, it is impossible to deny that we have lost something in our progress."

This "something" which we have lost — not compensated for by our own vast material progress — was, I say, the inner, underlying meaning of all robust faiths of the past, with all their myths and dogmas. I refer to the conviction of our belonging together, the sense of man's organic unity, of *the solidarity of man*. This it was that actually dominated the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, as also the Christians during the so-called Ages of Faith. With the ancients this sense was very strong, in the form of devotion to the commonwealth, which we know was the vital principle of their polity. It is here instructive to observe how wholly incapable Herbert Spencer is of comprehending this feeling; he speaks of the Greek citizen being a slave of his city! Why, this devotion to his state, this close fellowship, was a very necessity to these ancient people; this living Athens, these altars, these customs, were to them a part of their very being, without which they absolutely could not live! And so we know that the Hebrews were moulded into unity by their ideas about Jehovah, their national God, who held out promises and threatened punishments, always referring exclusively to *the national life* of the entire people, always bringing general weal or general woe upon *their commonwealth*. This surely was solidarity in its strongest expression. But there was a deplorable limitation to the sense of man's unity in all these ancient folk; they confined it narrowly to an exceedingly small part of mankind, to the free-men only of their own city, or, at most, of their own nationality; all others

<sup>1</sup> In "European Morals."

were "barbarians," out of the pale of their fellowship. The Christians of the Middle Ages showed themselves far broader-minded than the ancients, but manifested an equally strong sense of human solidarity by making human nature itself divine in Jesus, made God; thereby conferring on all beings with a human countenance a supreme common dignity, and providing prince and peasant with the same means to reach an identical glory. They, however, also introduced a lamentable defect in their practice of solidarity, in this: that for the unity of the race they substituted the *unity of the elect*; that is to say, they very illogically divided their deified humanity in two, and gave to the two parts different destinies; a defect which Protestantism later on very much aggravated, and thereby has done considerable to arouse man's coarsely selfish concern for his soul, for his private salvation. In fact, Protestantism has just by that means paved the way for the present unbridled individualism.

But now comes modern rational socialism, or collectivism, which once more revives the condition of man's solidarity, and which I believe will once for all complete it. The collectivist *régime*, or the coöperative commonwealth, will, with its social coöperation and public functions for all, make every citizen of the state conscious of their organic unity, must indeed impose it on them as a *fact*, just as it was on the minds of our ancestors. We shall become conscious that humanity surely is the very reverse of a heap of grains of sand, that it is, on the contrary, an organism; that is, *a whole whose parts are reciprocally means and ends, and partake of a common life*. We shall come to feel it "in our bones," that humanity is an eternal, progressive, social organism, with *one* destiny, and that we men and women have all come into this world with a function to perform, and that is, to advance humanity towards its destiny.

To be sure, already now unfortunately a similar defect to that of the two previous periods threatens to be introduced, and that by European socialists. They acknowledge human solidarity; yet they do all they can to substitute for it the solidarity of the working-classes alone; they make the blunder also of parting humanity in two, of dividing society

by a horizontal line, the wage-workers below, and every one else above that line; and then they most lamentably preach a war between the two sections — “class-war;” that is what they have made their wretched shibboleth. This is what makes the prospects of socialism on continental Europe so gloomy.

But here in America, where class hatred fortunately as yet is only in embryo, we shall, I hope, insist on the grand doctrines of the organic unity of the whole society. Then, under collectivism, will humanity actually come to self-consciousness; men will then naturally come to inquire, Why is there this organic unity in man, and not in horses or dogs? Why, indeed, unless man actually has an end to accomplish, a destiny to fulfill in a way that animals have not. Human life consequently will have a new meaning for us; we shall come to look on ourselves and all our fellow men as both precious tools and responsible agents for advancing humanity's destiny, which is our own individual destiny. We shall become intensely interested in our fellow men; we shall become personally ashamed of our vulgar, venal, and vicious fellow, for we then shall feel that he actually degrades our own manhood, that we are responsible for him and his vices. On the other hand, we shall feel personally proud of our Shaksperes and all our great characters and geniuses, for we shall know ourselves a part of them, and them as a part of us, and be conscious that they have ennobled each of us personally — they were and are great as *men*, just what we are. This will be in truth a *new interpretation of life*. We may actually call it a new faith, and say, that it is a synthesis of the ancient and Christian faiths, appropriating the principal constituents of each: from the former it takes devotion to the commonwealth; from the latter the conception of a divine humanity. This new interpretation will give to life not merely a new meaning, but its contents; it will fill life out completely, to the exclusion of all miserable fears for one's private salvation.

With this new interpretation of life — one that will satisfy the highest intelligence and maturest conscience — accepted by the majority of our people as the product of a collectivist industrial system, we at last can have a higher ethics, a collec-

tivist ethics. There is no word in our language of so loose and vague a meaning as the word "moral." This indeed is most natural, since we affix either no meaning to life, or such a palpably false one as that we are simply a heap of conscious grains of sand. Our practical morality in consequence has become either a lubricant, a kind of grease wherewith to ease the friction of our social machinery, but containing not one element of *law*, or pure pharisaism, simply teaching "respectable" people how to be better than their neighbors, and to hold aloof from their fellows. We need only further listen to the conclusions of two modern celebrated expounders of theoretical ethics, Professors Sidgwick and Leslie Stephen, to at least understand that there are intelligent people who actually despise current morality as fit only for bibs and tucker. The former, in the closing pages of his "Methods of Ethics," confesses: "I am unable to construct any systematic answer, deserving of serious consideration, to the question: *What is the Ultimate Good?*" The latter closes his "Science of Ethics" with these words: "*It is a hopeless search*: that after some reason, binding any man *simply as reasonable*;" which surely is even a worse predicament for an ethical teacher. Are such ethics and such morality anything but worthless and contemptible? And it is plainly due to the fact, that the very foundation is rotten. Our morality is what it is, because each self, each soul, is at present exclusively its own centre; because we are immersed in the bottomless delusion that man *can* live for himself alone, a delusion even only tolerable now, when we are living in a transition period, but which, if it ever became our permanent ideal, would convert us into howling hyænas.

Now look at the transformation that will take place when the new interpretation of life inclines us, or rather compels us, to make society our centre; why, it will actually be to introduce the same order into morals that the Copernican system founded in astronomy! These two orders of ideas are not only similar, but exactly parallel. These disorders in our ethical teachings and practice are just as much due to our focusing the moral world on the *ego*, on self, as those in the Ptolemaic astronomy were due to the blunder of making the

earth the centre of the solar system. Collectivist ethics, on the other hand, by referring all our actions to society and humanity, will make everything fall beautifully into its right place, just as was the case with the solar system the moment Copernicus made the sun the centre of it.

Now, however, we have reached a most important point, which involves the very essence in the definition of collectivist morality. We start from our new interpretation of life, which assures us that we men are indissolubly and organically bound together, that hence humanity's destiny is our destiny, and the social welfare our welfare, in precisely the same way that the health of the whole human body conditions the health of each organ and of every individual cell. If this be true, then, of course, this social welfare is that "ultimate good" which Sidgwick could not ferret out; and it is equally evident, that if we are thoroughly convinced of this new interpretation, then we shall strongly want to lead a life conformable to that conviction — and this is the formal definition of the word "moral." Hence at the same time we have found what Leslie Stephen declares it "hopeless" to search after, because he knows of no meaning to life whatever. A man under that new conviction certainly will know better than ever before, that "selfishness" — that is, the effort to make "self" a *direct* and *exclusive* end — is not alone vicious, but a foolish, feverish dream.

Yet he would greatly deceive himself if he should jump to the conclusion, that all consideration for self should be banished. This is the important point that we must have cleared up: that collectivist morality, sound morality, *does not mean pure unselfishness*. "Self" is a constituent part of human nature of which we can divest ourselves just as little as we can of our own shadows; aye! it is impossible to have regard for others unless we esteem and value our own selves; hence it is not alone perfectly right to care for self and to pursue our individual interests, but we ought to do so; it is our duty. *Egoism is verily an integral, an essential element of morals*, without which morality emphatically could not exist at all. The reconciliation of what here seems contradictory is effected by insisting that it is your *true* self you must care

for; it is your *real* interests and your *highest* welfare you should pursue, and this is done by making self an *indirect* end instead of a direct end. Seek your individual welfare; this is your solemn duty; but work that object *through the collective well-being*, for that is the only way you ever will accomplish it. This is evidently not selfishness, and just as clearly not unselfishness; it is something between them for which I do not know of any acknowledged term. "Selfhood" surely is not appropriate (for that is not a motive), and therefore I take the liberty to coin a word, and call what I mean, *selfness*. The French socialist, Pierre Leroux, years ago undoubtedly had the correct idea, but he expressed it in this one very obscure sentence: *La loi de l'homme n'est ni le sacrifice, ni l'égoïsme, mais la solidarité.* ("The moral law for man is neither sacrifice nor egoism, but solidarity.") Selfness, I contend, is the golden mean that should move men to bless and work for the speedy coming of collectivism.

The collective well-being, or the social welfare, should be our *immediate* object, upon which all our thoughts and actions should be bent — directly bent. This is really a clear-cut summing up of collectivist morality. Morality, as we have noted, is the conduct that conforms to our inmost convictions; and ethics is simply the science that treats of that conduct. Now, collectivist morality can for short be called social morality, the conduct that exclusively regards society; and collectivist ethics, social ethics. And now see how properly egoism and altruism fall into their places, when it be said that they both are and ought to be the means to, *the servants of*, this social morality. You care for your true self, and care for it only, by looking on yourself as a precious tool and accountable agent for advancing the social welfare, and by acting accordingly; and thus *egoism* is *moralized*. Collectivist ethics, for instance, will of course inculcate personal cleanliness, but it will do so on its own peculiar ground, that you cannot perform your social duties properly without being habitually clean. In order to perform your duties to society, you may often need a robust egoism; ambition becomes ennobled; indeed, ambition in the service of society is one of the noblest of passions, and is greatly needed.

Just in the same way *altruism will be rationalized* — altruism, which can perhaps best be rendered into English by calling it fellow-feeling. At present this is purely a sentiment, and hence a very weak motive force; it is the weakest element of the present morality. But morality must be a law, or it is worthless; it must be an inexorable but most beneficent law. Altruism will become strong as steel when it is made rational, and then we shall come to acknowledge that human solidarity is indeed the bond which wise men have been seeking after that might become *authority*. Altruism will be rationalized when we come to look, not on self now, but on all our fellow men of every degree as valuable tools and actors in working out humanity's destiny, and treat them accordingly. That is, we thereby substitute our intellect instead of our feelings as springs of action; and this will be an immense gain, for it will make us recognize authority. When we esteem all our fellow citizens as the predestined collaborators in advancing the social welfare, which we know is our individual welfare also, then we of course shall deem it simply *irrational* to compete with them; and, on the other hand, simply *rational* to coöperate with and emulate them; we then shall think it nothing but *rational* to reverence our true superiors among them and follow them. Personal authority and dependence on individuals will appear in a high degree *irrational*; while even self-sacrifice will seem *rational* in our eyes, for it will in last resort be simply the sacrifice of our lower self to our higher self.

Those who are inclined that way can look on this collectivist ethics, this sounder ethics, as was done with the new faith, as the union of ancient and Christian ethics, taking from the former the public spirit of the ancient peoples, and from the latter man's moral personality, that is, the capacity in every man freely to conform to the moral law.

But a friend, Prof. Julius Platter, of Zürich, Switzerland, objects, that "A thorough devotion of citizens to the commonwealth is now forever impossible, because the essential prerequisite for it was the confinement of the governing element ('the state') to *one* city, with which the citizen stood and fell; and this in modern nations is necessarily and irrev-

ocably lost." To be sure, great nations have forever displaced cities, like Athens and Rome, but to say that this fact makes devotion to country impossible, seems to me absurd; it would be the same as to say that civilization now must cease. I, on the other hand, contend that public devotion will germinate and develop as the benefits which the commonwealth confers on the citizen become more and more apparent, and he himself becomes more and more a constituent part of the commonwealth. Patriotism then naturally will gradually assume the form of gratitude.

I almost think this idea enables us to account for the power of the literature of the ancients over us. The fact that these people so much insisted on devotion to the state and public spirit, coupled with that other fact, that Catholicism wholly neglected these sentiments, may very likely be the reason for the *élite* of mankind so persistently clinging to the Greek and Latin classics. It may be added that this public devotion will further be likely to increase from society becoming a more and more perfect organism, for as yet it is of course only partly developed as such. If it were already fully developed, it would be right to claim, as some do, that "society owes every man a *living*," just as every organ in the body is nourished before work is required of it. But because the social organism is still in the process of development, such a claim is at present a most dangerous misconception; but the claim, that "society owes every man an opportunity to gain a living by work," is timely even at this stage, for society is now able to provide that.

It is commonly said by Guizot and others of this individualistic age, that "Man is not for society, but society is for man." From the above considerations I think we should repudiate the first half of this statement, and affirm the very opposite: that *man is here on earth for society*. We are in this world, and have come into it, precisely in order to serve humanity, and, in the first place, as the best way of doing this, to help in advancing our country's welfare; and this, we repeat, because *it is the appointed way of accomplishing our own highest destiny*. Then again, how may we not expect devotion to our country to be fostered and invigorated when we



are thus conscious of being instruments of its advance, as we may hope to be in the glorious twentieth century.

Now, is this collectivist morality not good common sense? Especially, is not selfness, as I have defined it, the only sane foundation for any morality in any way satisfactory? Neither selfishness nor unselfishness surely affords any basis that satisfies the most ordinary intelligence. There is one touchstone that verifies the correctness of the claim here made, and that is *happiness*. Selfishness is evidently the foe of happiness; whenever anyone on purpose directly pursues it, him we know happiness surely evades; he will never find it. On the other hand, pure unselfishness is impossible; as already said, no son of Adam can escape from self; even the greatest saint has had for motives some form of selfishness, even when seeking the golden crown of martyrdom. Carlyle's words may sound cynical: "Live to make others happy! This is mere hypocrisy. Avoid cant!" but they contain the simple truth. If you say that you will live to make strangers happy, for their own sakes, your talk is hypocrisy and cant, and nothing else. But happiness is a blessed incident in life, the natural accompaniment of usefulness, and this must now test selfness to every intelligence. To say that you will live to make your fellow men happy *because* you know that thereby you are working out your highest destiny, that indeed "nothing human is foreign to you" *for that reason* — this is not cant, but is rational and wise. Happiness is the natural consequence of thus fulfilling the moral law; and thus selfness is proved a legitimate prompter, the rightful spring of action.

We are not attempting to make the masses of men first moral, and then make them collectivists, for that would be to place things on their heads; but we do want to convince and persuade *you*, the enlightened few, the "remnant," that collectivism will evolve the highest ideals and the highest practical morality; and then we ask you to help raise the whole society upon a higher plane *for your own sakes*, for you cannot save yourselves or be saved, on this earth or elsewhere, but by bearing your brethren aloft with you. *You* must know, that "*none is accomplished, as long as any is incomplete.*"

## II. INDIVIDUALISM VS. ALTRUISM.

BY K. T. TAKAHASHI.

Disappointment, despair, and inaction are, in nearly a correct order, the steps by which men reach the sad state of slavery and vagrancy. From this point of view, I have long doubted the wisdom of that doctrine which imposes it upon man to be of utility to others, and which enters so largely into the discussions of social problems that many seem to think the triumph of altruism will be the final salvation of the world. The dreams of altruism are fascinating; nevertheless they are dreams, — the dreams of diseased brains, — and as such can lead the world only to imbecility and hypocrisy. I therefore protest against altruism.

Of altruism, there are apparently three kinds, the sentimental, the conventional, and the evolutional. The first may conveniently be represented by modern Christianity. It interprets Jesus as the centre of all that is unselfish in man, regards modern civilization as its own creation, and altruistic conversion as its goal.

Christ indeed cherished an ideal man after his own fancy, and left behind him a teaching, the faithful observance of which he no doubt believed would enable mankind to transform this world into a heaven on earth. But in these nineteen centuries there has been but one Jesus, and the world remains the same old world. It is then either that Jesus was not right in His teaching, or that posterity has misunderstood Him. For my part, I think the altruistic interpretation of posterity is a mistaken one.

As for the claims of those who believe that the Western civilization of to-day, the highest yet attained, is a product of Christian altruism, it is to be pointed out that Christianity has never been either a constructive or a destructive force in the social evolution of man. Our present civilization came only as a result of the triumph of the intellectual over physical force, which means simply that peaceful trade and industrialism have superseded militarism.

A friend of mine, a gentleman of deep learning and wide knowledge, differs from me on this point. His argument is

that civilization is essentially a dissemination of truth, and that Christianity, by reason of its missionary spirit, is the greatest truth-disseminating force the world has ever possessed; therefore Christianity has always been a powerful factor in the bringing about of the present civilization. This is very ingenious, but we all know that there is a vast difference between what are commonly called gospel truths, retailed by preachers and missionaries, and those fundamental principles upon which stands the fabric of human society,—the reliability of science and the emancipation of mankind. It is the latter kind of truth which promotes civilization, precisely the kind which preachers and missionaries have always shunned.

Then again, because there is observable in our midst a more extended growth in charitable movements and practical philanthropy, and also a wider recognition of fraternity among the classes and races than before, Christians would see in this a spread of altruism, and attribute it to their Christianity. But history avers otherwise. From the days of distant by-gones down to the end of feudal times, the continuous prevalence of tyranny and extortion made tradesmen, artisans, and all common people, except the fighting class, companions in patient suffering, a circumstance which necessarily engendered among them a spirit of mutual assistance in a more generous degree than was possible with their oppressors. This spirit, beautiful as it has always been, naturally received a double impetus when its beneficiaries triumphed. It was therefore in the very nature of the change, that, when feudalism succumbed, there would follow a period of freer and wider growth of peace and fraternity. Whatever was the cause of the coming of the new civilization, it is a mistake therefore to say that Christianity led the way. Besides, Christianity as it stands even to-day rests upon essentially theocratic principles, and theocracy in its social working is but a plutocracy of a very arbitrary type; and it is plain that this clerical plutocracy could not have been the foster mother of democratic civilization.

Christians talk of peace and fraternity as if these things

had been exclusively theirs all the time ; but it was only the other day that crusades, the inquisition, and persecution formed an integral part of Christianity ; and be it remembered that the persecution idea is still maintaining a lingering hold upon a large portion of people in not a few countries. Any unbiased person will thus see that Christianity did not foster civilization, but that civilization civilized Christianity.

I freely admit, however, that there is another side to Christianity, and that is that, as a social institution, the church is an indispensable organization to Christians. Human society in its present stage subsists on two broad principles, voluntary cohesion and coerced submission. The church embodies the primary force of voluntary cohesion for Christians, and as such it is a necessity to a Christian community. At the same time, the fact of a religious organization working indirectly and unconsciously as a social instead of a religious institution is not and has never been peculiar to Christianity ; and it goes only to emphasize the fact that Christianity, in this aspect, is not that which leads and moulds, but is only a local name for a social force that binds and appeases.

Coming to doctrinal argument, the generally accepted gist of Christianity is regeneration, or being born again, that is, being converted so thoroughly in one's nature that the physical and physiological principles which constitute all that is self in a man shall become subjugated and put under control by his altruistic impulses. The subtle ingenuity of this enunciation is almost irresistible, and I have long been subject to its profound illusion. Even to-day, when I recur to the grand Sermons on the Mount, I am often tempted to fall on my knees that I may return to its dreams. For all that, however, it cannot be denied that the correctness of the doctrine of regeneration depends entirely upon an assumption that there is at least a potency in man which makes such a conversion a possibility. But that that assumption is an unfounded one is evident from the fact that the laws which govern the physical and physiological existence of man are inexorable, and amenable to none beyond a certain

limit; while all those things which debase self and exalt sacrifice are impulses of emotion, and therefore fitful and exceptional. The doctrine of regeneration, altruistically interpreted, is thus an attempt at making exceptions *permanent and general*, which is a contradiction in itself. No wonder modern Christianity has failed to follow Christ and His teaching, and belies itself when it upholds altruism; for it only leads one to hypocrisy.

I come now to modern socialism, as representing the second form of altruism. But let us clearly understand at the outset that there are no such things as "right" and "justice" in nature. In all human matters these notions are based totally upon some conventional order of society existing in fact. Yet the existing order cannot in itself be right or wrong, though it may appear one way or the other in view of some untried theory, and *vice versa*. If you believe in the present system, nothing can be right which runs amuck with its fundamental principles. If you do not, you can only preach revolution; but in so doing you can talk only nonsense unless you can offer a demonstrable plan of your own. In short, it is useless to advance or advocate any theory on a mere ground that it is "right and just," for its rightness and justness become possible only when the possibility of the new order of things is demonstrable.

This much understood, let us now take up socialism.

Omitting differences of detail, socialists as a whole claim that, with the coming of equal facility for the enjoyment and maintenance of life, there will be no more discontent, and that crimes will cease on earth. To proletariats, equalized sharing in the good things of this world means a social gain, and it is thought that they would embrace the new system with enthusiasm and lasting contentment.

But it must be remembered that contentment and happiness are entirely subjective phenomena, and have no quantitative limitations. Behold! the rich man of to-day can have almost every want satisfied at his beck and call, and yet he knows no abiding contentment and happiness, and is seldom an ideal man. It is, however, manifestly absurd to suppose that the rich and the poor are in their essential natures of different

casts. Indeed, a great many rich men of to-day were once proletariats themselves. Consequently, even under the reconstructed system there will be in this world exactly the same amount of self-aggrandizing forces as at present, and the possibility of a socialistic *régime* will depend upon the possibility of a complete change in human nature, which, so long as left to itself, will remain the same. That is to say, the equalization will not cure discontent or stop crimes.

Socialists urge that the very spirit of discontentment first arose when material inequality in the sustenance and enjoyment of life became the order of human society. Very true; and it would appear that the real aim of socialism is the abolition of, and making punishable, the interdependence of private individuals. By interdependence of private individuals I mean the depending of Peter upon John for his breadstuff, and John upon Thomas for his clothing, and so on. If socialism is going to be the order of our existence, I say that this depending upon one another among private persons, and the consequent transactions of commerce, must cease. For, whether mutual or one-sided, the dependence of one person upon another for his well-doing — not necessarily living — is solely at the root of that state of society in which aggressive ability transforms itself into a right, a power, and property, creating the two classes of men, employers and employed, which is none other than the one we are living under. The socialists propose to get over the difficulty by a series of promulgated laws. These laws, according to them, are to bring about and perpetuate the nationalization of the land, capital, inheritance, and transportation, and the equalization of labor.

Nationalization of land can mean, at most, that a certain area of soil will be made free of access to anyone who may choose to till or work on it. In that case the ratio of farming population to the rest of the inhabitants of the world will remain practically the same as at present, and a vast majority of people will have to look to farmers for their breadstuff, and this, even though a large part of the farm laborers should be converted into a national militia. The result will be either that the farmers will amass wealth and

live in luxury, while the balance of mankind will be reduced more or less to a state of penury, or that the farmers will become the most oppressed of creatures under the sun in spite of professed equalism. This is a rather sweeping statement to make, but here is an instance to illustrate the point. You have in military language an expression, "the base of operation." Though faddish politicians and socialists would overlook it, as a matter of fact the farmers do and and forever will hold the key to this "basis of operation" in human economy of existence. And so, as long as there exists an unequal burden of life, land nationalization will achieve nothing toward preventing private interdependence. With this fate awaiting even land nationalization, I cannot see how it will be otherwise with capital and transportation.

After all, the socialists' secret is to convert people by instruction and agitation to a faith in an impersonal object of worship and submission called the "State," conventionally created by themselves and invested with all the attributes of a God. That is to say, the State is to become what Carlyle derisively calls "Mumbo-Jumbo" of black men. The State, as representing the people, becomes the sole and universal owner of labor and its products; but don't you see that you, as an individual, become relatively the servant of everybody else but yourself? The equalization of the hours and of the award of labor does not alter the situation; the State becomes the taskmaster, and you become a slave. Human nature revolts against such a drastic form of altruism. But if private transactions involving interdependence are to be abolished by law, universal slavery will inevitably follow. But socialism has not yet demonstrated that such a state of things will be practicable. So altruism in socialistic form is but a dream of one-sided fancy.

Apparently in opposition to Christians and socialists, modern philosophers of the evolution school, whose claims will now be considered, contend that when a social organism reaches a stage of complete development, it will become a coercive whole to which a man of independent and individualistic tendencies will be an object of execration and removal, which is to say, that these philosophers believe that there is

a certain law of nature which compels and governs the conduct of human society in such a way that ultimately each individual person who composes it will realize that the reason of his existence in this world is not for himself, but for society, and that he must conduct himself accordingly. In brief, the law is that man is given life in order to complete a social whole.

This is another case of altruism, only with the presence of an ulterior law. Its argument is founded upon the similarities that run between a social organism and an individual organic body, it being inferred that the law which governs the latter must also govern the former. There is nothing to dispute about in this statement, but the error lies in the interpretation of the law itself, which in an individual organism is thought to take this form, that organic parts are for the perfect development and maintenance of the whole. To my mind, however, there is as much vitality in a part as in the whole, and life is a resultant, a phenomenon whose completeness depends upon the perfectness of the balance of power among the conflicting forces exerted by all the parts. A part exists for itself, not for the whole. Some parts have become practically eliminated in course of evolution, but I regard this as having occurred through the inflexible law of the survival of the fittest among the parts themselves. The axiomatic truth, that there can be no whole without parts, and that the completeness of the whole depends upon the completeness of each individual part, does not at all imply that the parts exist for the whole. If they have a force of sustenance in common among themselves, that force is there to impart to each part its share of existence, not to compel it to uphold the whole. When one feels hungry, it is because the different parts of his body call for their nourishment. After a rainy season the valleys of the great Nile present a grand panoramic whole of verdant life. The heat, moisture, and soil combine to sustain the growth and existence of myriads of different organisms; but it is absurd to say that the latter sprang into life in order to help the sun, the Nile, and the earth to prosper on.

In a similar way I can understand life only as a resultant



phenomenon, the parts living for themselves. Indeed, the very law of evolution from simplicity to complexity demonstrates that the fundamental principle of a body organic is to develop and perfect the parts.

Hence social evolution, if it means anything, must mean the perfection of each individual person biologically and psychologically, as forming a part of the organism; and any theory that places an individual man in a position subservient to the interest of the state, as representing a whole, rests on a false conception. In this sense philosophic altruism is no less chimerical than the others. By the way, the occultists' fancy of the manifoldness of a man's nature, or Ego, is but a crude perception of the fact that he is an aggregate of conflicting selfishness.

To recapitulate, altruism in its three principle forms, sentimental, conventional, and evolutionary, has no ground to stand upon.

But I have not yet stated what I understand by altruism, and it remains to determine what it really means.

Well, pain and sorrow, joy and pleasure, each originates locally through conditions and impressions produced upon, and represents a gratification or its reverse of, the parts concerned. But, although a man's nerve centre is acutely sensitive, and everything is supposed to be recorded there with very delicate precision and discrimination, yet the multitude and variety of the messages reaching there are so overwhelmingly great and complex, that it is not at all unreasonable that the thought impressions induced through touch, sight, hearing, and other organs of communication are sometimes mistaken for those of direct local origin, and the despatch centre is made to act, in a sense, upon illusions and delusions. For an instance, when one finds a person hungry, he would give the latter assistance, not because any law compels him to do so, but because his intelligence centre received a message that feeding is needed. He simply acts under a delusion. The delusion in this case renders a good service, but none the less it is a delusion. There is, however, no delusion in a case where a man is in a state of affluence and power, and

yet demands submission and tribute from others. Such an act is characterized by extortion and tyranny. But, given the condition that calls for and deserves assistance, and if you act at all, then you do so out of sympathy. And that acting out of sympathy is precisely acting from delusion. Can you conceive an instinctive law of rendering services to others, situated between coercion and sympathy. It is impossible to do so. Then altruism necessarily presupposes an implied or explicit appeal, and its acts cannot but be those of sympathy. To say that there is natural altruism, is therefore making delusion a law of nature. That is, altruism is a law of imposition. In fact, it is nothing more than a fad of our age. A fad! Once the word is uttered we see it in all its true characteristics. Altruism, how erratic in its enthusiasm, but how indifferent to its consequences! "Altruism," you cry; and your brothers and sisters in need and sorrow respond, "We rely!" Then you turn round and hiss out, "Mendacity!" But a law of nature must needs endure reliance. Altruism inspires reliance and then scatters disappointment and despair broadcast, and plods about the living grave of submergence in triumph! Oh! damnation to altruism.

I turn away from this sickening fad and sophism, and hail individualism, a truth, a law of man's existence!

A man's body, as already stated, is an aggregate of different parts striving each for its own existence. A man is a sum total of selfishness. By individualism is meant this totaled selfishness. For fear, however, that some may welcome individualism with a vengeance, while others who have been living in a languid dream of altruism may awake in terror at a least intimation of selfishness, I may further explain in a few lines what is meant definitely by this term.

It is supremely important to grasp the notion that this sum total of selfishness does not mean a homogeneous aggregate, but a heterogeneous aggregate. The wants and inclinations of the different parts of a human body are not the same either in quantity or quality. They are often diametrically opposed to each other in these respects. But when there happens to exist a state of excessive or abusive activity in

a part to the injury of the others, the latter protest, and if they are strong enough to carry through their point, then, in coöperation with the despatch centre, they make the erring part resume its normal condition.

By individualism is therefore meant, that condition of the human body in which each of its parts is given a free scope for existence, development, and perfection, attended by gratification of instinctive requirements, without causing injury to other parts. This is the law of human existence. This is individualism in its true sense.

It naturally follows, then, that — the relation of man with a social organism or a community being such as has been already stated — the laws of the state should, first and last of all, be based upon the principle that each and every humanity shall enjoy an unrestricted freedom of existence without injury to others. The result of the recognition of this individualistic principle will be, on one hand, —

That he who weakens at disappointment, succumbs to despair, and dwindles into inaction must either suffer or perish; and, on the other, —

That he who, for the sake of a local gratification of his body, causes suffering or death to others, shall himself undergo a corrective or exterminative penalty.

In either case the culprit meets his punishment because he violates the principle of individualism.

Thus, individualism is a doctrine far healthier and more manly than altruism, for the former frankly avows a struggle as the condition of life, so that a man may be prepared for it; while the latter inspires in him a spirit for reliance which can never be fully realized, and as a rule hurries him down the damnable steps of disappointment, despair, inaction, simply because that inspiration is a deception, a fad.

Having reached this stage of our argument, it is opportune to point out that neither philosophy, nor Christianity, nor socialism was originally altruistic in its teachings, and that the change came only through not understanding what individualism really meant.

Look at philosophy. It was born to the world after mankind had passed into a phase of social existence in which a

few ruled over many. It came to perpetuate this order of society, teaching it as one of the inevitable conditions of life. In other words, it came to give reason for upholding the active selfishness of the ruling few. When this school became superseded by that of democracy, philosophy sought practically to reverse the above order, but the starting-point was still self-interest.

Again, Christ himself taught nothing more than self-interest. How intensely selfish is the sentiment that pervades throughout the Sermons on the Mount! It is not for God He speaks; it is for the man, individual man. He advises one to part with his material possessions because He believes subjective contentment is the source of supreme happiness. He urges one to love another because the other will love him in return. His teaching is, in brief, that God ordains man to be good to himself, avoiding all that hinders, and laboring for all that promotes, the attainment of this end. Christ's Christianity was emphatically a religion of self-interest.

Socialism rose as a protest against the exploitation of proletariats, and its stronghold rested in the recognition of the right of individual ownership and disposition of labor and its products. So socialism, too, derives its origin from intense selfishness.

What socialism, religion, and philosophy really protest against is not self-interest, but self-aggrandizement at the expense of others. It is precisely what individualism protests against. Yet there is a vast and unbridgeable difference between altruism that seeks to subordinate the self to the interest of others, and individualism that demands complete emancipation and independence, and strives to perfect the development and gratify the wants of the selfish parts, so that the beauty and completeness of the phenomena of life may be maintained and perpetuated. It is therefore to be urgently hoped that teachers, thinkers, and leaders of our age would speedily see that altruism is not a necessity, but a sophism, born of misconception.

I may anticipate here an objection that individualism will annihilate in man all spirit of nobleness. I would retort that even altruists themselves acknowledge that the

genius of civilization is to reduce the frequency of occurrences that call for or necessitate self-sacrifice and other kindred acts of magnanimity in this world. Mankind will be the happier the less the occasions of heroic deeds. It is self-evident, then, that altruism is a hindrance to civilization.

Finally, I declare that altruism in a great majority of cases is a positive hypocrisy. The scope and purpose of this paper did not allow me to treat with any semblance of detail the points already touched upon, and I shall again have to content myself with merely citing an instance or two illustrative of this last remark. Here, for example, is the phenomenon of love. A man can profess love, but he cannot love where there exists no love. A man loves, not because altruism demands it of him, but because the love loves, for love is a psychological force of its own. Professed love may be altruistically correct, but it is hypocrisy. Or take a case of a man's doing a noble act of giving, forgiving, or self-sacrificing. He may do it because he takes pleasure in so doing. That is not altruism. Or he may do it through a momentary force of inner prompting; in that case he does so to avoid or stop a feeling of anguish caused by delusion. Or, again, he may do it as a matter of duty, which implies retribution. Add vanity to this list, and then think if it is possible for man to act against his own willingness unless he is a hypocrite. Indeed, wherever altruism is claimed, there it is only as a mask. Verily progress of altruism can only mean progress of hypocrisy. Even to-day altruism is most loudly professed by hypocrites, for it can only be professed. Thus, altruism is an unhealthy doctrine at best.

But individualism can never be hypocritical. Even for that one reason, mankind should uphold and cultivate individualism. Absolute conversion, or regeneration, and complete equalization are both unconditional impossibilities; while, evolutionally, altruism is a fallacy. Individualism alone is the truth, the law, and the salvation of Man.

MONTREAL, CANADA.

# GENERAL WEYLER'S CAMPAIGN.

BY CRITTENDEN MARRIOTT.

*Correspondent in Cuba, of the Chicago Record.*

THE second Spanish campaign of the war in Cuba has now come to an inglorious end. The rainy season has fairly begun, military operations have been suspended, several thousand troops have been sent back to Spain, and most of the regulars have been withdrawn from the interior towns and concentrated in the coast cities, leaving the local troops to defend their own homes. Military operations cannot be recommenced on any large scale until next October, by which time we may expect important changes in the situation. This, therefore, seems the proper time to review the state of Cuba, and ascertain, as accurately as may be, what Spain has achieved, and what she has still to achieve before reconquering the island.

I arrived in Cuba on January 19th, and left it on April 24th, my visit there covering the entire campaign of General Weyler against the great province of Santa Clara. I went there as a newspaper correspondent, and as such, while not permitted to accompany the Spanish troops, I followed, preceded, or encircled their line of march, keeping a close watch on all their movements. I did not attempt to reach the insurgent armies, but, through a series of circumstances too long to explain, was in close and constant communication with them during the last two months of my stay.

This alleged war has been, in many ways, one of the most singular that the world has ever seen. It is a war without battles; there has not been a real battle in Cuba since the spring of 1896, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding. The thrilling combats narrated with circumstantial detail in certain newspapers simply do not take place.

It is a war where the invading army, in all 260,000 strong, opposing a retreating, bushwhacking, battle-avoiding force of from 12,000 to 40,000 (according to different au-

thorities), yet puts more than two-thirds of its numbers behind stone walls, in forts, trochas, and other forms of defensive fortifications.

It is a war where, for every insurgent killed in fight, two Spaniards are so killed and five die of disease. Worse, it is a war where the chief fury of the attacking party seems to be directed against the non-combatants, and where starvation is a potent weapon relentlessly employed against a vast throng of people who were never hostile, and who are now utterly desolate and vainly pleading for mercy.

Once more, it is a war where the mother country is bleeding at every pore, where her credit is getting worse and worse every day, where her debt is already so enormous that it will exclude her for years from any place amongst the powers of the world, where her armies are unable to bring the foe to give battle; and yet it is also a war where her officers are all amassing riches, stolen partly from the Cubans, but mostly from the coffers of their mother country, and where (most ludicrous of all, but a fitting termination of the farce) her general in command is claiming that he has pacified Cuba, although dozens of skirmishes take place daily, and he knows, and the world knows, that there are more rebels in arms to-day than ever before.

On the other hand are the rebels, who follow the amazing, if effective, policy of hoping to win their freedom without fighting for it; who permit their friends to be butchered without an effort in their defense; whose chief aggressive tactics involve the blowing up of railway trains with dynamite, and the forming of ambushes, in which half-a-dozen Spaniards are killed, followed by a precipitate flight through fear of being brought to close quarters.

Add, that both sides have deliberately set out to destroy the country, the rebels burning or ruining the sugar-cane and tobacco fields, and the Spanish destroying everything else, including the farm buildings and the orchards, and it must be admitted that the situation has rarely been paralleled.

General Weyler started west from Havana on January 19, 1897, with an army alleged to consist of 16,000 men. This he gradually increased to 25,000 from garrisons scattered

along his route. He reached the city of Santa Clara on February 1, and at once issued "concentration" orders for that province similar to those already put into effect in the three western provinces. On February 9th he marched to Placetas, and thence south to Sancti Spiritus, both important towns. Three weeks later he returned to Havana, discouraged by his inability to bring the rebels to bay. On March 8th he received orders from Spain, directing him to enter into negotiations with the rebels. He was kept at Havana for some time by a severe cold, but finally, on March 28th, reached Cienfuegos, whence he sent a commission of three Cubans, leaders in the last war, to negotiate with the rebels. General Gomez refused to receive them, threatening to hang them if they came to his camp. Gen. Weyler thereupon, after marching here and there in the province for two weeks longer, on April 22 declared it pacified.

Meanwhile, General Gomez and President Cisneros crossed the central trocha from Jucaro to Moron in January, and attacked the town of Arroyo Blanco. The garrison resisted gallantly, and on February 3rd were relieved by General Weyler's advance guard. Gomez then detached General Magia Rodriguez to pass General Weyler, get in his rear, and create a diversion in Havana and Mantanzas provinces, left partially stripped of troops by the Spanish. This Rodriguez did with great success.

General Gomez himself scorned to retreat. Sending President Cisneros and his cabinet back across the trocha to a place of safety, he established himself within ten miles of Arroyo Blanco, and has remained there ever since. The Spanish have reported three battles with him at almost the same place, and in each have claimed a great victory. It is noticeable, however, that it is the rebels who have held their ground and the Spanish who have retreated. For more than four months previous to the date of this writing (June 1), General Gomez has been within five miles of the field of La Reforma, his position perfectly well known to both friend and foe, keeping up regular communications with the world at large.

The truth of the matter is that there have been no such



battles as the Spanish claim. There have been a few long-range skirmishes, and that is all. The Spaniards, though enormously outnumbering the insurgents, have not cared to come to close quarters with Gomez, and he, as a matter of policy, preferred to harass Weyler by ambushes and skirmishes, rather than risk a battle, which would mean ruin if he were defeated. The Spanish army, therefore, if not beaten, has at least been ineffective. This is due chiefly to its childishness, corruption, and cowardice.

Many newspaper writers have remarked on the youthfulness and apparent stupidity of the regulars. I suppose seventy-five per cent of them are under twenty-one, and ninety-five per cent are under twenty-five. They are mostly plow-boys, freshly caught by the conscription, and shipped across the seas without any training or drill whatever. Spain has kept her older troops at home to protect herself against the Carlists and the Republicans who are supposed to be plotting against the government.

These boys are set down far from home, in a strange land where yellow fever and smallpox prevail by turns the year around. They are treated with the greatest brutality by their officers, robbed by the commissaries, insufficiently clothed and fed, shot down from ambush by enemies whom they cannot see and cannot catch, and are paid irregularly or not at all. Can such soldiers be expected to prove efficient?

I have seen a whole company crying like children because one of their number had received a letter from home, and the rest were homesick. I have seen a major-general in the Spanish army lash a private over his face and head with a whip, because the man did not notice his approach and failed to salute him quickly enough. I have seen half-a-dozen of these soldiers scrambling on the floor of a coffee-house for a few coppers contemptuously thrown to them by an American correspondent. Are these the proud soldiers of Spain, the descendants of the foot soldiery that were the terror of Europe a few centuries ago?

The contrast between the officers and the privates is most striking. The former are the handsomest race of men I have ever seen. Not very tall, but well set up, of good figure, with

intelligence in every feature, kindly, courteous, and polite in civil life, no doubt, but cruel in war. The men are heavy, dull, with vacuous faces, badly developed figures, and, though young, are bowed by labor. No one seeing the private and his officer together would imagine that they belonged to the same race. Yet the officer, equally with the man, has his faults, and terrible faults they are. I do not speak of his cruelty, fiendish as it is, for opinions may differ as to that, but of his corruption and his cowardice and his mendacity. From the highest to the lowest the Spanish officers in Cuba are corrupt; corrupt with a deadly, destructive corruption, which strikes at the very heart of their mother country. It is a jest in Havana that General Weyler has made a half-million dollars out of the war. Merchants there have shown me on their books the records of enormous bribes to him and to other generals. Colonels carry on the rolls of their regiments the names of dozens of men killed in battle, claim pay in their names, and will appropriate it when Spain pays the soldiers. Captains and lieutenants make large profits by taking their troops on numbers of unnecessary railway journeys, and sending in false vouchers about them. The commissary department robs the government at home and the soldier in the field, ruining the one and half starving the other. A general officer has been recalled to Spain, charged with having accepted a bribe of \$40,000 to change his line of march and avoid a fight with the rebels. Nine-tenths of the rebels' ammunition nowadays is bought, in the original boxes, from Spanish officers. I do not speak from hearsay, but tell what I know.

The officers are cowardly, too, and shrink from active service. The coffee-houses in the cities are crowded with them. On a railroad train fired on by half-a-dozen rebels from alongside the track, I have seen them, clad in full regimentals, grovelling in the dust of the floor underneath the seats to avoid the bullets, while the train, in spite of its large military escort, put on extra steam and ran away. It is only when he gets some poor devil of a pacifico tied to a tree, and at his mercy, that the Spanish officer shows how courageously he can fight for Spain. The murder of non-combatant prisoners is the first article of his creed.

The official reports of operations in the field sent in by the officers are alone enough to convict them of the most outrageous mendacity. When a colonel reports that his regiment was exposed for three days to a murderous fire from continual ambushes, and finally charged up the side of a mountain, and took three successive lines of stubbornly contested intrenchments, killing fifty rebels (who were carried off by their comrades), all with the loss of one man wounded, it needs no expert to tell that he has told a falsehood. Yet this report and others quite as extravagant are repeatedly published.

The worst of it all is that these things are perfectly well known. There is no real concealment about them. They are commonplaces in Havana; they have been repeatedly brought to the attention of the Spanish government by the few honest officers in Cuba; they have been published in the Madrid papers; everybody knows them to be true. Yet Spain's only answer is to prosecute the editors of the Spanish papers that dare to publish them.

To barricade itself behind multitudinous stone walls is certainly a curious way for an attacking army to make war, but it is the way of the Spanish in Cuba. At least two-thirds of all its troops in the island are garrisoned in cities, forts, and trochas, and have never fired a shot except when attacked by the insurgents. For, mark you, the most curious thing about these garrisons is that they never sally forth. Their orders are to defend the fort or the trocha or the defensive house they occupy, and not to defend the town, or bridge, or railway station, which, in other lands, they would be expected to protect. For instance, a town is encircled by a number of these forts, and has one or two squads located in some large building inside of it. If the rebels attack this town, and come within range of the forts or blockhouses, the soldiers will fire on them, but they will never leave their defenses to attack. Two or three times a week, during my stay in Cuba, large towns were entered by squads of insurgents, who pillaged and burned a goodly part of them, and the garrisons, though far greater in numbers than the rebels, never came out of their forts to give battle. The command-

ing officer always telegraphed to some near-by town for some one of the numerous marching columns that happened to be there at that time, and whose business it was to fight in the open. The garrisons of the towns were not expected to do this under any circumstances. I know this, for on two occasions I was present in such towns when attacked.

The favorite time for the rebels to enter a town was about nine or ten o'clock at night, because they knew that no column would make a night march to attack them. Invariably the troops would remain quiet until daylight, thus giving the rebels time enough to loot the town and get away. A Spanish column never makes a night march, never camps out, and seldom continues its pursuit of a rebel band for more than one day.

Thousands of these little forts are scattered all over Cuba. I call them forts for want of a better name, but they are not at all what we think of when we speak of forts. The smallest are about fifteen feet square, two-storied, built of stone, the walls two feet thick, with one narrow doorway elaborately loop-holed on both stories, and defended by a garrison of seven men and a sergeant. Others are larger, but the same in plan, and hold twenty men; and a few still larger have fifty. Most of the larger forts, however, are old stone buildings, with their walls reinforced by roughly broken stone piled against them. Usually, around a town, there is a series of these little sentry-box forts, each surrounded by a ditch, and all the ditches connected by one grand encircling ditch.

These forts are very strong, and the rebels cannot take them without artillery, and, as a matter of fact, have taken only two or three since the war began. But what earthly use they are in offensive warfare I am unable to see.

The same is true of the trochas. There are two of these, one in the west, separating Pinar del Rio province from the rest of the island, and the other in the center, cutting the island nearly into halves. The first was very prominent in the campaign of last December, which ended with the "pacification" of that province. It is now of little consequence, and has been practically abandoned, and most of the forces that held it for so long have been drawn off to the central trocha.

These erections consist for the most part of a barricade of stone and barbed wire, backed by a ditch, with a wagon road or railroad running along it. There is a string of the little sentry-box forts at short intervals, with occasional depots where larger garrisons are stationed. At two or three points in the rear are large bodies of field columns, which go in a hurry to any attacked point — always provided that it is daylight. The garrisons of the forts here, like those in other parts of Cuba, are not expected to leave their fortifications under any circumstances, nor are the marching columns required to go out in the night air.

The whole system is curious, and seems very foolish in the circumstances prevailing in Cuba. The rebels never attack a trocha, and, of course, the latter is of no value outside of rifle range. It might be valuable for shattered columns to fall back upon and to reform, but there is little danger of it ever being required for that purpose.

The only way a trocha comes into action in Cuba is through an effort of the rebels to cross it for some military purpose. As a matter of fact they do not care to cross very often, but when they have tried, there has never been a recorded case where they were prevented. Obviously the garrison at any given point is not strong enough to stop any considerable force, and by the time reinforcements can be brought the rebels are over and gone. Moreover, by crossing just after nightfall, the rebels not only get over with less resistance, but are sure of at least ten hours' start before pursuit will be made.

The most recent crossing on record was that of Quintin Bandera, the negro rebel leader, who crossed the central trocha in April with about five hundred men, was killed in doing it, and his force destroyed utterly, according to an official Spanish report. A few days later he met General Weyler's forces and was annihilated again, a celebration was held by the troops over his defeat, and Santa Clara was declared pacified on the strength of it. Still a few days, and he came east through the island, and crossed the other trocha into Pinar del Rio. Is it necessary to say that he was once more beaten and driven back? The last reports from Havana

now say that he has been beaten in Pinar del Rio, himself badly wounded, and his troops scattered. Probably before this is printed he will have been killed—in the official reports—two or three times more.

This account is literally true. The official reports declared that he was defeated, wounded, and dispersed four separate times in three weeks, by columns stationed over three hundred miles apart. All four of the officers who defeated him have probably been promoted and decorated before this.

The trochas are in parts very unhealthy. The western one runs through swamps at the south, and through an unhealthy region in the north. During last summer it used to send some 2,000 to 3,000 soldiers to the hospital every month. The central one is nearly as bad, and may be expected to show as large a death rate during the coming summer. According to the Spanish reports, there were a little over ten thousand deaths from yellow fever last summer, with rather less than one-third of the present number of troops in the field. It is easy to calculate what it will probably be this year.

Possibly the most novel feature of the war in Cuba is the treatment of the non-combatant, or *pacífico* population. This matter is not properly understood in the United States; indeed, it is doubtful whether our people *can* understand it without personal observation. We think of these *pacíficos* as being such in name only. We imagine them as a sort of Kuklux or White-cap body, who come out to fight and then return home and pretend to be altogether innocent. We imagine, when we hear of "concentrations" in squalid villages, that only women and children have been brought in, and that the men have all gone to fight.

All this is wrong. The *pacíficos* are really *pacíficos*. They will not fight. Peace at any price is their motto. They will dare the firing squad in the early morning, or the torture of the African prisons, or the risk of being cut down by the *guerillas*,—dare anything,—if they are not called upon to kill anyone or to go into actual battle. This they will not do. They will be killed unresistingly with bravery and

composure, but they will not fight. They have less spirit than a cornered rat.

This is not the idea of the average American, who thinks of Spanish-American people as being all alike, and in whose mind Spanish America is a land of stilettos and assassination. The mistake is in confounding Cuba with the mainland, and in missing the important fact that there is in Cuba no admixture of Indian blood to lend fierceness to the nature of the people. The Cuban peasantry are all either negroes or of pure Spanish descent, enfeebled by generations of life in a soft, easy, tropical climate. The whites abhor all strife; the assassin, and even the fighter, is unknown among them; they would favor universal arbitration if they ever heard of it. Naturally enough the Spaniards despise them and tyrannize over them. Their willingness to be slaves makes their masters tyrants. A race that will not fight for its privileges will lose them, and ought to lose them. Spain would never have dared the abuses that brought about this and all previous rebellions, had not the Cubans so invited outrage by their meekness.

Americans sometimes question whether Spain is not right after all, when they see the scores upon scores of great hulking white men loafing about the concentrations, without work, or money, or food, starving themselves, watching their wives and children starve, and yet unwilling to take up arms, although they know that within rifle-shot of their huts they will find brothers-in-arms ready to welcome them. It is not that they fear to fight, but that they feel no impulse to do it. The Anglo-Saxon, treated as they have been, would see all red, and would fight until he dropped against any odds. The Cubans do not even feel angry. Question them and they will tell you their stories without hesitation, but with no note of anger in their voice. Misery, starvation, death,— they undergo them all as a matter of course. One turns in relief to the negroes, who, at least, will fight for their lives.

The truth is, the war was not started by Cubans, but by foreigners — Central and South Americans and naturalized citizens of the United States. The former, soldiers of fortune who had fought in every revolution from Mexico to Pata-

gonia, scented the rich plunder that must fall to their share if they could control the government of Cuba, and hasted to the banquet; the latter, learning for the first time what freedom was, and thereby gifted with imagination,—the first requisite in a battle for an idea,—yearned to free their country from the yoke of Spain. The home people of Cuba, bovine, indolent, unimaginative, took no part in the uprising, take no interest in its progress, and will care little if it fails. Between the rebels and the Spanish they are ground to powder.

The population of the four western provinces, where concentration prevails, is, in round numbers, 1,300,000, of whom one-third are negroes. There are no statistics of rural or urban population, but, for a rough computation, the country dwellers may be placed at about half this number. That gives 650,000 people to whom these concentration orders apply. Supposing 50,000 of these are living under rebel rule (a very liberal estimate), it leaves 600,000 people who have been "concentrated."

These people are herded in small towns, in swampy, unhealthy locations, with narrow streets, shallow surface-wells, no good protection against the fierce tropical rains now beginning, and with no provision whatever for carrying off the sewage. Their hovels, built from the fronds of the palm trees, are crowded to the doors, sick and well together. What this means in a warm, yellow-fever, smallpox country can be readily conceived.

They are all starving. In these days of idleness, even the original city-dwellers are hungry, and the peasants, torn from their homes, robbed of all they possess, skilled in no labor except that of the farm, find themselves utterly destitute. How the majority of them keep soul and body together is a problem I have been unable to solve. They long ago gave over begging, they have no work, they get no rations; how they live at all is incomprehensible.

Now, what has Spain gained by all this misery and bloodshed? What are the prospects for her final success? Concede all that General Weyler claims, and where does she stand? According to her own reports, she has gotten the



Cuban rebels into a position a little better than the one they occupied at the *beginning* of the ten years' war from 1868 to 1878. That war was confined to the two eastern provinces of Puerto Principe and Santiago de Cuba, and never penetrated the west at all. Yet it lasted ten years, and was ended only by a treaty, making promises which were broken before its ink was dry. Even Weyler does not claim to have pacified these two eastern provinces yet, although, according to his interpretation of the term, he might just as well do so.

But, as a matter of fact, the war in the west is not over yet. On the contrary, there are more rebels under arms there than ever before. They avoid battle whenever possible, ambush the Spanish columns at long range, and retreat to the hills on the least effort at pursuit— not a noble form of warfare, but an effective one nevertheless. Whenever the Spanish evacuate a spot, the rebels swarm into it. Pina del Rio, which has been pacified for five months, requires 30,000 troops to keep the rebels bottled up in the hills and prevent their doing mischief. The other two western provinces are as bad. In Santa Clara, the central province, Maximo Gomez is still camped where he has been for months, and his subordinate generals are all around him.

If Spain can keep up her present army and her present operations for ten years longer, she *may* win, otherwise the triumph of the rebellion is certain.

## THE AUTHOR OF "THE MESSIAH."

BY B. O. FLOWER.

**G**EORGE FREDERICK HANDEL, who was born at Halle, on the Saale, in Saxony, February 23, 1685, was one of the greatest pioneer spirits among the creators of modern music. He was born with the soul of a bird; he loved every melodious sound, and his stern and practical father was alarmed to find his son so impractical and visionary as to be charmed by song. He kept him from school for a time lest he should learn something of music, but the child's passion for it seemed a part of his life. His father was baffled in spite of his vigilance, and the boy secured a dumb spinet and taught himself to play.

Almost everyone is familiar with the incident which led to the change in the fortunes of the child. One day, when George was in his eighth year, his father set out to the palace of the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, where he was employed. Young Handel ran after him, crying bitterly because he could not go. The father hesitated, his heart was touched. What was it prompted the rather stern man to relent? Did some guardian angel whisper to his spirit? Did a premonition flash upon his soul, giving him a hint of future benefits for his son from this visit, or was it merely the sudden melting of the stern exterior, the assertion of the parental love which the bitter tears of the little boy called forth? We cannot tell. All we know is that the father relented, and that George accompanied him to the ducal palace, where the little fellow made himself quite at home. It is said he won the favor of the court musician, who gave him the privilege of using the chapel organ, a permission which the boy was not slow to accept. The pleasure of making music such as he longed to hear, of giving expression to the pent-up inspiration of his child brain, afforded him the keenest delight. He was lost to the world in a real elysium until he was rudely awakened. His father learned of his

son's presumption with dismay and anger, and the child would have felt the full force of the indignant parent's displeasure had it not been for the duke, who, unknown to the child, had been a delighted listener while the little fellow was engaged at the organ. To the father's amazement, instead of his son's presumption angering and offending the great man, whom he expected would express his displeasure in no uncertain language, the duke patted the frightened child on the head, exclaiming "Bravo!" then, turning to the astonished father, declared that George was a genius whose talent must be encouraged. From that hour fortune smiled on Handel's early career. He possessed a passion for music, loved study, never tired of practising, and had that wonderful capacity for work which is characteristic of the Germans. He came under the tuition of the famous organist of Halle, Zachau, who, though an excellent musician, was soon eclipsed by his gifted pupil. Subsequently he went to Berlin to enjoy special advantages offered in that city.

After the death of his father, in 1697, it became necessary for him to assist his family, which was at that time in poor circumstances. Thus, in 1703, he became one of the musicians at the Hamburg opera house. While there engaged, the young musician was tendered the position of organist of Lübeck on condition that he should marry the daughter of the old organist. Handel went on a tour of inspection, but, presumably after seeing the maiden, he decided that the old gentleman had asked too much. The offer was not accepted, and he returned to Hamburg, where a few weeks later he engaged in a duel with the composer Mattheson, and according to the late Franz Hueffer, author of "Musical Studies," "Had it not been for a large button on Handel's coat, which intercepted his adversary's sword, there would have been no 'Messiah' or 'Israel in Egypt.'"

On arriving at his majority he set out for Italy, the land of history, romance, painting, poetry, and music. In Florence he was warmly received, and while there composed "Roderigo," his first Italian opera. From Florence he went to Venice, arriving at a most auspicious time. The carnival was in progress, and the Mistress of the Adriatic

was decked in holiday attire, and given over largely to pleasure and pastime. Handel captured the city. Even his great rival, Domenico Scarlatti, the foremost Italian harpsichord player of the day, acknowledged the genius of the German. On one occasion at a masked party Handel commenced playing on the harpsichord. The attention of Scarlatti was immediately drawn to the masked musician, and he exclaimed, "That is either the devil or the Saxon." The latter seemed to take this as a rare compliment, and from that night the two were great friends. From Venice Handel proceeded to Rome, where his great genius was fully appreciated, and he was well cared for by his liberal patron, the wealthy Cardinal Ottoboni.

After a sojourn in Naples and short farewell visits to Rome, Florence, and Venice, Handel reached Germany in 1709, where the news of his success in the land of music and art had served to make him popular at home. The elector, George of Brunswick, afterwards king of England, gave him three hundred pounds a year to serve as court musician, and permitted him to visit England. Little did the great musician imagine while tossing on the Channel that his visit to England was destined to change his life's plans; and little did London dream that the wandering musician from a land at that time by no means famed for music, would powerfully impress English thought and culture, or that he would come to be regarded by England as one of their own great master minds. Handel won a great triumph in London. His Italian opera, "Rinaldo," scored an instant success. The music was soon heard throughout England. The publisher of the opera realized a rich harvest. According to one story he received the lion's share of the profits, much to the disappointment and chagrin of the musician, who significantly remarked, "My friend, next time *you* shall *compose* the opera, and *I* will *sell* it."

The Elector George, though gratified to know that his court musician was so popular in London, had no mind to permit him to remain in a foreign land, and Handel was summoned to his post, where he found life intolerably dull. He longed for the applause, the liberal emoluments, and the

larger life of the British metropolis, and at length he incurred the grave displeasure of his patron by fleeing to England, where he took up his residence. London gave him a royal welcome. He became at once the idol of the court and the crowd — the reigning favorite of the town — for the musical factions had not as yet arisen, Handel being regarded as a visitor rather than a fixture in London. Hence for a time whispered criticisms were set down as the offspring of jealousy or ignorance on the part of the presumptuous critic.

At the close of Queen Anne's reign, however, Handel found himself in an embarrassing position. The Elector George, whom he had braved, became king of England, and quickly showed that he had neither forgotten nor forgiven Handel's desertion by forbidding the musician's appearance at his court. This was a real disappointment to the court, for the musician still held his high place in the favor of cultured London. In time, however, the breach was healed, and he who was king by grace of an accident smiled upon him who was king by grace of genius, and London was happy.

It would now seem that a career of uninterrupted success was open before the favorite musician of the age. But, as is so often the case in this strange life of ours, this triumph was the prelude to the real battle. It proved a challenge which was to be taken up rather than a happy incident which should be accepted as conferring the victor's wreath upon the musician's brow. It is true that for some time Handel held undisputed mastery, and during this period, when under the patronage of the Duke of Chandos, he composed the celebrated Chandos anthems, so rich in musical gems. Nothing, however, is so fickle as the public. The king to-day is the felon to-morrow, if the steeds of fate upon which he is riding chance to stumble. Jesus entered Jerusalem escorted by a great multitude who were shouting "Hosanna," strewing his pathway with flowers, and waving palms. A few days later the multitude in the same city became a mob and made day hideous with shouts of "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" Handel had reëntered London amid the applause of an infatuated people; he had steadily grown in favor; his fame, popularity, and position seemed assured; but in this very

hour of apparent triumph the favor of the fickle public began to wane. Rival factions arose. Scholars, nobles, courtiers, and musicians took sides, and before the great German was aware of it he was engaged in a herculean struggle to maintain a place in popular favor.

Handel was one of the most industrious men of genius of any age. He composed opera after opera. His compositions were improving rather than deteriorating, but the fickle goddess frowned upon him. A rival company produced operas in a brilliant manner at Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre. The popularity of Handel waned rapidly, but the great composer, though perplexed and greatly irritated at the sudden change, would not despair. He knew that his work had never been better. He knew that his untiring labor and fertile genius were sending forth more splendid flowers than those which had called forth the wild applause of this same public a few years before, but he did not know that the public does not like to be held up to their highest. He had set a high standard. He was striving to elevate a popular taste which could only in part appreciate music so far in advance of what it had been accustomed to. The splendor of Handel's genius had dazzled England and stirred the deeper emotions, but it was a difficult task to hold the taste up to this high standard. As the standard of his music became higher, the gulf between the musical genius and the people seemed to broaden.

At length Handel determined to gratify the popular appetite. He pandered to the public taste, but he was too late. The rival house had won the public ear, and though Handel sunk a sum equal to \$50,000 in an attempt to win back public favor, though he composed opera after opera with incredible rapidity, though he secured the best talent available to interpret his splendid creations, the public would no longer enthuse over his music. A melancholy fascination broods over this period of Handel's life, when the clouds were darkest over his sky, when the splendid promise of the morning seemed to have fled, when, like a mighty Titan, we see him battling to win back the favor of the nation of his adoption. For a time all seemed to go against him. A

weaker nature would have given up the struggle, but defeat only incited Handel to nobler efforts. He was so profoundly convinced that his work was improving, and that he was on the whole educating the popular taste upward instead of downward, that every failure seemed to nerve him with new strength. In this struggle he reminds me of a fine passage from Epictetus, in which he thus answers the question, "Who then is unconquerable?" "He whom the inevitable cannot overcome. For such a person I imagine every trial, and watch him as an athlete in each. He has been victorious in the first encounter. What will he do in the second? What if he should be exhausted by the heat? What if the field should be Olympia? . . . What if he be tested by fame, by calumny, by death? He is able to overcome them all. If he can bear sunshine and storm, discouragement and fatigue, I pronounce him an athlete unconquered indeed."

Handel fought his battle inch by inch. He poured into his work the rich melodies of his aroused soul. He strove to catch still grander strains which were haunting his mind. He supplemented his operas with oratorios. "Esther," composed years before, was carefully revised, and properly rendered in 1732. It proved a success, and was followed by "Deborah." The Titan was emerging from the struggle a victor, but as yet he knew it not. He had forged a magic weapon, but was slow to realize that it was more potent than the arms with which he had won his maiden victories. Through years of masterful work he had unconsciously led or drawn the popular taste to a higher vantage-ground, but even the German himself for a time failed to realize that in the oratorio he had hit upon the form of music which would express the full measure of his genius. In his operas he had long been compromising with the public demand. Now he branched out, giving his genius full scope and creating work which was destined to place him in the front rank of musical masters.

The early oratorios were successes in many ways, but they failed to bring in the sums of money necessary to meet his expenses and the great outlay incident to their proper pre-

sentation ; and though Handel felt a great new hope filling his mind, though his new work afforded him a satisfaction he had never known before, it was not until he had the good judgment to appeal from the court and nobility to the people that his masterpieces were appreciated and great financial success accompanied their enthusiastic reception. That was not until after the brilliant success which marked his memorable trip to Dublin, in 1741, when "The Messiah" was first produced. The production of his oratorios represented his entrance on the last and greatest stage of his creative work, and if for some years they failed to prove so financially successful as their author anticipated, in the end they brought to him far greater popularity than he had known in his earlier days, large funds in money, and an immortality of glory.

During the long dark nighttime in which he seemed to be struggling against fate, Handel's naturally high temper became uncontrollable, at times rendering him absurd and costing him many friends as well as the loss of the services of some of the finest singers of the time. On one occasion Cuzzeni refused to sing as Handel desired, whereupon the great composer seized her, shook her savagely, and while denouncing her in broken English dragged her to the window, declaring he would pitch her out unless she did as he desired. The terrified woman promised to do as he wished, and the rehearsal continued. On another occasion, when a brilliant audience had assembled to witness a grand opera, Handel, who always had the instruments properly tuned before the performance began, entered, whereupon the signal was given, but great was the dismay of the great composer and the musicians at the result. A wag had tampered with every instrument. The effect was indescribable. Handel, wild with rage, entirely forgot himself. He kicked to pieces some of the instruments, he threw the kettledrum at the retreating leader of the band, his wig fell to the floor, but without heeding it he poured forth expressions of rage until the Prince of Wales stepped down to him, and urged him to quiet himself and to proceed with the performance. It is pleasing to know that during the closing years of Han-



del's life his spiritual nature gained such supremacy over him that his once uncontrollable temper gave place to a wonderful serenity and gentleness of spirit.

In 1739 Handel produced the oratorio of "Saul," containing the ever popular Dead March, which, though written in C Major, is one of the saddest and most solemn of the great musician's creations. It splendidly voices the grief of a nation over the loss of a hero. "Saul" was followed by "Israel in Egypt," a wonderful masterpiece, which was not appreciated during its author's life, because so far in advance of public taste. The reception of his grandest works by the rich and noble disappointed Handel, who knew their worth. He now felt convinced that his creations were to live after him. But the success of his earlier oratorios had again awakened the fury of his enemies, and his music was ridiculed by critics who knew little of music in general, and who were wholly incapable of judging anything which transcended the dead level of the Italian operas of that time.

In 1732 Handel was induced to go to Oxford. At first he met with much opposition, and scurrilous criticisms of his works were sent out broadcast. Before his engagement was over, however, he had discomfited his enemies and carried the university city by storm. Then it was that some of the professors tried to get Handel to pay a fee and have the university confer on him the degree of Doctor of Music. The musician was too great a man to either need or desire a degree, and the proposition that he should pay even a small fee that a degree might be conferred upon him who had created immortal music was met with a refusal which, if inelegant, was characteristic and vigorous. "Vat the tevil I trow my money away for dat vich te blockhead vish? I no vant."

Because Handel had a contempt for the offer of an honorary degree for a consideration, we must not suppose he was uncultured or that he did not enjoy the companionship of the ripest English scholarship of the time. And just here it will be interesting to notice a few names eminent in literature which belong to the London of Handel's time. Alexander

Pope was one of Handel's most steadfast admirers. He was no fair-weather friend, but during the darkest hours of the great musician's life defended his work with as much zeal as he would have exhibited if fighting for his own productions. Pope often referred to Handel as a giant in music at a time when few persons appreciated the colossal genius of the master whose work was destined to shed lustre over the age and land in which he lived and labored. Probably next to the Prince of Wales no person of influence sustained Handel with such unfailing earnestness as did the great poet.

During the stormy period of Handel's career Doctor Samuel Johnson, who once taught David Garrick, might have been seen walking the streets of London with the poet Richard Savage, neither of them possessing enough money to pay for lodgings. Johnson, however, soon attracted attention by his superior literary work, and his career grew more and more illustrious as he advanced in life, while his condition also prospered as the years passed. In 1747, when Handel was bringing out his immortal oratorio "Judas Maccabæus," Doctor Johnson was entering upon his herculean task of compiling a complete dictionary of the English language. In 1742, one month after Handel had brought out his greatest creation, "The Messiah," before a brilliant and enthusiastic audience in Dublin, David Garrick, the master dramatic spirit of that age, captured London by his wonderful representation of Richard III. Garrick, it will be remembered, ranks as one of the greatest actors of any age. He was also a man of fine tastes and of excellent character, and he did more than anyone else during his day to purify and elevate the English stage. The keen pen of Jonathan Swift made the London of Handel memorable for all time. His "Gulliver's Travels" appeared during the stormy period of the great musician's career. Henry Fielding was another celebrated writer of this period. His "Tom Jones" and "Amelia," despite the coarseness and imperfections which mar them, occupy a permanent place in our literature. During the days of Handel's early triumph in England one of the reigning favorites in the literary world was Joseph Addison, the great master in English composition, whose

fame has in no wise been dimmed by time. An age which produced "The Spectator," edited by Addison, Pope's "Essay on Man" and his "Universal Prayer," "Gulliver's Travels" and "The Tale of a Tub," "Tom Jones" and "Amelia," Johnson's Dictionary and his "Lives of the British Poets," and Handel's "Israel in Egypt," "Saul," and "The Messiah," is justly entitled to a proud position among the glorious epochs of creative activity and intellectual achievement in the history of England.

We now pass to one of the brightest moments in the career of Handel. In 1741 he accepted an invitation from the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to compose some music for a great festival which was being arranged by a society of Dublin musicians for the benefit and relief of the wretched prisoners for debt in that city. Handel threw his whole soul into his work, and when it was completed set out for Ireland. He was received with great enthusiasm, his rooms were thronged with cultivated admirers, the music hall, where he opened a series of performances, was crowded with audiences which sorely tested its capacity. The ancient city was soon in a furore. Crowds were turned away for lack of standing-room. At length the hour arrived for a splendid special benefit in aid of the prisoners for debt. It was a noble object, the principal singers imitating Handel in giving their services gratuitously, and the great musician had reserved for this performance, which was to carry joy into so many darkened and imprisoned lives, the first production of the greatest oratorio which musical genius has yet created — "The Messiah." It early became evident that the hall could not begin to hold those who desired to be present, and the spirit of generosity became for a moment infectious. Handel and his leading singers were to give their services gratuitously, but it did not occur to many of the ladies, who could ill afford to purchase more than one ticket, that they also could aid by making a sacrifice, until some one suggested that one hundred more persons could be accommodated in the hall if the ladies would leave their hoops at home. This was a rather daring proposition, seeing that fashion rules with an iron hand, but it was cordially received

and instantly acted upon, and the strange spectacle was witnessed of fashionable ladies appearing at an élite performance without their hoops. Thus one hundred more persons succeeded in hearing "The Messiah" at this never-to-be-forgotten benefit, who otherwise would have been forced to remain away. Within the hall enthusiasm knew no bounds. It is doubtful whether there had ever been an entertainment in the city which took hold of the public heart so profoundly or appealed so irresistibly to the quickened imagination of those present. One clergyman, who entertained a very poor opinion of public singers, was so carried away by an air sung by Mrs. Cibber that he sprang to his feet, exclaiming, "Woman, for this be all thy sins forgiven thee," an episode which only added to the indescribable enthusiasm of the audience.

This was one of the most splendid moments in the life of Handel. He had been requested to compose music for one of the noblest humanitarian works within his power to aid. He had written from the loftiest summit of human inspiration. He had selected a theme wonderfully appropriate. He gave his services gratuitously, and thus received added satisfaction of soul; and to the rare gladness which came to him as he contemplated the joy and relief which this work was destined to bring to many aching and breaking hearts, was added the satisfaction of a public approval placed upon his capital creation. Perhaps he little dreamed how many poor people in days to come would be blessed by receipts from benefits at which this superb oratorio should be sung. Perhaps he little dreamed how the deepest convictions of millions of persons would be profoundly stirred in the coming years by the transcendent genius, the daring imagination, the wonderful creative power which lifts the auditor far above the dead level of life and for a time holds him in the magic of an invisible spell. But whatever may have been his hopes or fears in connection with "The Messiah," there was little left to be desired in regard to his first reception, and though, on his return to England, London was very slow to show its appreciation, the experience in Dublin had confirmed Handel's belief in its possessing the element of popularity.

It is very probable, also, that this success in Dublin suggested to the composer the wisdom of appealing from the fickle and superficial court and nobility to the music-loving heart of England's masses for a verdict on his work, for after his return to London, where he found the old-time jealousy still present and apparently intensified by his recent triumphs, he determined to appeal to the public to support his efforts. This, however, was not until 1746, after he had been again ruined through the mean prejudice of certain persons of influence, who went to the most absurd lengths to cause the failure of his performances. The people were not slow to set the stamp of public approval on Handel's wise decision, and from thenceforth the great master succeeded financially as well as artistically. He was soon enabled to pay his debts and to live in comfort. In 1747 he produced "Judas Maccabæus," one of his greatest creations. It was composed in thirty days and proved very popular.

It is good to know that after a life of incessant toil, a life so radiant in its early days, so tempest-tossed during its maturer stages, Handel at length emerged again into the sunshine of popularity. His splendid genius was recognized, and his indefatigable labor was crowned with success.

But after victory had been wrung from a fickle and begrudging public, after his noble genius had become acknowledged and his days of financial embarrassment were forever passed, a new blow fell upon him. In 1751, while at work upon "Jephthah," his eyes failed him. As the awful night creeps upon him he feels the importance of improving every moment in which he can see, even though it be as "through a glass darkly." With immense effort, with a heart filled with sadness, and with the terrible consciousness that every sunrise would be dimmer than its predecessor, he painfully traced the last chorus of "Jephthah." It was his last oratorio, and indeed he composed little after its completion.

But in this nighttime of his body a new, soft light stole upon his soul, the spiritual side of his life assumed great proportions, his whole nature seemed transformed and lighted by the splendor of a broad, all-encompassing charity.

To use a beautiful sentiment of Whittier's, "Love trod out the baleful fires of anger, and in its ashes planted the flower of peace." He was lavish with his money when it came to aiding the children of poor musicians, the indigent sons of clergymen, and others whose need appealed to him. The Foundling Hospital was one of the special charities which frequently received large donations from him. He had often expressed an earnest desire to die on Good Friday, and as is frequently the case where an intense wish is persistently held in the mind, his prayer was granted. He passed from view on Good Friday, 1759, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

He had for some time looked forward to his departure with serenity of soul, and perhaps with a positive desire to go, for he had no fear of death. He was at peace with the world, and he could no longer see the splendor of the sun. Notwithstanding his blindness his closing days were in many respects the richest and fairest he had ever known. Loving all men, and loved and honored by all, he quietly passed beyond the veil, leaving a world marvellously enriched by his genius.

## OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT ANDREWS.

DEAR SIR:

The American people have learned with regret that your manly and patriotic course in espousing the cause of bimetalism has been made the occasion, if not the cause, of your resignation from the presidency of Brown University. We learn that instead of being applauded and encouraged by the Regents of that institution, over which you have presided with such signal ability and success for so long a time, you have by them been pressed to the wall. This act of blindness and infatuation on their part, whether springing from a mere difference of belief between the majority of the body and yourself, or whether originating in the hope of gaining financial assistance from some personage whose opinions they must flatter before he gives, is a fit subject for comment and criticism. Aye, more; it is an act well calculated to excite the contempt of the public. It is an act that should kindle the indignation of every thoughtful, liberal-minded citizen of the United States.

As for yourself, President Andrews, you have for a long time stood in the forefront of American educators. You have represented Brown University in the most able and acceptable manner. You have made the institution to be well and honorably known where before it was scarcely known at all. You have carried the fame of Brown beyond the Alleghanies, and have disseminated the generous influence of the University in the great valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Your voice has been heard on many public questions, and it has always been the voice of a patriot counselling for good.

Your recent course in defending the old bimetallic monetary system of the United States as against the new gold-based system of monometallism has been the most laudable of all your policies. You have never hitherto had aught to say on any public question which has gone so far and produced so salutary an effect on the opinion of your countrymen. Your countrymen know you to be an honest and

able man. A great majority of your countrymen are bimetallicists in heart and purpose ; but they have been defeated of their purpose by the intrigue, skill, and powerful momentum of concentrated wealth, whose interest it is to gather up and consume the entire resources of the American people without an equivalent. You know as well as we know what monometallism is, and what it means. You know as well as we know what bimetallicism is, and what it means. Bimetallicism is the use of *two* primary money-metal units instead of *one*, without prejudice to either. Bimetallicism is the use of both silver and gold as primary money at an established ratio. Bimetallicism is the right of free coinage for both metals on terms of perfect equality. Bimetallicism is the right of the people to transact their business, and in particular to pay their debts, in the one money metal or the other money metal just as they may choose. Bimetallicism is the right of the *debtor* to discharge his obligations according to the law and the contract by the measure of a gold unit or a silver unit just as he will, according to the plentifulness of the one or the other statutory coin.

This right is *not* the creditor's right, but the debtor's right. It is a right which he enjoys under the law and the contract ; for the law has always recognized our money in both kinds, and every public contract in the United States, and every private contract (unless specifically payable otherwise), is based on a monetary unit defined by the word *coin*. This coin is either silver or gold, according to the choice and convenience of the debtor. No man is wronged or can be wronged by the exercise of the debtor's right to pay in gold or silver, for every contract in existence has been made with a full knowledge of the existence of this right, and of the purpose of the debtor to claim it at the date of settlement. Whoever, therefore, attempts to take away the right of alternative payment in either coin and to confine payment to one coin only, is an abettor of a fraud, which, when carried into effect, becomes a crime. For these reasons bimetallicism is a correct theory and an honest policy. Monometallism is a false theory and a dishonest policy.

These truths your own luminous and powerful mind has



declared with perfect clearness to the people. Your action has always been modest and in keeping with the character of your office as President of Brown University. You have been a President in deed and in truth. The American people hold you in honor; and the puny act of the Regents of Brown University will have no effect upon the public judgment except to confirm it in your favor.

While we regret that some harm seems to have been done to you and your fortunes, we regard this harm as one of those transitory hardships by which men are developed into higher, nobler, and more useful lives. The American people are not going to let you fall or fail. Their strong arm is lifted in your defence. Their voice is heard like a murmur arising from the far horizon; it is as the sound of many waters — waters that will overwhelm with oblivion the bigotry and mercenary sentiments and proscriptive purpose of those who have tried to strangle you with a cord.

The Regents of Brown University find themselves already at the bar of public opinion. They are haled to that august tribunal by a power that is over us all. There they stand; behold them! The poor casuistical plea of one of their number, who has taken upon him the air and office of champion, to the effect that you *as a man* may have freedom of opinion and speech, but that as *President of Brown University* you can have neither, is worthy of the Middle Ages. Will he divide you into two? Will he have *one* of you go around the United States of America contradicting and explaining what the *other* of you says? The published paper of Mr. Congressman Walker is a piece of sophistical mockery. It is fit to have issued from the procureur of an inquisition.

President Andrews, be of good cheer. Let the Regents of Brown University go to their own place. Put yourself without reserve upon the confidence and support of the public. We think you have in you heroic material — the stuff out of which prophets and bards and martyrs are made. Keep a brave heart; this policy put in force against you will react upon those who invented it, and upon the interests which they foolishly hope to promote by the sacrifice of you. Do

the Regents of Brown University think that they can make an institution of learning out of gold? Let them try it. Their scheme will come to naught.

The battle is on in this country between the Man and the Dollar. It is a fight to a finish. You are one of the champions of the Man. Brown University seems to be wedded to the Dollar. This episode will redound to your honor and fame. Do not dwell upon it as a personal affair calculated to do you harm, or by reaction to do you good; but look at it from the higher point of view. Civilization has chosen you as one of the individual atoms which she wishes to hurt and grind a little for her own purposes. That is the way History does when she wishes to honor a man. She hurts him, and sets him free. You have been hurt with a glorious wound; but it heals already. Now are you a free man. Let the people hear your voice. Follow your own leadership in doing your duty; and that done, the benignant future will not forget the name of E. Benjamin Andrews.

Yours in the cause of truth,

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Henry P. Hath". The signature is written in dark ink and occupies the lower half of the page.

Office of THE ARENA, August 5, 1897.

# PLAZA OF THE POETS.

## THE ONMARCH.

BY FREEMAN E. MILLER.

Lo, progress is no swift release from error,  
No sudden sun that banishes the night ;  
Through weary cycles, Man, the burden-bearer,  
Gropes in the dark and struggles toward the light.

'Tis not in death-throes where the battle rages,  
And nations heap the winrows of their slain,  
That Progress leaps across the darkened ages,  
And truth frees all the bondmen of the plain.

And from the fields where armies meet despoiling,  
No love-born carols hush the cries of wrong ;  
But through the yearning years with anguish toiling  
Man makes himself the instrument of song.

Lo, where the tireless thinker works and wonders,  
Where man and God in fellowship unite,  
There leaps the thought to majesty that thunders  
Through endless ages with unceasing might.

Some seer, enraptured at the dreams of duty,  
In grave speech frames a precept or a law ;  
And, years long after, mankind lives in beauty  
The gorgeous glories that the prophet saw.

Some teacher from his closet tells the nations  
The words of truth, the deeds that men should do ;  
And they, through sorrows and deep tribulations,  
Toil fiercely on to prove his lessons true.

Man's mind is greater than his brawn or bullet ;  
His thought far vaster than his labor stands :  
Men's hopes are higher than the world, and rule it ;  
Their hearts are stronger than their helpless hands.

Development, unwearied, outward courses  
Through deepest darkness with resistless tides ;

Brain-throbs and heart-beats are the deathless forces  
That lead us, lift us, where the day abides.

Still up and onward, up and forward, surges  
The toiling race near-drawing to the goal,  
While truth with whips of angel-anger urges  
The craven one to prove a master soul.

Quote not the Past! Its regal courts were rabble,  
A puny herd of worse than worthless things;  
The world moves upward through their beastly babble;  
The tireless toilers are the only kings!

Yes, man himself, the fruit of long endeavor,  
Grows from the smallness of his ancient youth,  
And shall, at last perfected, stand forever  
An angel shaped and fashioned to the truth!

---

## THE TOIL OF EMPIRE.

BY JOHN VANCE CHENEY.

---

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The suns go over; of a truth,  
Full soon the circuit will be run;  
But the long toil of empire done,  
Shall gray Time bear, and shame her youth?

The reek and din of press and car,  
Serfdom of distance, sky-fire, steam—  
Are these more than the early dream,  
The joyance of the morning star?

The faith, the wisdom winged with fire,  
The open days when visions were!  
Shall noblest sons be born of her  
That mocks the prophet and his lyre?

From morn to night, from night to morn,  
Full soon the circuit will be run;  
But the long toil of empire done,  
What joy unknown to God's first-born?

## THE DAY LOVE CAME.

BY THEODOSIA PICKERING.

I opened wide the chambers of my heart,  
 I set aside all that was good and best,—  
 All I had loved before I put apart,  
 To make a royal dwelling for my guest,  
 The day Love came.

I purified the soul and heart of me  
 Till they were clear as some wood-hidden lake,  
 I loosened the old dreams and set them free  
 With ever-willing hand, for his dear sake,  
 The day Love came.

Of the old self there was not left a part,  
 But sudden glory flooded soul and brain,  
 And the vast, empty chambers of the heart  
 Filled with such ecstasy 'twas almost pain,  
 The day Love came.

## THE QUESTION.

BY JULIA NEELY-FINCH.

What must a woman do?  
 Wait!  
 And weep, and haply pray,  
 Until — too late —  
 The gods lay at her feet  
 Their laggard gifts.  
 She must not sue  
 For love,  
 E'en though his shadow drifts  
 Within her reaching hand.  
 She must not say  
 "Come hither, Sweet!"  
 And go to meet  
 Him, flying fleet  
 Across the land.  
 But she must wait  
 And weep, and look above,

For if love come,  
 And she be dumb,  
 Love then will lie him far away —  
 And leave her heart to ache  
 And break !

What must a man do?  
 Work !  
 From dawn of day till set of sun,  
 At what he can,  
 And not at what he would ;  
 Force fate to give  
 So that he live ;  
 And then —  
 He must away and leave undone  
 That which is scarce begun.  
 He must conserve  
 His vital force,  
 Nor lightly swerve  
 From duty's course  
 Through fear of men.  
 Look to the spirit's good,  
 For that shall be  
 When time is not ;  
 A spark of immortality  
 From Primal Source  
 Begot.

---

### TRIOLET.

BY CURTIS HIDDEN PAGE.

---

Wouldst thou know to be a poet?  
 Deeply feel, but lightly utter !  
 Ever toil, but let none know it,  
 Wouldst thou know to be a poet.  
 Bleeds thy heart? Thou must not show it,  
 Hardly let men guess a flutter ;  
 Wouldst thou know to be a poet,  
 Deeply feel, but lightly utter.

# THE CRY OF THE POOR.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

THE air is burdened with the half-smothered cry of the poor. Their lines have gone out to the end of the earth; there is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. From every land and nation, from every clime and kindred, there comes up, as if from the abyss, what Lord Byron, in one of the powerful passages of *Childe Harold*, describes as

A long, low, distant murmur of dread sound.

In an old Oriental classic something is said to the effect that the poor we have always with us. This day is that saying fulfilled in the presence of us all. The poor we have with us; and we are ourselves the poor. It is our own cry, then, that we hear echoing around the gulfs and coasts of the world. So be it. But let us reason together a little about this awful condition of poverty among mankind.

We say mankind, because the disease of poverty is universal. The world is smitten with it as with an epidemic. The Eastern races are nearly all in a state bordering on pauperism. Ever and anon they pass the line and perish by thousands and millions. Whoever will put his ear to the earth may hear the moan of the dying. Oh, it is pitiful! The great regions of Asia are strown with the decaying carcasses of the wretched beings that have died before their day from sheer want of the means of living longer. Beggary and semi-starvation are the estate of more than four hundred millions of Asiatics — a number six times as great as the entire population of the United States. The teeming islands of the sea, beautiful and fertile, are little more than pauper sepulchres that have swallowed up emaciated humanity until the very earth is a cake of man-mold, rimy and poisonous. Strange to remark that there is less starvation in Africa than in either Asia or Europe. Stranger still, that the portent of pauperism is already on the horizon of America. Unless the baneful

forces that are now rampant in our civilization can be reversed, our land also will become — aye, it is becoming — a receptacle for millions of famished dead.

The onfall of general poverty in the United States was not to have been anticipated. No such thing was apprehended by the strong forefathers who laid the foundations of our estate. We had here at the first a clean landscape and an open opportunity. Ours was a virgin world, as our ancestors saw it, rising dewy and sunlit from the waters. They found it and entered it, and made a covenant that it should be the home of freedom — and if of freedom, then the home also of abundance and hope forever. For poverty is the concomitant shadow of slavery — the premonition of it in every age and nation.

Boundless were the resources of glebe and valley, of field and hillside, of lake and forest, when our mighty pioneers began to build us into colony and state and nation. Nothing more bountiful ever offered itself to the cheerful hopes and ennobling ambitions of men than was revealed to the sober, industrious, and frugal people who came here out of smothered Europe and began, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to occupy this glorious and prophetic land. It was the new Atlantis. Population came on like a sunrise. Intelligence abounded. Just before the Revolution there was not a native adult in all New England who could not read and write. We got on well. Poverty was unknown. Like patriot Titans we shook ourselves out of the Old-World condition and began an auspicious career of peace and plenty. We abandoned the past. We abolished primogeniture. We sent entail into the limbo by the moon. We mocked at *Dei gratia* as an absurd delusion of antiquity. We declared three inalienable rights of man; namely, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We ought to have added the free possession of land.

Under such auspices why should poverty have ever supervened in the United States? Why should the voice of the poor ever be heard rising like a wail from plantation, hamlet, and cityful? Why should there be seen standing at the door of the homes of the American people the gaunt spectre —  
WANT?



Poverty in the United States has come not suddenly, but by stages. At the close of the first quarter of the century it had scarcely appeared at all. When the venerable Lafayette was in Boston in 1825 he made a speech from the balcony of an old house, still standing, at the corner of Park and Beacon Streets. Looking round over the well-ordered multitude of free men who blocked all the open spaces, the honored guest said, "Where are your poor?" He repeated it: "Where are your poor? In this assembly I see them not. Why have *they* not come also?" Some one said, "We are all here, rich and poor together." Lafayette replied: "No; the poor are not here. They are not *anywhere* in America! They are in Europe." And that makes the difference between an assembly of free men in 1825 and an assembly of inchoate paupers in 1897.

Down to the middle of this century the condition of equality, of common happiness, of free industrial pursuits, of fairly equal distribution of wealth, with plethora for none and poverty for none, still prevailed in our country. Men now in middle life can well recall that happy and free condition of ambitious citizenship which existed in all parts of the United States as late as the outbreak of the Civil War. The cry of the poor was nowhere heard. Even in the great valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi and around the far-stretching frontier of civilization, no wail of distress from want came up to vex the soul of philanthropy. The humble homes of the common people abounded with the essentials of human happiness. One must needs have seen in his boyhood, as the writer saw and is now contemplating with tearful remembrance, the plenty of the old-fashioned country homes, around which young fathers cleared new fields, and young mothers, the angels of the wilderness — God bless their memory! — rocked the cradles in which fat boy babies, with the spirit of the gods upon them, slept or crowed as the swelling ripple of life flowed through their healthy souls.

It was only after our great struggle, after our day of battle and devastation, after the sad estrangement of the South and North, after the chasm had opened with dreadful animosity to close with indivisible reunion, that the condition

of poverty in the United States appeared. Indeed, it was not in the *first* period after the war that this condition came. It is within the easy memory of men that a full decade — nearly two decades — passed after the day of peace before the coming of the day of poverty.

Nothing is more manifest than that this condition — this return of the old European and Asiatic fate to our American shores — was *the result of some untoward and fatal break in the remedial methods by which we set about to restore ourselves after the Civil War.* Had there been nothing abnormal, nothing criminal in these methods, we should have got well again. After the storm the calm would have supervened. Our wounds would have healed. The grass would have grown green over the hallowed graves of our Union and Confederate dead. After the wreckage and turmoil, the elements would have subsided, and the people would have been more free, more cheerful and hopeful in their subsequent abundance than in their preceding plenty.

It was the destruction of natural conditions that sent our woe upon us. It was the malevolent genius of man at work among the then silent forces of our forward movement that, in the seventies and eighties, brought about the conditions which we are now obliged to face. There were men — a large group of men — who were then alert while the nation was asleep. They began to intrigue before the smoke of battle had cleared away. They got hold of the industrial, economic, and financial forces of this reviving nation and deliberately turned them from the course of nature and justice to the course of injustice and iniquity. They purchased the war-debt of the United States and cunningly converted it into an instrument with which to torment the people by paralyzing their power to pay. They invented a method by which to make *impossible* the payment of that debt. They transformed it into a fangèd *desmodont*. They tampered with the contract existing between themselves and the nation. They made a fraudulent law in their own interest. They inserted a false counter into the money system of the United States, by which, when the people paid, they paid nothing; by which, when they paid one-half, the other half

was greater than the whole; by which, when the robbers had extorted more than five thousand million dollars from the hard earnings of the people and had stored the treasure in their own vaults, the maw of the debt-beast was more insatiable than ever!

Not satisfied with its store, the ogre wealth then began to organize and to concentrate its forces. It contrived one scheme after another by which to possess itself of more—*more*. Producing nothing itself, it devised methods by which to absorb the producing energies of the whole people. It scrupled not to lay far-reaching and dangerous schemes, the cords of which were gradually tightened, until after more than a decade the sense of suffocation began to arouse the people to the fact that an incubus had settled upon them—that a vampire was draining the blood and breath of our national life.

Well-known is the nature of the various enterprises which have been hatched in the last quarter of a century in the heavy but fertile brain of consolidated wealth. To say that when wealth accumulates men decay is only to repeat an aphorism good since the days of Goldsmith, and now unhappily verified in the United States. The reason is that the excessive accumulation of wealth is always effected from sources and resources other than its own. In proportion as the resources produced by labor are taken away and given to those who labor not, to that extent the laborer is discouraged and rendered hopeless. To that extent his arm is paralyzed and his heart darkened. To that extent his producing power is smitten with palsy, and the soul of him begins to sink. He loses the spirit of the free man and recedes towards the hovel. Instead of supporting free schools, he pays rent and interest to his masters. With that, poverty falls on him like a blight, and the outcome is either the enslavement or the open rebellion of the masses.

This state, so unexpected and so portentous, has come to pass in the United States. The great mass of the American people are slipping back from their vantage, like jaded beasts toiling on the apron of a treadmill—slipping back into lower and still lower industrial, economic, and political conditions.

As they are borne back and down by the pressure that is upon them and even by their own inert weight, they moan and sigh. That is their only sign; and I say it is the most pitiful wail of human history! Whoever has the heart of humanity in him will hear as he goes about from city to country seat, from office to village, from field to distant station, the half-smothered cry of the poor. — Let us note for a moment in what manner the appeal of them who are in want, or who are bordering on want, is received by the upper powers of society.

Whenever the dolorous condition of poverty begins to be pointed out by the friends of humanity, the enemies of humanity pick up the complaint and say three things in answer. First, they say that it is a lie; second, that it was always so; and third, that the good God loves his poor children and will take care of them! In this attitude towards the poor stands the high-up and powerful world to-day; and in this attitude stands in particular the parvenu American aristocracy.

When confronted with the poverty of the masses, our aristocracy, our gilded clan, declares, in the first place, that we have no poor in the United States. In the second place, it declares that the poor have always been, and always will be. And, in the third place, it declares that the good God, whose servants we are, whose churches we build, and whose priests and preachers we feed, will take care of his poor children — the meaning being that we are not responsible for it, that the estate of poverty is natural, and that the cry of the poor is only a false murmur of discontent. — Let us look at this casuistical answer of wealth to the complaint of philanthropy.

In the first place, they say that there are no poor. They say this for the reason that the poor may be avoided and not seen. The millionaire may build his house so that the unpleasing aspect of poverty may not shadow the halls or be seen through the shutters. The walls are thick and the windows are high, and the spiked-bronze fence around is sufficient for the abatis of a fort. Within such a keep the cry of the poor will not be heard. He who lives there may say

that there are no poor — since *he* does not hear them. And if the philanthropist, working his way by some kindly stratagem along the corridors, manages to meet the baron of the castle and asks him if he does not hear the cry of the down-trodden millions, he only answers that there are no poor in this country. “Everybody,” says he, “is well and happy in this glorious land. I read only this morning in the Metropolitan *Hypocrite* that the happy laborers are all at work again, and that living was never before so good and easy! You are an anarchist arraying the poor against the rich. There are no poor in this country; and you ought to be arrested for stirring up a strife among the classes!”

At the next castle the baron says, “Why do you try to alter the laws of nature and Providence? The good book has said, ‘The poor you have always with you.’ There was never a time in the world’s history when there were not poor people, and there will never be a time when they are not. Poverty is a natural condition. It cannot be avoided. He who fights against it is a fool. When men are poor it signifies only that they are not able or not fit to have more. If they had more, they would abuse the gift and waste it. We are the providential guardians of the wealth of the world; we keep it and distribute it so that it may be a blessing. We ourselves never abuse or waste it — never!”

The baron of the third castle says that God is good — meaning that we who love Him so much and obey Him so well are all doing our best to alleviate the griefs and hardships of the poor. Especially are we who have and control the wealth of the world using it in such a manner as to mitigate as far as possible the hard conditions of poverty. We build poorhouses and asylums; we organize charities; we preach for the poor and pray for them; we build great churches — into which they never come — and organize gigantic pawnshops — which they never enter. We spend great sums of money and consume our revenues in trying to lift up the abject masses; and when our efforts are not crowned with success we sorrow not as those who have no hope, but invent some new method of appeasing the dreadful condition which we admit, but are powerless to reform.

Of one thing, however, we are sure, and that is that we have good hearts and consciences, and we are doing as much as we can to make better the sad condition of mankind. For this reason we resent your interference and reproaches. By reproaching us you disturb the existing order, and being a disturber of the existing order you are yourself an enemy of peace and progress. We are the friends of the existing order. The existing order includes the system of wage-industry. It includes the tenement system of residence (or burial) for the poor. It includes the conversion of the mass of mankind into a concrete on which the structure of civilization is reared. It includes the government of the many by the few. It includes the domination of consolidated wealth over society. It includes the possession and control of the resources of nations and peoples by a few hundreds or thousands of men, of which we are conspicuous examples. It includes the stock exchange, the trade combination, the syndicate, and the trust. It includes every scheme which the quickened faculties of men have been able to devise for perpetuating, in a revised form, the horrid slaveries of the past. And yet, says plutocracy, if you should disturb this existing order you would upset the civilization of the world, and you shall not do it! We have prepared for you, and are still preparing. We know you of old. You are a believer in democracy. You think and teach that one man is as good as another. You think and teach that wealth ought to be so generally distributed that all may have a share in the blessings and comforts of plenty. You think and teach that poverty itself ought to be abolished. You think and teach that instead of alleviating the condition of the poor, that condition ought to be destroyed. You think and teach the great absurdity that there ought to be no poor; that men should go forth free, and have families, and feed them, and educate them, and bring them up to free citizenship in a great Republic of equal rights for all.

We meet you, say the millionaires, on this ground. We believe in none of the things which you advocate. We will accept none of them. We intend that the masses shall remain the masses. We intend that they shall not rise to free-

dom and spontaneity. We intend to keep them as they are — the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. We intend that they shall live under such conditions of ignorance and dirtiness and depravity as shall make their emergence impossible. We intend to hold them back, and to hold you back. For this purpose we have fixed the powers of society and arrayed them against you and your agitation. We intend whenever you stir to blow you into eternity! We have our arsenals ready. We have taken our millionaire sons and organized them into regiments, and have instructed the capitalistic press to indoctrinate them into the true principles of solid government. We have packed our arsenals full of arms and munitions of war. Not one bayonet, not one bullet, not one belt, not one grain of powder in them all is intended or ever was intended for a foreign foe. It is intended for *you*. Whenever the people begin to stir and to accept your pernicious doctrines of equal rights, we shall let down our drawbridges and plant our batteries at the corners of the squares. We will vomit death upon you in great floods until we have taught you that freedom is a delusion, and democracy a sham. Therefore go your way and teach no more the doctrine of equal rights for all. Or, if you teach at all, teach in a mild and soothing manner so as to disturb not at all the existing order. Let us alone, for God is good, and we are his servants. We will help Him take care of His poor children; and we will manage, meanwhile, to continue the consumption of the products of labor in those generous recreations, exercises, and humanities that are the peculiar functions of the rich and noble. We will build our palaces, and increase our livery, and illuminate our ball rooms, and provide our yachts with delicacies and rich wines, and sail away on visitation to the capitals of those good old stable states where wealth is properly honored, and where the poor know their places. — Such is the selfish plea of the American plutocracy.

Hard is it, O my countrymen, to battle against the imperial powers of consolidated wealth. Hard is it to face the condition which has already supervened in the United States. Such is the alluring splendor of wealth, and such is the rough exterior of free democracy, that many are seduced by the

former, and many are in dread of the latter. Fortunes are made, and those who wallow in them forget that their estate might be by disaster or convulsion brought down to the level of that of the under man. They adopt the motto, "After us, the deluge." And if this were all, there were less cause for fear in contemplating the destinies of humanity; but the disease of wealth-lust has disseminated itself like a poison, and the infection of it is felt as far as the borders of society. The virus is in the veins of thousands and millions. It is perceived that the rich are strong and free, that they have not only houses and equipages and tables burdened with flowers; but that they also have preëminence in all things else. Therefore, we too must be like them! Therefore, we too must by *some* means get away from our fellow men, cease to share their hardships, cease to hear their cry, and join the glittering cavalcade of the triumphant plutocracy.

This disease of wealth-lust must be met with an antidote; else we shall all likewise perish. Whoever strives to amend the existing order is obliged to combat not only the organized enemy in his front, but these sad human weaknesses around him and behind. I repeat, it is a hard battle, and whoever enters it must leave home and kindred behind, and offer himself freely for the good of mankind, for the attempted reform of a perverse condition in the civilized life. But let us do this freely and without fear. Let us perform our part in the great contest that is on. Let us who retain our sympathies with democracy, and believe in it, contend fearlessly for the faith that was delivered to our fathers.

As for the rest, we may be sure that the enemy will hear nothing that is in the nature of reason and truth and conscience; but nevertheless the enemy *shall* hear! Sooner or later the power of consolidated wealth will be humbled and restrained. Sooner or later those ambitious and selfish intriguers against the rights of humanity, against the equality and brotherhood of all men and all women before the law, will be brought to moderation and humility.

O ye money lords of the United States! O thou parvenu, pig-headed aristocracy! O ye men of unbounded wealth and license; ye men who reap where ye have not sown, and



gather where ye have not strewn ; ye men who have arrogated to yourselves the right of establishing a despotism over American society ; ye men who have banded together to destroy the great Republic and to rebuild on its ruins the abandoned, owl-haunted fabric of the past ; ye men who are the foes of human liberty, who do not believe in the democracy of man, who trample down truth and crush the aspirations and hopes of seventy millions of people under your gilded Juggernaut ; ye men whom nothing will satisfy but to gather up the total earnings of your countrymen and consume them in the attempted gratification of your insatiable greed and luxury ; ye men whom preachers preach to and teachers teach to and lawyers plead for and orators flatter and journalists glorify ; ye men who have purchased the organized powers of society, and who use them as the dumb pawns of the gambler's board, who think you can buy the world and convert it one-half into a slave-market and the other half into a park ; ye men who own all the railways and all the bonds and all the sugar and all the petroleum and most of the cotton and all the whiskey (heaven save us !) of the United States ; ye men whose intolerable pride overtops that of the feudal lords, and whose unmitigated selfishness devours the lives of others as the Roman gluttons devoured humming birds and snails ; ye men who fear neither the proclamation of truth nor the appeal of innocence in torment ; ye millionaires and multi-millionaires and billionaires about-to-be, whose spoliation of the human race goes on unchecked, and whose arrogance already grins defiance out of the iron-bound windows of your arsenals, — STOP ! Stop now ! The time has come for you to pause and listen ! The low murmur which you hear in the distance, so sad and far, is the cry of the poor. They who cry are your fellow beings. They are as good as you are. They have as much right to the blessedness of life as you have. They have brothers and sister and children — as you have a few. They have hearts — as some of you have. They are patient and true — as you are not ! They are not arrogant and envious ; they are humble and sincere. If there be a God, they are his loved ones. And now by the goodness of heaven, you SHALL hear their cry !

We serve upon you a modest and generous notice to hear that cry. You shall do it. The nation will make you do it. You are not the lords of the world. You are not the proprietors of Nature. You are simply men, as are the rest your brothers. Your brothers will do you no harm; but you shall hear their cry. You shall not be liars and say that there are no poor. You shall not be casuists and say that it was always so and always will be; for civilization will either abolish poverty or be abolished by it! You shall not be hypocrites and say that God will take care of those whom you have robbed of their labor and their hope — as though he were *your* confederate! Hear ye, hear ye, the cry of the poor, and answer that cry with justice and compassion! Otherwise the future will come down on you like night, and your children's children, visited with a fate worse than that which you now inflict on the children of the poor, will damn you for your sin and folly.

## THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

### A Knotty Problem.

THE hard thing about evolution is that it must account for everything. If the good has been evolved, why, then, so has been the bad. Whatever is must come under the one common law. *All* of the aspects of nature and of life must be explained and justified as well as *some*; but to attempt to justify all revolts us. It would seem that our ethical nature is satisfied to accept evolutionary results and the law by which they come so long as they harmonize with our moral sense. But if any of the results do not harmonize, if they jar and offend, we reject them and seek some other law. For this reason we divide all things natural and spiritual into two classes, following the one and spurning the other. We note with pleasure the unfolding of the beautiful parts of nature and of life, but shrink from the unfolding of the ugly and the unclean.

This discriminating sense which we bear in virtue of our nature must itself be a result of evolution—or else there is no evolution at all. That is, one evolutionary result turns upon another result of the same law and cries out in deadly antagonism against it. Acting under the force within we try to amend conditions without, accepting some and rejecting others. The ethical result of evolution *in* man makes war on the moral results of the evolution *outside* of him. Aye more; the war goes on within as well as without. One half of the man-house rises against the other half, and the rebellion is often successful to the extent of putting down the government.

How can these things be? Why should there be such contradiction and battle in the soul and substance of things? Why should one half of nature and of life be in insurrection against the other half? If one law be over all, why should the results of it be heterogenous and irreconcilable? It is impossible for us to agree that everything is good. It is absurd to aver that everything is beautiful and true. What,

therefore, can evolution signify in the production of the abhorrent and the vile — at the same time producing in us a sense to be revolted with evil and uncleanness? There must be some meaning or none to this deep-down paradox of the universe.

We cannot believe that there is no meaning at all in nature and in life. If it were clearly seen that the evolution of the good goes on more easily, more naturally, more successfully than does the evolution of the evil, we might conclude that the bad is simply subservient to the good until what time it may be extinguished. But it does actually appear that the law is rather the other way. It seems to be the order of the universe that good has to be promoted, while evil takes care of itself. The good must be barricaded with all manner of militant care, and stimulated with every fertilizing expedient in order that it may grow or even survive. But the bad flourishes without barricade or care, and even against the enmity and skill of the better parts of intelligent nature.

That philosopher who can tell us why the American Beauty requires to be produced with so much artifice and culture, while the burdock flourishes in sardonic triumph and sheer spite of the elements would be a philosopher indeed. He who can tell why rags and tatters and dirt and misery and crime prevail without assistance, while flowers — both natural and artificial — and beauty and cleanness and art and perfection of life have to be promoted with the immeasurable expenditure of physical power and nerve virtue, would be the Socrates of the century; and we are not sure that his fame would not outlast the fame of the other. And we are not sure that, should he come, society would not have the hemlock ready; for the teaching of truth and the distillation of the hemlock still go together as in the ancient days. It may be that the bowl and the decoction and the hand of Crito are not so plainly seen, but the potion is just as fatal as that which was drunk by the son of Sophroniscus, sitting on the edge of his couch.

It may be that the explanation of the universal paradox is that nature is not a moral fact. Man is a moral fact, but not the natural world. The spiritual evolution has thus brought

forth a sense in man that runs counter to the material machine. This is a possible thing. On the whole we must allow that the principle of morality does not exist, or at least does not display itself, in the material world, but only in the the soul of man. Ethics is in *us*, and nowhere else. Our view of nature, therefore, discovers a fact which is seemingly the product of the swirl and swish of fate—a fact that is neither moral or immoral, but merely neutral and indifferent. This fact offends the inner sense, and war breaks out the moment that man peers forth and discovers what is around him. This implies that evolution has not gone on *pari passu* in the material and in the spiritual world. The rectifying advantage of evil is still necessary in nature, but no longer necessary in the soul. Thus the spirit of man, observing the vicissitudes of the brutal battle going on in material nature, complains that it is immoral, and seeks to rectify a condition that can only rectify itself by warring and wasting and devouring until the unfit parts are consumed and obliterated. But it is a knotty question.

---

#### A Case of Prevision.

One of my friends, Professor L——, is a man of science. He has both the nature and the attainments of a true scientific man. He has in his specialty a reputation that is more than national. His literary fame, also, is climbing to the fore. The remarkable case of prevision which I shall here record, my friend gave me in a personal narrative when we were alone this summer at the Warsaw Lakes. Since then, in order to make assurance doubly sure, I have asked him to write out for me with the care of a man of science, the exact facts in the case narrated. The following communication is his response. The case I conceive to be one of the most remarkable, as it is clearly one of the most authentic, instances of prevision on record.

N——, July 26, 1897.

MY DEAR DR. RIDPATH:

In accordance with your request, I submit herewith an authentic account of the case of prevision related to you during our

outing at Eagle Lake. You will remember that the paper of the French astronomer, Camille Flammarion, on "Prevision of the Future," published in the March ARENA was the occasion of our conversation and of the following statement.

Thursday, October 10, 1895. When I reached home Mrs. L—— informed me that our son, eleven years of age, had said to her, on his return from school, "Professor F—— [our school principal] came into our room this afternoon and told the children that a lady had lost a gold locket in N—— [our village], and that if any of us should find it, we should bring it to him. He said that we should tell our parents that the locket was a square gold locket set with diamonds."

On returning from business the *next* afternoon, Mrs. L—— informed me that walking along H—— Avenue she had found the locket that the lady had lost, and that it was exactly as Mr. F—— had described it. It was a square gold locket set with a row of diamonds across the face, a valuable jewel. "Seal it in an envelope and send it to-morrow to Mr. F—— by the child," I said, and dismissed the subject.

On my return the *next* afternoon, Mrs. L—— informed me that the boy had brought the locket home again, with the following statement: "I carried the envelope to Mr. F—— and told him that Mamma had found the locket. He looked at me and said, 'What locket?' 'The locket the lady lost, and which you told us children about day before yesterday.'" "My boy," said Mr. F——, "I know nothing about any lost locket." "But, Mr. F——, you came into our room and told us children that a lady had lost a gold locket in the village, and that if any of us found it, we should bring it to you." "No; this is the first I have heard of any lost locket; take it home," was the reply of the principal.

Troubled very much, the boy insisted [to his mother] that Mr. F—— had come into the room, spoken to the children, described the locket as a square gold locket set with diamonds, and asked that it be brought to him in case any of the children or their parents should find it. But neither the children in the school, the teacher, nor the principal had heard anything about the occurrence! To the present day, however, the boy is firm in his impressions that Mr. F—— came to the room and told about the locket.

Somewhat perplexed I advertised in the T—— S——

of C——; that a piece of jewelry had been found by us, and the very *next* day the lady who had dropped it [a friend of a neighbor of ours] called and described the lost locket. It was a jewel much valued in her family.

Now comes the strangest part of the record: the locket had been lost by the lady *only half an hour previous to its discovery by Mrs. L——*. It was both lost and found about twenty-four hours *after* the child had described the locket to his mother who found it!

The case seemed so extraordinary that I recorded the facts as now given. I told a few friends about the occurrence, but for reasons that need not be discussed have given the matter, until now, no further publicity.

J. U. L.

---

### Concerning Eternity.

I have noticed of late a peculiar repugnance to eternity. The sentiment shows itself in a half-expressed wish that eternity should not exist. Not a few are disposed to say that eternity is *too long* — that the thought of it may well make us shudder. And this is said, I believe, with little respect to the prospective immortality of the soul; albeit, one can not logically object to eternity if the abstract notion of it be considered apart from our personal concern therein. For if *we* are not to live forever, why should we trouble ourselves that *something else* shall still continue forever without us?

As a matter of fact, eternity exists, and it can neither be abolished nor obviated; it can neither be modified nor abridged. Eternity is the only fact which, if abrogated, would continue as before! Here is an infinite paradox: If God should destroy eternity it would be there still! If He himself should perish out of the universe, eternity would remain unchanged and unchangeable; all this for the reason that only *things* can be abolished, and eternity is not a thing. Even if God should be *not*, eternity would still *be*! We may admit that the thought is appalling.

But why should anyone dread eternity? It would appear that the human mind is changing its point of observation. To some it is beginning to seem undesirable that *anything* should continue forever. Many minds waver: sometimes eternal

duration seems desirable ; at other times it seems undesirable. Very difficult it is for the human spirit to free itself from the trammels of environment and to look at such a question undisturbed by the torments of time and sense.

Looked at historically, eternity has seemed most desirable to mankind. It has been so because eternity has appeared to our hopes as the continent of immortality. The idea that the Universal Thing shall end as a light that is extinguished has, therefore, revolted the human race as much as any other concept. Literature is flecked all the way from the *Vedas* to the "Principles of Biology" with broken expressions of hope that at least something may continue forever. Very rarely in the literary excursion over the fields of the past do we find even a hint of a desire that all things should cease, and be not.

It is the turning from this mood to another mood, in which eternal duration is considered as a doubtful boon, or as something to be dreaded rather than desired, that marks the thought of the present age with the peculiar accent favoring the universal extinction of whatever is, as the final and perfect good. It is, no doubt, a symptom of the oncoming old age of the Western races. It is a hint of that Oriental Nirvana which the Buddhists find as the final rest of souls.

This change of mood in our age seems to me to be the result of a social state that has supervened in the world, and not to be a primary and normal evolution of thought. It would appear that the overstrain of humanity has produced an overestimate of the blessedness of surcease and sleep. Civilization has taken its living component parts and subjected them to so much torture that they have come to shudder at the thought that it may continue forever. Therefore, saith the sufferer, it were better that consciousness be ended, and if *that* should be obliterated, then why should *anything* continue afterwards? Even eternity without inhabitants would be a mere inane and hollow gulf — an infinite cave of vacuous silence.

What, therefore, is suicide but the logical conclusion of a syllogism, the major premise of which is the intolerable rigor of the civilized life, and the minor premise of which is the



torment of the individual soul. The trouble with the suicide is his failure to reflect how horribly he is defeating himself by trying to employ death as a stopper! He foolishly imagines that he can trammel up eternity by abolishing himself. It is as though a man should try to prevent the return of the vernal equinox by burning down his cabin.

But I was only intending to note the fact that in our age there is a certain shudder in many minds at the thought of eternal duration. Several times I have heard noted men, not overdone with calamity, but rather in flourishing estate, express the wish that neither eternity nor the thought of it had any existence, but rather that cessation and nonentity might supervene at last as the happiest finale to the chaos which we call nature and the meteor which we call life.

---

A. L.

Our man of destiny was greater than  
 The princely warrior Beowulf, who smote  
 The scaly Grendel in the breast and throat,  
 Or the brave Siegfried, champion of man,  
 Who slew the Sea-hag — as a hero can —  
 Or Godfrey battling in his iron coat  
 With Infidels at Salem's bloody moat,  
 Or Karl, or Cæsar, or small Corsican!

O Lincoln! son of poverty and doubt,  
 Born in one age of blindness, come again  
 With patriot soul and patient martyrdom!  
 Be our protagonist and lead us out  
 From sordid gold-lust and the noisome fen  
 Of apathy to freedom's highlands — come!

## BOOK REVIEWS.

[In this Department of THE ARENA no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.]

### Some Prehistoric History.<sup>1</sup>

THE formal reports issued by bodies learned and unlearned rarely rise to the level of literature. The greater part of such works are barren of interest. They are a sort of intellectual museums in which facts are labelled and classified, but out of which no living entity of thought arises. They are in the intellectual world what Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones was to the seer until what time the spirit breathed upon them; then they became alive — at least in the prophet's trance.

Sometimes, however, a report transcends the dead-line, and issues as a living thing into the world. This is true in the case of the "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," made by the Honorable Director, J. W. Powell, to Professor S. P. Langley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. In fact, many of the reports which have come from this source have been worthy of the highest praise not only as repositories of fact, but also as interpretations of dead fact into living literature.

The Bureau of Ethnology, as a department of investigation and culture connected with the Smithsonian Institution, exists under an act of Congress, authorizing the prosecution of ethnological researches among the American Indians, and under this general authorization two kinds of publications are issued, namely, annual reports and occasional bulletins. In January of 1895 an act was passed to print and distribute as public documents such manuscripts of the Bureau as might be thought to merit the distinction. In 1877 the "Contributions to North American Ethnology" began to be issued, and this series has extended already to Volume IX.

The Fifteenth annual report from the Bureau has just been distributed to libraries and other proper correspondents. The work is an illustrated volume of 366 pages, including table of contents, indexes, etc. Prefixed to the body of the work is an administrative report of 121 pages by Director Powell. The par-

<sup>1</sup> "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," made to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1893-94. By J. W. Powell, Director. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897. One volume, illustrated, imperial 8vo, pp. 366.

ticular subject investigated in the volume is the character and distribution of stone implements in the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province, the investigation being the work of William Henry Holmes.

It is to this body of the report that I wish to call attention. Mr. Holmes has performed his work in a manner to merit great praise. His production should find its way not only into libraries and other literary preserves of public character, but also into the private libraries of all such people as have risen to the level of understanding the importance of the prehistoric conditions of our continent.

The region of country explored by Mr. Holmes he calls "The Province of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater." His map, facing page 14 of the report, presents a well-drawn sketch of the region referred to. The outside border line, or western boundary, of the province included in Mr. Holmes's investigations begins at New York City and extends in a southwesterly direction to Trenton, New Jersey; thence to Philadelphia and Wilmington; thence to Port Deposit, on the Susquehanna; thence to Baltimore and Washington; thence in the same general direction to Fredericksburg; thence almost due south to Richmond and Petersburg; and thence to Weldon, on the Roanoke River. The water-divides in this region are marked by Mr. Holmes in his map with dotted lines, which enable the reader to trace the several sections of the region investigated.

In a general way, the purpose of the author in entering upon his investigations was to find out the social, domestic, economic, and political history of the Paleolithic Man as he was in archaeological times. In prosecuting this work, Mr. Holmes has described the results of his operations for a full twelvemonth in the region referred to. His work covers exploration proper, archaeological events, descriptive ethnologies, sociological facts, pictograph and sign language, linguistics, mythology, psychology, bibliography, etc. In the details of the investigation we find described the character of the implements of the Old Stone age. Very little Neolithic work is presented, though there is some, as shown in the plates facing pages 84, 86, 89, 91, 94, 114, and perhaps a few others.

The process of quarrying and manufacturing implements in the Old Stone age is described and illustrated with much patience and ability. The location of many quarries has been discovered, and the features of the manufactories accurately traced out. The

implement shops of the old Potomac region are, in particular, full of interest and curiosity. It appears that the sites of the shops were determined by the Paleolithic man with considerable skill; they were depots of supply and distribution. Copious sections of the work are devoted to the characteristics and manufacture of flaked-stone implements. These Mr. Holmes finds to have been of quartz, quartzite, rhyolite, flint, jasper, argillite, etc. Sometimes the investigation is conducted by the comparative method; as, for example, where the making of blades is compared in manner with the manufacture of celts and pecked implements. Much interest I note in the case of incised, or cut-stone, utensils. The materials here employed were, for the most part, mica and steatite.

Man has been defined very well as the "tool-using animal." It is true that the real point of differential departure of the Paleolithic man from his savage progenitors or congeners was in the adaptation or conversion of the club into an implement. The anthropopithecoids have considerable skill in clubbing. They take a stick and with it beat down cocoanuts. They are capable of throwing one thing at another thing; but none have ever been observed to adapt an implement to any end or use not visible at the time of preparation. This the Paleolithic man did. He had sense enough to adapt an implement to a use which was not yet present to any of his faculties — except his imagination.

The prehistoric races of the Potomac-Chesapeake region had this capacity. There are evidences in some of the quarries of higher development than in others. In some places we find beginnings of pottery. Traces of such art are discoverable in the quarries of the Patuxent Valley, and in general in those regions where the clay formation seemed to provoke the genius of the primitive man. The investigation covers the distribution of materials and the relation of the natural supply to the implements produced. In a few places the evolution extended as far as the transportation of the materials of manufacture from one place to another.

Besides the explorations of Mr. Holmes and the account which he gives of them, we have in this volume brochures of great value on the Siouan Indians by W. J. McGee and James Owen Dorsey, the first of whom considers the Siouan stock as to its extent, nomenclature, language, mythology, habitat, tribal history, etc.; while the latter discusses the general features of Siouan organization, making his study from the Dakota nations

and the Assiniboin. An interesting paper is also added by Jesse Walter Fewkes on the "Tusayan Katchinas," in which he treats of the ceremonials of this branch of our prehistoric races, giving particular attention to the Katchina dances in Cibola. To this is added a special treatise by Cosmos Mindeleff on the "Repair of Casa Grande Ruin, in Arizona." The ruins are well described as they appeared in 1891. Plans for the repairs are suggested, with specifications for the preservation of as much as remains of one of the most interesting relics of prehistoric American civilization.

In illustration of this really important volume no fewer than one hundred and twenty-five plates are inserted, the greater part of which are from photographs and original drawings. They cover the whole prehistoric life of the Potomac-Chesapeake country, and in the afterparts of the volume, the life of the Siouan races. There are also forty-eight smaller engravings and views illustrative of the subject-matter of the text. The beautiful coloration in which the Paleolithic man and our aborigines were so skillful is happily illustrated in a few fine plates prepared especially for this volume. I refer in particular to plate CIV, showing "Shield with Star Symbol," "Shield with Unknown Symbol," and "Symbolic Sun Shield"; also to plate CVII, showing a "Doll of Calako Mana"; also to plate CVIII, a "Katchina Mask with Squash Blossom Appendage and Rain Cloud Symbolism"; also to plate CIX, a "Doll of Calako Taka"; also to plates CX and CXI, showing "Head dress of Alosaka" and "The Powamu Mask." All these illustrations are done in the original colors, are carefully artistic, and highly interesting.

The work now doing in our American Bureau of Ethnology is worthy of praise from the scientific point of view, and much of it is gladly welcomed as permanent contribution to our literature. Of this kind we cordially endorse the Fifteenth Annual Report as a conspicuous example.

## THE ARENA FOR OCTOBER.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND PATRONS:

We appeal to all who are concerned in the people's cause to aid in its promotion. Friends of reform and freedom, you see **THE ARENA** battling for you: give us your assistance. It requires money as well as time and labor to carry forward the good work. You who are concerned in promoting the people's interest should aid in circulating this champion of truth and right. If you are earnest in your desires for our success, assist us by subscribing and by getting your friends to subscribe for **THE ARENA**.

We suffer at the hands of those who afflict you. They withhold their support and mock at the words reform and progress. They support those only that battle for special privilege and for the substitution of a plutocracy for the free Republic. We contend for honest government and for justice to all. Should we fail to prosecute this work, should we cease to cry out in defence of the under man, you would say that we also have yielded to the powers of concentrated wealth. Should failure come, let it come from the enemies of mankind, from the foes of progress and freedom, but not from the indifference of those who are at heart in sympathy with the oppressed, but whose only fault is apathy.

Strengthen us, and thereby strengthen yourselves, by doing all that is in your power to increase the circulation of **THE ARENA** among the people. By this means we shall promote their education and hasten the coming of the better day —

“When man to man the world o'er  
Shall brithers be and a' that.”

### The Arena and the American Institute of Civics.

The purchase by **THE ARENA** of the *American Magazine of Civics* and the transfer to this office of the subscription

lists and other assets of that magazine, seemed to promise well for all concerned. We have endeavored to fulfil our part of the agreement made with the President of the American Institute of Civics, and expect to complete our obligations to the subscribers of the Magazine which was the organ of that body. **THE ARENA** is not and has not been the organ of the American Institute, and no such thing has been contemplated. But we have attempted to furnish the Institute with a suitable vehicle for the transmission of its intelligence to its membership. It was, therefore, a matter of surprise to receive from the President of the American Institute, under date of July 12th, 1897, the following communication:

**THE ARENA CO.**

Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

*Dear Sirs:* It is evident that any arrangements for the future of a mutually helpful character, such as those proposed between the American Institute of Civics and **THE ARENA** magazine, are out of the question.

The Institute, while seeking to promote a thorough study of controversial questions, is not partisan. **THE ARENA** is looked upon as an advocate of special economic and social theories. This may explain matters. For example, while the Institute has sought to promote an intelligent understanding of both sides of the free-silver question, it has espoused neither side, while **THE ARENA** is regarded as a special advocate of free silver. The same is true of other questions. It would seem that very few of the Institute members, who have been receiving the *Magazine of Civics*, are in sympathy with **THE ARENA** in its leaning toward free silver and its attitude upon some other questions.

Under the circumstances you will doubtless agree with us that it is not wise to make any further attempt to establish coöperative relations between the Institute and **THE ARENA**. We are convinced that any such attempt on our part will be useless, and we therefore release you from the agreement to publish a special

page devoted to the Institute's announcements, and ask that you will discontinue the publication of that page. We will forward to you, in a few days, the names of Institute members who have expressed a desire to receive THE ARENA, with check to cover amounts payable on their account.

It was our expectation, perhaps unwarranted, that THE ARENA under its new ownership would treat controversial questions in the same impartial manner in which they were treated in the *Magazine of Civics* and are treated in the *North American Review* and *Forum*. If you are of the opinion that your interests will be best served by not doing this, we cannot say that you are mistaken, nor are we disposed to find fault with your decision. We have simply to accept the result, whatever our regrets.

On behalf of the Institute,  
Very truly yours,

H. R. WAITE, *President*.

To this communication the Editor replied as follows:

DEAR DOCTOR WAITE:

THE ARENA for August has gone to press carrying your article under the head of "The Civic Outlook." I think you will be pleased with it, though it does not include quite all of the material which we have in hand from you.

Your communication addressed to the Company has been sent to the proprietor, and you will, no doubt, hear from him in good time.

How anyone who is in favor of good government through good citizenship can reasonably object to THE ARENA is a thing which I am at a loss to understand. Good government through good citizenship is precisely what we are driving at; and the strange thing about it is that we mean what we say. If there be any class of people, or any combinations or organizations of men that pretend to be in favor of good government through good citizenship, and do not mean it, why then, to be sure, THE ARENA has nothing in common with them — and never will have until the present Editor be thrown by some unsuspected catapult over the moon.

The fact is, my dear Doctor, that we have come to the parting of the ways. They who believe in the preservation of free institutions; they who believe in the rights of man; they who believe in democratic government and in the preservation of that government for the people forever; they who believe in the people as a fact, but do not believe in plutocratic

domination, with the consequent destruction of all that has been most dear to us in this Republic, — must go one way; and they who believe that the Government of the United States, the great Republic, with our seventy millions of people, are no more than the tools and instruments of a money despotism, more tyrannical and desperate than any political power now prevalent in Europe, — must go the other way.

We have come to the division of the road; but it is rather sad that they who ought to be engaged in a common cause are divided on a question of such vital importance as the preservation of the Republic from the intolerable greed and anti-democratic powers that now control it, and have controlled it for the last fifteen years. I assure you, Doctor Waite, that the grip of these powers on the throat of this Republic is going to be broken; and if THE ARENA can help to break it, why then, here we are.

Yours truly,

JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

BOSTON, July 16, 1897.

In addition to the above correspondence, the Editor of THE ARENA referred the matter at issue to the proprietor, and had from him the following answer:

DR. RIDPATH:

I bought from Henry Randall Waite, President of the American Institute of Civics, the *American Magazine of Civics* (the official organ of said Institute), to save it from getting into the hands of those who might have perverted the work and purpose its title implies. The agreement of sale specifies that I shall devote space in THE ARENA to the "Civic Outlook" and announcements. President Waite's letter will explain itself to THE ARENA readers. Your reply should convince President Waite that THE ARENA is with the citizen for good government.

JOHN MCINTYRE.

The above correspondence and explanation are offered to the members of the American Institute of Civics and the general public as the reason for the discontinuance of relations with that body, not by our own act, but by that of the President of the American Institute.

Hon. Charles A. Towne.

Our readers will be delighted with the perusal of another powerful article, to

appear in the number for October, from the pen of the fearless and talented free-silver Republican leader, Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota. He handles his theme with the mastery of style and cogency of reason for which he is justly considered one of the ablest, as he is one of the most popular of our statesmen.

### **Concentration of Wealth, by Taubeneck.**

In THE ARENA for October, Herman E. Taubeneck will complete his great argument on the Concentration of Wealth, the first section of which appears in the current number.

### **Judge Walter Clark.**

Justice Walter Clark is known as one of the foremost champions of the people's cause. His arguments and policies are always based on a true political philosophy. His article on "The Rights of the Public over Quasi-Public Services" in the October number will be welcomed as one of his finest contributions.

### **Mary Parmelee on Jefferson.**

In THE ARENA for October will appear a very able and instructive article by Mary Platt Parmelee on "Thomas Jefferson and his Political Philosophy." The contribution is timely, for it brings forcibly to mind the true Jeffersonian theory of Society and State.

### **Article by the Editor, on Prosperity.**

In the number for October, the Editor of THE ARENA will present his views on "Prosperity, Real and Fictitious." In it he will show that the vociferation of the money power, crying prosperity, prosperity, when there is none, does not and cannot make prosperity, for the reason that prosperity begins in the capillaries of society, that is, among the producing industries.

### **A Symposium on Labor.**

Three articles by working men, discussing the labor question from the

workingman's point of view, will appear as a symposium in the number for October. "How the Workingman Feels" will be the theme of Herbert M. Ramp, of Springfield, Missouri; "Up or Down" is the title of the contribution by W. Edwards of Cleveland, Ohio; and "The Farm Hand: an Unknown Quantity," will be discussed by W. E. Kearns of Topeka, Kansas.

### **Mr. Flower's Contribution.**

The article by Mr. B. O. Flower in the number for October will be "The Latest Social Vision." It is one of the distinguished reformer's very best. Whatever Mr. Flower writes will be received by the members of THE ARENA family with the greatest favor and respect. His messages are always welcome.

### **The Dead Hand in the Church.**

Under this caption a powerful article will appear in THE ARENA for October. The author is the Reverend Clarence Lathbury, of Elmwood, Mass.

### **Suicide: Is it Worth While?**

Under this suggestive query, Charles B. Newcomb of Boston will present our readers in the October number of THE ARENA with a discussion which if not wholly new is wholly appropriate to the mood and method of this age.

Besides the above sterling and well-selected array of articles befitting the spirit of the times, THE ARENA for October will contain the "Plaza of the Poets," with contributions by Ironquill of Kansas, Junius L. Hempstead, Clinton Scollard, Rubie Carpenter, Helena Maynard Richardson; also "The Editor's Evening," with a full quota of interesting brevities; also Book Reviews, announcements, etc. Our friends may look forward to the number for October with confidence that the ARENA banner will be still full high advanced.